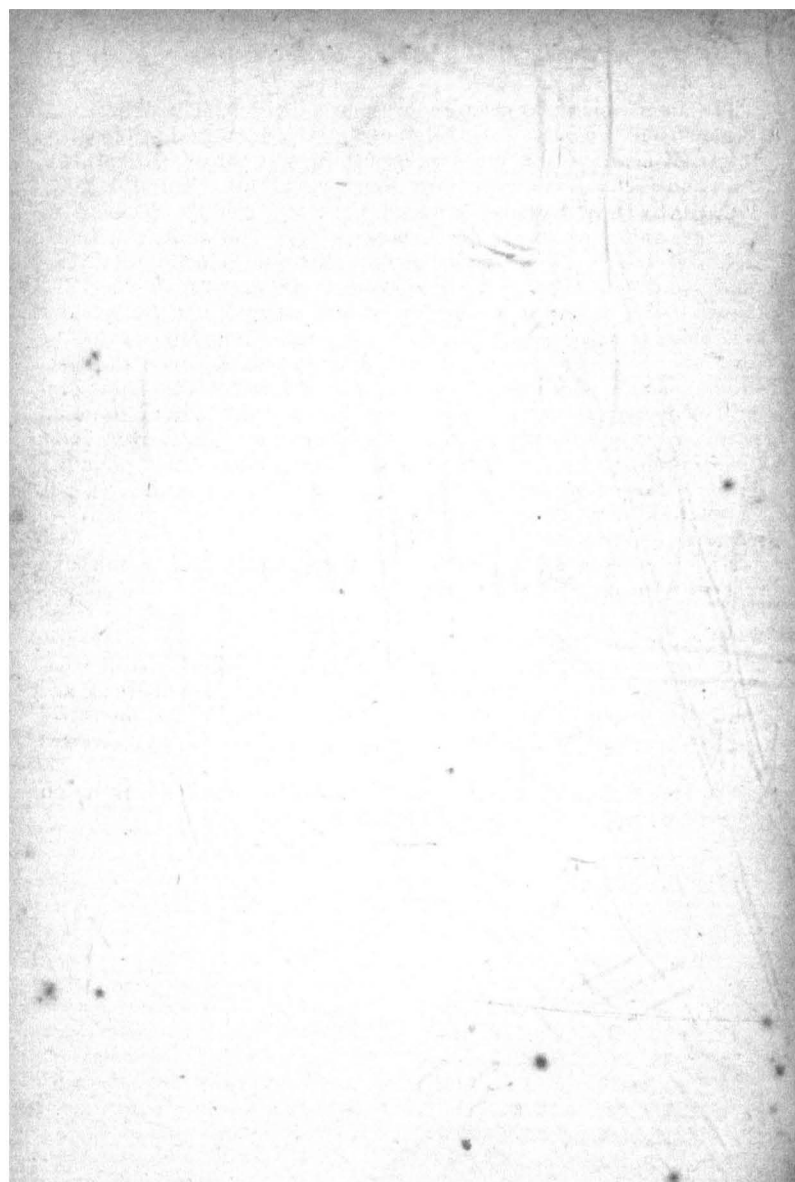


The amendment was negatived without a division. The debate was continued by Colonel Yate (Melton C. U.), Lieutenant-Colonel A. Murray (Kincardine and Western, C. L.), Mr. A. Shaw (Kilkarnock, C. L.) and Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (Hull, Central, L.)

Captain OrmsbyGore (Stafford, C.U.) was glad the Secretary of State was quite firm on the maintenance of law and order in India. He hoped that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme would become law at the earliest possible moment. He urged that when the scheme took the form of a Bill the measures should not be referred to a Joint Committee, but should go through both Houses in the usual way. Political reform in India must be accompanied by a real reform of the educational system and an effort to develop the resources of India. "Hitherto," he said, "by a fiscal system imposed by this country, suited to us, but not suited to or welcomed by India we have refrained, both in our fiscal system and to the prejudice on the part of the Government of India, from spending the revenue of India in the development of native Industries and specially on technical education."

In his opinion the British "ought to encourage the wealth and prosperity equally of all parts of His Majesty's Dominions". "We are an Imperial Parliament," he declared feelingly, "and we must in this matter think Imperially" he pleaded eloquently "that there should be no further opportunity of India saying that England had selfishly imposed upon her a fiscal, commercial, and industrial system in her own interests, which is not in the interest of Indian development and Indian prosperity". This was well received by the House.

The House then went into Committee, and the financial resolution on the East Indian Revenue Accounts was agreed to.



INDIA ABROAD

1918.

MONTAGU'S CAMBRIDGE SPEECH.

Mr. Montagu delivered an important speech on Indian reforms at a meeting of the Cambridge Liberal Association on July 27, 1918. The audience included many Indians.

In the course of his speech he referred to Thyssen's pamphlet cabled on January 23rd and emphasised the Kaiser's declaration in it that India would be conquered by Germany, that the rich revenue of Indian princes would flow in a golden stream to the Fatherland, and that in all the richest lands of the earth the German flag would fly over every other flag. That was the German idea of imperialism, namely subjugation, domination, spoliation and theft. No wonder India had taken steps to protect itself. Half a million men would come into the Indian army in the coming year compared with 15,000 yearly before the war. He was glad to say it was not only as privates that Indians were enlisting. There were already Indian officers holding His Majesty's commission in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and they would be followed by others in substantial numbers.

How much more India could do for us and for herself now had her industries only been developed in the past! When India set out to make things like railway engines, trucks and even rails she found herself requiring machines from oversea which it was impossible to get on the necessary scale, and also skilled workers who were now so scarce all over the world. That state of things must end. One of the first duties of the Government of India must be to start and steadily promote a policy which would enable India more and more to supply her needs by her own efforts out of her almost immeasurable resources.

The Reform Report.

Referring to the Report he said: The educated Indian was taught in our schools by our teachers. He had learnt our ideals there and it was unjust to find fault with him when he asked what we had taught him to ask, namely, free institutions and self-government. Let us have it out once for all what was to be the

principle of our government in India. Was it to be domination,—subordination to the iron hand, where we have one principle of Government for India and another principle for the rest of the Empire? How had we built up South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand? Was not the principle of the British Empire the principle of a Commonwealth of free nations? Were we not to extend it to India? Was the ideal of our empire geographical, not moral? What if we said that to our American allies? What if when we talked of the British ideal of self-governing institutions we drew a line somewhere in the Indian ocean and said thus far and no further. That sort of theory was utterly impossible, utterly out of harmony with British ideas. During the past week he had been sitting with Patiala and Sir S. P. Sinha in the Imperial War Conference and War Cabinet. Indians were increasingly being put in charge of districts all over India. One of the most successful military hospitals in Mesopotamia was in charge of an Indian medical officer. All this meant that we were putting Indians into important positions right up to the supreme authority of the British Empire, namely, the Imperial War Cabinet. Had they ever known a case in the history of the British Empire when what was called relaxation of British control had not meant closer union of the country concerned to the rest of the Empire? Unfortunately India was at the moment not ready and disaster would await anyone wishing to give Home Rule to India to-day. The principle of our Government of India should be progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, as India proved to the satisfaction of the people of Britain and their representatives in Parliament that she was ready for it, until one day we should complete the process and India too would take her place as one of the free nations in the Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire. That was the principle, that was the mission on which he went to India in order to advise the Government upon progressive realisation of responsible government within the British Empire, and that was the principle on which the report was founded. Would those who criticised the report ask themselves whether they admitted the principle? If they did, they could proceed to argue about the report; if they did not there was no weapon probably except personal abuse. If they admitted the principle he asked them to search their hearts. Some who said that they accepted the principle attacked the scheme which was intended to carry out the principle and would indeed attack any scheme because really in their hearts they did not admit the principle. Let them first admit the

principle and then examine the scheme dealing with the proposals themselves.

The only way to teach men to exercise vote was to give them one, and the only way to teach them to use the vote wisely and well was to give the people who were entrusted with power by the vote something worth doing. It was useless to ask a man to vote for his representative if that representative was powerless.

Their first step, therefore, was to suggest that there should be as wide a representative direct franchise in India as could possibly be devised.

Three Alternatives in Provincial Government.

Regarding the functions of the Provincial Government there were only three alternatives : Firstly, to keep them under complete official control. That would not be a move towards responsible government. Secondly, to give all the functions of Government to the Indians. That was not a move which we were justified in making to-day. Therefore the only remaining alternative was to give them some functions of Government now and leave others to be transferred to their control when we saw how they were getting on and how representative their new Parliaments were likely to be. He invited critics to tell him what other course there was.

He had seen one constructive idea, namely, to select a little piece of India and make it a republic under the control of political officers and if that went well to enlarge the republic or to have other republics. That scheme did not commend itself to him. It was advanced by people loud in the belief that India was not fit for self-government and they proposed to demonstrate it by giving to one unfortunate part of India what they professed to believe no part of India was ready for.

There were enemies of responsible government in India who would seek to make it impossible by bringing it about too fast. There were people who said that democratic institutions were impossible in the East and they pointed to Russia and Persia. *They did not often point to Japan.* Some people in India thought that they were not going fast enough; the proposals had even been described as retrograde as increasing the power of the bureaucracy. It was only necessary to read the report to see that that was untrue.

No Distrust of the Indian People.

He could understand some Indians disregarding and discarding the proposals if they found in them what they were always suspicious of finding, namely, distrust of the Indian people. No such distrust existed in the minds of those who drew up the proposals. He did not believe any such distrust would be found in the proposals. He would explain on what the limitations and reservations in the proposals were based. They must look at facts. India was not yet, as critics in England were never tired of telling, in the true sense of the word a nation. There were differences of caste, religion and race accompanied by differences of objects and aims. It must be remembered that an overwhelming proportion of the people at present knew nothing of political institutions and could not read or write. I do not mention these things as matters of blame. They were things we want to help to remedy. If India was not a nation we want to see it a nation.

During the war from one end of India to the other one found the Indians keen about the defence against the invader—a new national and imperial spirit. One saw signs of a greater India, a greater desire for co-operation among different races of India, and we want to help this development by giving them a common task. But there are factors long operating which militate against joint action, and the Government ought not to be asked to disregard these factors and treat India as if it were comparable with any other part of the British Empire.

Fitness to be proved at the bar of Parliament.

Whenever India could prove at the Bar of the Parliament that these conditions were being cured, that education was spreading, that an electorate had been created, and that differences between races were disappearing, so surely under the scheme must Parliament give more and more power to Indians. If these limitations of time and experience were disregarded, he believed it would be fatal to the whole experiment. As the result of the proposals, he would see British control relaxed as Indian control was substituted, and he would see thereby the connection of love, affection and gratitude between India and England strengthened and increased. But the control must be Indian control, not the control of one section of the people, and must be exercised through representative electorates.

Some said it would be better to postpone it till after the war, but they would not say so if they favoured it. It was always the people who did not like a thing who favoured doing it to-morrow or next day. The pronouncement of His Majesty's Government was that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible.

Scheme open to modification.

It would be arrogant to a degree of folly to say that the scheme as it stood had to be passed into law. Its authors submitted it with a full sense of responsibility for criticism. If anybody would suggest a better way they would find in them and in the Government heartfelt thanks and ready acceptance. But whether it was by this way or some other way, we had to put the feet of India on the road to national good and self-government. Otherwise all the glorious work which generations of Englishmen had done to build up that great empire would lack its supreme vindication and justification. It would be said that what we had succeeded in doing in every other part of the British Empire, except for the moment unfortunately in Ireland, that what our forefathers, for example, Sir Thomas Monro and Macaulay, said that we ought to do, we had failed to do in India. It would be said of us that we went on untiringly in unimaginative but excellent regions of material well-being and prosperity, but that when we came in India alone to tackle the task of feeding man's soul by teaching him, equipping him, and giving him power to decide his own destinies, we were too timid to do it. That was a criticism which we could not risk in the judgment of history. It was a criticism which there was no reason to risk and he begged the people of Britain not to think that they could cut the knot by throwing India to its untrained people at this moment, nor by refusing to begin progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, giving the Indians opportunity and knowledge that they had only to prove that they had acquired the necessary habits and conventions of political life and responsibility to gain the whole measure which other countries enjoyed. If we did that, we made India for ever peaceful and we had a right to except from India for ever peace and contentment within the British Empire.

Montagu's Election Speech at Cambridge—Nov. 1918.

[In the course of his election speech at Cambridge delivered in Nov. 1918 Mr. Montagu said that he had a few words to say upon a subject of interest and importance to himself, namely, the pledge given to the great Empire of India through him and repeated by the Premier and Mr. Bonar Law in the Election manifesto recently issued.]

India's Part in the War.

During the War 1,161,789 Indians had been recruited and 1,215,338 men had been sent overseas from India, 101,439 of whom had become casualties. Nobody could say that India, owing to her sympathy with the Allies' cause and her belief in our ideals, did not, of her own free will, share our trouble and bear her part in our victory and show herself a partner in the British Empire as she must be treated in the future. If I am returned to Parliament it would be my principal endeavour to continue the work I have begun, to launch India securely along the path to Self Government. The proposals in the Report had not met with universal approbation.

Two Sets of Opponents.

The principal opponents belonged to two sets. Firstly, those who, like Mrs. Besant and her friends of the Indian National Congress, thought he had not gone far enough, and secondly, those who like Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association thought he had gone much too far. He had been greatly surprised to find the two sets agreed on one point, namely, that the proposals did conform to the principles of the announcement of August 20, 1917.

Nobody would be gladder than himself if he could feel that India today was ready for Home Rule but nobody, not even the extreme partisans, could say that India was ready for Home Rule to-day. He would not be concerned with the Government of India if he did not believe that if the Indians were given an opportunity of serving their country and working together, a growing sense of Nationalism would come. If he did not believe them, there would be no promise in these Reforms. All that could now be said was that there was a minority looking forward to the day when they could achieve what they, like himself, desired. He wanted Self-Government for India to be a success, and in order that it might be a success he looked forward to giving increased opportunities. The

safeguards did not mean mistrust. Contingencies must be provided for.

Lord Sydenham's Suggestions Ridiculed.

Lord Sydenham had made seven recommendations, the first six of which were taken from the Report. Lord Sydenham wanted a large increase in decentralisation; so did the report. He wanted direct representation, so did the Report. He wanted greater liberty for the Provincial Governments from the Central Government, but he could not give any power over the Provincial Governments, the Report would. Lord Sydenham wanted to give complete responsibility in local Provincial affairs; so did the Report; so did Lord Ripon in 1885. Lord Sydenham would be satisfied with giving what ought to have been given thirty years ago. For the rest he would take one or two districts in every province, remove the British Civil Service and put in the Indian Civil Servants and thereby he thought he would satisfy the pronouncement of August 20th. If such proposals were carried India would have every right to say that we had broken our pledges. If they must have a controversy on the Reforms he begged Lord Sydenham and his friends to conduct it in the interests of India and to recognise that everything else was of secondary consideration.

He had just been handed a circular from Lord Sydenham asking for subscriptions to the Indo-British Association as insurance premiums for British interests in India. That was not the way to build up an Empire. That was not a principle to be tolerated in consideration of this great Imperial question. British trade had done marvels for India, but he rested his case on the welfare of the Indian people. The interest of a Constitution could not be bartered for the interest of any trade. On this great question, they must decide between the spirit of to day and the spirit of 317 years ago.

Lord Lansdowne.

Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords recently regretted his (Montague's) promise of responsible Government for India. It is even said that the Indian soldiers opposed this. Mr. Montague in this connection quoted a letter he had received from an Indian officer in Palestine. The officer declared that all sensible Muhammadans favoured the Montague-Chelmsford Report and proceeded.—“ Things in India have changed very much and are rapidly changing. What I see in the Indian army to-day would scarcely be believed. Would

you believe that the Brahmanas, Rajputs, Sikhs and Muhammadans will dine at the same table without even a shade of caste prejudice? In the regiments which have been serving in France all Indian officers on many occasions mess together. Also there is a wonderful change in their aspirations and views."

This letter answered Lord Lansdowne. His great predecessor, Lord Morley, remarked that it was not easy for a man to apply to a new time the experience gained in a generation of honest labour in an olden time. The choice must now be made between the epoch of Lord Lansdowne and the epoch of Lord Chelmsford.

The India of to-day

If you could see the India Britain has done so much to build up, the quickening effect of education we have introduced, which India so eagerly desires to extend, if you could realise the potential wealth that awaits the investment of British capital for the benefit of India, if you acknowledged the marvellous response to our demand which our cause has aroused in India, if you realised how the supply of men was only limited by the lack of training and habit, how the supply of material was only limited by undeveloped manufacturing capacity, how the supplies generally were only limited by poverty caused by undeveloped resources, if you knew the eager welcome given to the principle of partnership in the Empire, then I am sure you would sympathise with my determination,—despite the frenzied complaint of those who would risk all in their hurry and bitter wailing, those who would treat India as a sort of crystallised fruit,—to do my share in finishing the work begun and to see Britain and India indissolubly united in an ideal of freedom.

THE "NATION" ON INDIAN REFORMS

[The following is an extract from the Editorial column of the "Nation" of May 25, 1918. This is one of those sober English Papers which alike for its breadth of view and perspicacity of judgment has made the name of England endearing to all. Its presentation of the Indian cause is so clear, unprejudiced, and just that there is hardly anything which the most ardent Indian Nationalist can profitably urge more or add to it—ED.]

A Coalition, whether it deals with Ireland or with India, is apt to be the most dangerous of all forms of Government in a

composite Empire. A Tory Government may yield nothing but it excites no defusive expectations. A Liberal Government may arouse hopes, and in some measure fulfil them. A Coalition is apt to promise, while its acts render fulfilment impossible. We dare not risk in India the failures and provocations which two successive Coalitions have accumulated in Ireland. The parallel is ominous, but it would be folly to refuse to face risks which lie in the nature of these combinations...Let us hope that Mr. Montague will be more fortunate than Mr. Duke, but it will be well to adjust our calculations to the probability that the bureaucracy and the well-organised British commercial interests in India will find backing in the War Cabinet for their opposition to any large or significant concessions. The recent refusal to allow a deputation of influential Indian nationalists to come to England to state their case is a reminder that the forces of resistance are alert and strongly posted at the centre of power.

There is one circumstance in the Indian problem which may incline even the most realistic and the least generous of the older school to large concessions. The military aspect of our eastern problems had changed fundamentally since Mr. Montague's appointment was first made.

The German line lay no farther East than Poland, and in Asiatic Turkey the Russian Army was holding on advanced line which included the Armenian provinces. To-day the crumbling of the Russian State has opened to the Turco-Germans a door of penetration which may carry them dangerously near to the outposts of India. The effect of the German advance is evident in Persia. The benevolent interest of Berlin in Afghanistan, of which the latest phase is the suggestion that the Ameer should be provided with a port in Baluchistan, is another symptom of the trend of German policy.

This Turco-German penetration of the northern roads which lead to the backdoors of India can have no dangers for us, unless all sense of statesmanship deserts us. The future depends on our realisation of the fact that the true defence of India in the generations to come must be neither distance nor the sea, neither deserts nor the Himalayas, but the

Contentment of the Indian peoples

with their lot. This vast population would laugh at the bare suggestion of invasion if it were mobilised to defend a State which

it regarded as its own. The key to the military problem is policy. If ever we had ventured to make India a self-supporting, defensive unit, it would have ceased to be a lure for conquerors. That means however, the abandonment of the jealous traditions which feared to train native officers, feared to entrust native regiments with artillery, and omitted to build up in India the local industries on which a modern army must depend. These fears were prudent only so long as we conceived of ourselves as conquerors governing by the sword. They will vanish when once we have faced the necessity of conceding Indians Self-Government. India can be held against all comers if Indians feel that they are defending not merely the soil of their native land but a Government based on their own consent. If, on the other hand, we hesitate to give, or give grudgingly, it follows that we shall continue to neglect its defensive resources, adhere to the tradition of confiding its defence to a White garrison, and thereby risk, not perhaps its loss but at least intrigues and alarms which may and must make our continued rule in India burdensome to ourselves and irksome to its people. To say that

The Danger to India

lies at some distant date to a successful foreign invasion is to take a very narrow view. The odds are that the actual invasion will never be risked, or will fail if the attempt is made. The danger rather is that a discontented India whose millions we dare not arm for the defence of their Motherland is a standing invitation to intriguing politicians and ambitious soldiers. Their plots, their temptations, and above all, their armaments and our counter armaments are danger enough without an actual invasion. If we will not arm India to defend herself, we must permanently conscribe our own manhood to do it. If we do arm her, it follows that we first see to it that she is contented with her lot.

Contentment is not a condition of mind into which a country can be hypnotised by phrases. The Indian demand for Home Rule is only a way of summing up the will of a people to deal itself with a whole complex of problems which touch its interest and its self-respect. The land which still dazzles the ambitious soldier is so poor that the daily income of its inhabitants was reckoned, at the opening of this century, at something less than a penny a head. Sir Charles Elliott, a very high authority, said that "half the agricultural population never knows from year's end to

year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Even to-day only one-fifth of the children of school-age go to school, though native Baroda has contrived to establish universal education.

Grievance of the Colour Line

The grudging admission of Indians to responsible posts, the closing to them, until Mr. Montague's recent decision, of commissioned ranks in the Army, and the rankling insult of their treatment in our Colonies—all these things have made our problem something more than a question of political machinery. Home Rule means for Indians the power to remedy these grievances. If Mr. Montague's proposals are still transitional, as we suppose they will be, and stop short of full responsible government, the interval which separate them from that ideal must not be large, and the grant must carry with it its own latent promise of expansion. If for the time the Central Government is still an English Bureaucracy and if the Viceroy's Council, however it may be developed, fall short of being a sovereign representative body, there must be compensation in the provinces. Unless these at least, subject to the veto of the Viceroy's Government, are given responsible government, the scheme will fall dangerously short of satisfying Indian aspirations. A fairly long traditional period already lies behind us, and Lord Morley's reforms are a foundation on which a much more imposing structure of autonomy must now be built. The War has changed all the conditions of our problem. It has made of the "self-determination" of subject peoples an ideal to which all civilised governments do homage, even if it be only lip-homage. The pace of reforms has been quickened. Mankind must contrive to cover in a few years an evolution which in normal times might have been spread over a generation.

MR. BERNARD HOUGHTON ON REFORMS.

[*The following is an extract from an article which appeared in "India," the Congress Organ in England, over the signature of Mr. Bernard Houghton, late of the Indian Civil Service.*]

The Simla Government has in some respects administered India well. But, as the Report says, "it is no longer sufficient to

administer India." It is no longer sufficient to say, as some would have it: "We give you justice; we give you order; we give you roads; we put those who so desire it in the way of making money; what more do you want?" Here is no case for the official, however painstaking, but for the statesman;—for a statesman who, like Cavour, will plan, knead, and mould all circumstances, level all obstacles, concentrate all energies on the single object in view—in this case, responsible government. From this standpoint Simla has an ill record. It does not inspire trust.

The Government which has shown its efficiency in Mesopotamia, its loyalty by the ignoring of Lord Morley's orders on local self-government, its liberalism by the internments without trial, its sympathy with free institutions by the Press and other arbitrary Acts, does not come to the task with clean hands. But this is not the worst. The whole tone of the resolutions and acts of the Government, the speeches of its Ministers in the Council Chamber, breathe a settled hostility to popular aspirations and evince a resolution to yield no power save under duress. To hand over the control of these momentous reforms to such officials is like handing over the introductions of free institutions in Germany to a Ministry of Prussian Junkers or the establishment of Home Rule to the Orange Grand Committee. There is no community of aim. There is rather antagonism of will.

But, it will be said, surely the Report has introduced modifications into the government of India which may breathe some life into the dry bones of officialdom. Modifications there are but they do not suffice. The addition of another Indian in the Executive Council can achieve little, even if, as by no means follows, he is in full sympathy with the great popular movement in India. The Legislative Council will, indeed, for the first time, have an elected majority. But its power is paralysed by the creation of a new Council of State which avowedly will answer all the purposes of the old official bloc. So much for the credit. On the debit side we read that Simla will be less under the control of the (reformed) India Office, that the staff will be increased, and, perhaps, even less in touch with district life than hitherto, that "the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters must be unimpaired." Small wonder that some prominent Indians, on reading these provisions, have confessed to a feeling akin to despair. How can India receive with a smile reforms which leave Simla, the head and front of the bureaucratic system, unreformed, nay, rather strengthened against the people's will? "Did men laugh,"

once exclaimed Voltaire, "when they saw Phalairs' bull being made red hot?" Either a new and popular spirit must be infused into the Central Government or its power must be vastly curtailed. Simla must be either bettered or fettered. Otherwise, the Montague-Chelmsford scheme will fail, exactly as the Morley-Minto scheme has failed, and its failure may wreck alike the honour of England and the weal of India.

The least measure that can bring about a degree of harmony between Simla and the Indian people, and ensure that it will neither let nor hinder but truly help forward the march towards self-government, would seem to lie in reform of the central government on the same lines as those in the Provinces. That is to say, certain subjects should be transferred to Indian Ministers selected from the Legislative Assembly, who will also be members of the Executive Council. Only, as I have already suggested in the case of the Provinces, the Minister or Ministers must be responsible to the Assembly and removable by it. There can be no training in self-government without a responsible elected Assembly, and without power there is no responsibility. In such a change there is nothing cataclysmal, nothing to inspire fear or to shake confidence. It forms a reasonable halfway house on the way to self-government. It gives occasion whereby the people may learn the art of ruling, the rulers may shed the hard shell of bureaucracy. Through it the central government, now so isolated, must inevitably be brought more into sympathy and harmony with the new life in India.

If, as none may doubt, the goal before India is federation, the Council of State may well remain as the embryo of a future Senate. The function of a Senate is to preserve the autonomy, the independent life, of the Provinces, whilst the other Chamber expresses, develops, and quickens the life of the nation as a whole. Of necessity the Council of State will at first have a strong official tinge. For that reason, and because the present is a stage of transition and training, its power over transferred subjects should be limited. In reserved subjects it should be supreme. It might hold a position analogous to the Grand Committees in the Provinces.

Lord Sydenham on Indian Reforms.

[The following appeared in the "National News" of England over the signature of Lord Sydenham. This is one of his Lordship's most clear presentation of his views of the matter.]

For more than four years the British people have been fighting for their existence in conditions of increasing stress. Sacrifices have been demanded from all alike. Sorrows have touched every home. The freedom of the individual has given way to the stern exigencies of War, and burdens of many kinds have been cheerfully borne. As we strive to follow the swaying fortunes of our arms, rejoicing in the splendid gallantry and devotion of our sailors and soldiers on sea and in the air, grieving for the heavy losses and the suffering entailed, and working strenuously to supply the needs of our fighting men, there has been no time to watch the rapid growth of a dangerous movement in India. In our intense preoccupation, the small section of English-educated politicians of the Indian upper caste saw their opportunity and have turned it to the fullest account. We are now face to face with demands based upon the avowed intention of making British Rule impossible, and we shall, while still engrossed in the world War, be called upon to take decisions upon which the fate of India must depend.

A Seditious Group.

When War broke out it was certain that the Princes and Chiefs of India who realise what the downfall of Britain must mean to their class, would heartily and generously support the Imperial cause. It was as certain that the gallant Indian Army, under British officers whom it loved and trusted, would fight bravely wherever duty called. So much everyone who knew India confidently expected. What we did not expect was that the invaluable help of the Chiefs and of the fighting classes of India and the resources of the country, the utilisation of which for War purposes has brought wealth and prosperity to many Indians, would be alleged as valid reasons for handing over power to a little fraction of the population which has not only done nothing to help the Empire at a crisis in its fate, but has, by raising a ferment in India and by preaching contempt for British Rule broadcast since the War began, done its utmost to increase our abounding difficulties.

Grave happenings kept secret.

The Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State practically admits this claim, and is mainly concerned with finding means of placating the little body of political agitators who have not even taken the trouble to veil their objects. The authors of this report disregard the grave happenings in India since August 1914, of which the public at home has been kept in ignorance. They are as oblivious of the pregnant experience of recent years, which has shown that every concession to the political party has led to outrages and to fresh demands couched in truculent language. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, which was welcomed by the Mohamedan population of the severed portion, was made the excuse for a violent agitation, which was not in the least appeased when the territorial frontiers of the Bengali nation were restored in 1911. The announcement that Lords Morley and Minto were incubating reforms led to a dangerous campaign of seditious oratory in Upper India and elsewhere, necessitating special measures of precaution. Then followed bomb outrages and the assassination of Europeans, to be succeeded by the murder of Indian police officers. The mission of Mr. Montague to India—a concession to agitation in the middle of the War—gave a fresh impulse to the forces of disorder, and the shameful organised attacks by Hindus upon peaceful Moslem villagers in Bihar was planned in anticipation of "reforms" which were expected to mark the further weakening of British rule. Whenever there has been yielding to the political *clique*, as in the release of Mrs. Besant from her pleasant place of internment, an increase of clamour and vituperation has resulted.

A Crazy Constitution.

No one who has not closely followed the "Home Rule" or "Self-government within the Empire" movement during recent years, its propaganda and effects, can form an accurate estimate of the certain result of the adoption of the crazy constitution which the Report attempts to set forth. There are defects in our system of government which have often been pointed out, and some of them are now to be remedied; but that system has worked miracles in India, and there is not the faintest sign of a real popular desire for any change. The number of Indians holding offices of every kind has been steadily increasing. The Viceroy and Secretary of State record, but fail to perceive, the significance of the fact that,

under the Morley-Minto Reforms, Government has "generally preferred to give way" when face to face "with anything approaching solid opposition on the part of Indian members." In other words, Indian opinion—as is right and proper—now carries full weight. Where these Reforms have failed is that the elected Members of Council represent only a small privileged minority of the population, and nearly half of them are lawyers whose interests are, in too many cases, antagonistic to those of the real people of India. Here lies scope for further changes directed to ensure the representation of the working classes. A drastic overhauling of the whole system of education, which is visibly retarding progress, would be the wisest reform that could be undertaken; but only a strong Government could carry it out in face of interested political opposition.

Russia's Lesson.

Everyone who realises all that is now at stake in India, the great Imperial interests involved in the maintenance of order, the wonderful progress since the Mutiny, and the appalling object lesson which the collapse of authority in Russia has provided, must study the proposals of the Report. The picture of Indian conditions which it presents fails to portray essential facts. The object at which it aims is to appease an artificial agitation by concessions which would have the effect of undermining all authority in India, and, by the administrative confusion which they involve, would powerfully stimulate and even justify the demand for more. So long as India is absolutely dependent upon Great Britain for internal order, for protection against external aggression, and for the credit which is enabling her to build up industries steadily growing, the paramount power of our Rule must be maintained, not by constitutional artifices, but as a living force everywhere recognised and respected. A Government which shows weakness is doomed.

VISCOUNT MORLEY ON INDIAN REFORMS.*National Liberal Club—June 25, 1918.*

[At the National Liberal Club (Eng.) there was a distinguished gathering of eminent Indians, many M. Ps, and Lords, under the presidency of the Marquis of Lincolnshire on the unveiling of a marble bust of Lord Morley presented to him by his friends and admirers, mainly Indian. Lady Baig (Abbas Ali) unveiled the bust, and Sir M. Bhawanagre presented it with a fitting speech. Lord Morley thanked them in reply and in the course of his speech made a reference to the Indian Reforms then uppermost in everyone's mind.]

The motto of Lord Minto and himself was "Rally the moderates" and he hoped that that would continue to be the aim. Whatever changes might be necessary, no security could be certain unless they had the moderates with them. Lord Minto once wrote to him, "I do believe we can accumulate great influence if we only give to the people of India evidence of sympathy." Then the present Sovereign of this realm, who had just returned from India, made a speech at the Guildhall in which he said that sympathy was the keyword to success in holding the loyalty of and doing service for the Indians. Sympathy was no substitute for wise government; but, on the other hand, no government was wise which tried to do without it, and that certainly was a maxim that was followed during the time that Lord Minto was responsible for the government of India.

Lord Cromer had said a wise thing when he declared that it was much better to give an Indian an appointment over an Englishman, even though he was the less competent of the two. That was paradoxical, but it meant that you gained more in popular content than you lost in not having the best administrator. One did not need to have the genius of Aristotle to perceive that a Viceroy and a Secretary of State would be all the more likely to understand the feelings, the opinions, the drift of India if they had an Indian on the Advisory Executive Council. Looking back upon that controversy, he would say that the most essential of all reforms was the adoption of the principle that no Indian was unfitted as such to fulfil the highest duties of citizenship and the highest responsibilities of government. He recalled in this connexion the

solemn and sacred promise given by Queen Victoria that membership of any race within the Empire should not disqualify anybody for the holding of office

The admission of an Indian to the Secretary of State's Council was the most stiffly opposed of all the Morley-Minto reforms, but it was now the one reform to which there was no opposition at all. It had been, on the contrary, extended and amplified. In this respect they had been thoroughly justified by experience.

The Reforms.

Neither Lord Minto nor himself ever said that their reforms would put a stop to agitation, or that they would satisfy the political hunger of India. He was content, and he was sure Lord Minto would have been content, when he read that the feeling of the people of India was never so good as in 1914. Lord Hardinge also spoke of the vast political improvement that had taken place, and said it was entirely due to Lord Minto and himself.

Correspondents had asked him what he thought of the proposed reforms. He would be precipitate if he gave a bold "Aye" or "No", or praise or dispraise, though it would not matter if he did. He had given a careful study to the report. "Copiousness," he remarked "makes every thing more respectable to me; it is a literary habit", but he was not going to pronounce on the clauses, or what might happen on the Committee stage. He felt that he could not be mistaken in tracing the lineaments of the parental physiognomy of 1909 in the progeny of 1918. He had been reproached for stating that he would not take part in a reform of India that might lead to an Indian Parliament. He would like to know what was meant by a Parliament. He did not know whether the outcome of the proposals now before the country would amount to a Parliament, and what sort of a Parliament it would be. Therefore, that might well be postponed. But no one could suppose for a moment that all the convulsion and passion sweeping over the world was going to pass India by. Nothing could be more irrational than to imagine the people of India as saying that they were out of all this and wanted nothing. There were great and powerful bodies of Indians of whom that was not in the least degree true. As to the immediate proposals, he had the privilege and advantage of being the col-

league of the Secretary of State for India, and while he felt that Mr. Montagu's orders were more likely to be, on the whole recommended than any other that could be imagined, he deprecated at this early stage in the discussion of the matter the kind of truculence of tone already adopted by some organs of opinion who treated this serious and important movement in connexion with India as if it were a mere passing difference in our own public and political life. We needed all the freedom from party passion that we could get to bring us safely through the difficult position in which we were. He had the highest admiration for the zealous counsels and active experience and influence which Mr. Montagu had brought to bear on the problems of Indian government from the day that he entered the India Office, and no doubt he had continually cast the lead and taken his soundings before making his recommendations. Was it surprising that India should show herself alive and awake to all the events that were now passing in the world ?

Lord Macaulay once said :—"Do you think we can give the Indians knowledge without awakening their ambition ? Do you think we can awaken their ambition without giving them some legitimate vent for it ?" And then he said :—"It may be the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown our system"—that was to say, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, the Indians might in some future age demand European institutions. That was a process, said he, which would have to be carefully watched. It would have to be faced, and those would be just and wise statesmen who did not shrink from letting the Imperial public realise all that might lie before them. It could not be met by dogmatic negatives ; there could have to be considerate treatment, whether in the form of Mr. Montagu's proposals or in any other form.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH ON THE REFORMS.

[The following appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* (Lond.) of Aug. last. As a sample of the Anti-Indian Reform campaign led by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association the article quoted below will be read with interest in India]

If it were not for our pre-occupation with the War, especially at so critical a time in its present course, we should be probably paying more attention to some of those questions about

Indian reform which were raised by Lord Sydenham in the House of Lords a week ago. We confess to a certain uneasiness on the subject, because points of great importance, as it seems to us, are being taken as settled, and considerations which are very germane to the issue are being put aside and neglected. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was placed before the House, it was settled that certain Committees should be appointed in order to examine the details of the scheme, and the natural inference was that their report would be submitted to the House before any further steps were taken. We have now before us the views taken by the non-official members of the Legislative Council and we will venture to say that such remarkable proposals are by no means of a kind that can be accepted without a great deal of anxious consideration. So far we can gather from the telegrams received from Simla, the Committee of non-official members of the Legislative Council, although approving in principle the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, allow themselves to make recommendations which are not so much of the nature of reforms as in their essence revolutionary. Naturally, perhaps, they ask for the introduction of responsible government into the Government of India, with a division of reserved and transferred subjects, the latter to be under the control of a Minister or Ministers with consequential budgetary powers. They then proceed to demand fiscal autonomy on the Dominions model, and it is suggested that the Viceroy's powers should be limited to military and political matters, and also to those affecting the defence of India. We have mentioned only the relatively moderate proposals. There are others which go much farther. The Indian Executive Government is to be half-European and half-Indian; the institution of a Privy Council—a very legitimate object of criticism—is condemned: 50 per cent. of the Indian Civil Service, it is suggested, should be recruited in India, while 25 per cent. of the commissioned officers of the Indian Army must also be Indians. These are the salient proposals; but we may remark that those which were urged by dissentient members of the Committee, were, of course framed after the model of the resolutions passed by the Indian Congress at Bombay. If we were to say that what the Committee demands, or at all events, what some members of the Committee demand, is a complete up-to-date democracy of the Russian type, it would hardly be exaggerating the general tendency of this Report.

Our objection, however, to this or any other scheme put forward does not depend so much on individual propositions as on the kind of assumption which underlies the whole procedure. In our opinion it is absolutely wrong that the India office should take for granted certain changes in India without any adequate discussion of the principles involved. The whole Indian scheme, with its manifest difficulties, and in some cases its absurdities, has never received any adequate discussion in Parliament, and the appointment of these Committees ought to have been surrounded with greater safeguards; at all events they ought not to have been appointed in advance of any general agreement on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. So far as this country is concerned, we see no reason to presuppose that proposals of an exceedingly serious and far-reaching character must, as a matter of course, and without any hesitation, be approved. To some extent we are being kept in the dark on vital points on which it is absolutely necessary we should have the opportunity for clear and unbiassed opinion. Take the case of the Report of the Rowlatt Committee. Lord Sydenham urged in the House of Lords that though this was a State paper of the greatest significance, we have not yet had the findings of the Committee in any complete form laid before us. "It was essential" Lord Sydenham said, "that Parliament and the public should not be left dependent on extracts from the Indian papers for information in this matter." He made the very natural suggestion that there had been some reluctance in publishing these revelations, for the revelations themselves are extremely serious and important. Within recent years, as most of those who have been in India know, there has been in existence a far reaching revolutionary movement which, to make its menace the more sinister, is under secret control. Of course, the Germans at the outbreak of the War did all they could to take a part in revolutionary activity. There was definite attempt made to import arms into India, and a very grave and threatening plot in the Punjab was discovered happily just in time. As a matter of fact, the story told by the Rowlatt Committee is that of a widely spread criminal conspiracy with ramifications existing all over the world, and the names of several prominent Indian politicians are mentioned whose speeches and writings were an open incentive to murder and assassination. The defence made for the non-publication of this Report is not of a very convincing character. Lord Islington said that "owing to a misunderstanding" copies of the Report had only been despatched as late as Oct. 9, and that to avoid any further delay the Secretary of State had given instructions that the Report

should be reprinted in this country and laid before Parliament in the course of a fortnight or three weeks. We agree with the Marquis of Crewe that what Lord Islington called a misunderstanding amounts to a really grave blunder. Here is information, equally valuable and serious which, from whatever cause, is kept back, although long ago it ought to have been made available for due consideration by the House. Nor must we forget that, in view of the drastic changes recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, every opportunity ought to be given for a full discussion, not only of the reasons which make this or a similar reform advisable or necessary, but also of the undoubted perils involved in a revolutionary movement, the existence of which everyone acknowledges, but which it seems convenient for certain officials to ignore.

LORD ISLINGTON ON INDIAN REFORMS.

(*Pall Mall Gazette*)

[*The Rt. Hon. Lord Islington, G. C. M. G., D.S.O. P.C. was the Under-Secretary of State for India last year.*]

Those who are indulging in criticism of the proposed constitutional changes for India think too much of conditions as they ought to be and too little of conditions as they are. The ideal must, of course, be kept in sight. But the difficulties that make it impossible to realise the ideal all at once must equally be kept in view. India has never had responsible Government, as we understand it. Indians have not yet become a unified people, though during the past generation they have made considerable progress in that direction. These circumstances make it necessary to go forward with great caution. It is far better to move forward slowly than to take a false step that might prejudice India's future.

I maintain that the only fair way to measure the institutions that are projected is to compare them with those that exist at present in India. Can any one who has made such a comparison say that the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms does not propose a definite break with the past? Can anyone who has made such a comparison deny that Indians are, for the first time, to have a measure of control over the official bureaucracy?

The exact extent to which such control can be handed over is, after all, a matter of detail. The main point is that the principle on which Indian governance is based is to be revolutionised. Anyone

who has grasped that basic fact is sure to agree that we are about to initiate silent but fundamental changes in the methods of Indian administration.

Time has moved forward. The schools, the colleges, and Universities created by us in India have borne abundant fruit. The railways, telegraphs, telephone, posts, and other means of communication introduced by us have helped to wipe out distance and to enable Indians to exchange views freely with one another. Foreign travel and education at our Universities and Inns of Court, and in other countries have enabled thousands of young Indians to obtain a nearer view of our institutions. We should be blind indeed if we did not recognise the potency of the impulses that we have set in motion, or if, recognising it, we refused to give them scope.

•The Proposed Arrangement.

Officials, it must be remembered, will not remain masters of all the departments, as they are at present. On the contrary, they will occupy, in several departments, the position that permanent officials occupy in this country, the real head of the departments being the political chief responsible to Indian electorates.

This dual control is a mere transitory arrangement designed to help India to get over the stile. The greater the political aptitude Indians show, the quicker this system will disappear. Therefore, the pace of progress will, in a large measure, be set by Indians themselves.

We ought to take every possible care to ensure that the Indian Legislatures are truly representative of the Indian people, and are not merely composed of classes of superior intellectual power, irrespective of vital interests in the country. I am extremely doubtful that our Western system of territorial electorates will, at present, realise this essential object in India. It is however, unwise to pass final judgment upon the subject, until the labours of the Committees shortly to be appointed to enquire into the franchise and other allied questions, have been completed. But I will add this one observation. The extent, both in regard to number and importance, to which subjects are to be transferred to Ministerial control in provincial Legislatures should largely be determined by the extent to which an electoral system can be adopted, which will ensure a true representation of the people and interests in the Legislative Council of each province.

Lines of Advance.

Many of the critics of the proposed constitutional reforms for India seem to forget that we are contemplating, not merely political changes, but also administrative changes in India. Not only is the element of Responsible Government to be introduced into the major provinces of India, but these provinces are to be given increased financial and administrative power.

I for one—and in this connection I am expressing only my own personal views—am convinced that without thorough-going administrative reform the Indian problem will remain unsolved. As I pointed out last year in the course of the Mesopotamian debate in the House of Lords, and later in the course of an address that I delivered at Oxford, the present centralised system accumulates into its own hands the daily expanding activities and ambitions of that vast continent, 4,098,074 square miles in area, and with a population of over 244,000,000 persons, and as this goes on, the Governor General finds himself becoming more and more the mouthpiece of groups of highly centralised departments out of touch with provincial sentiment. We must reverse this system and give at least the major provinces freedom to manage their affairs without being perpetually subjected to control by the central authority which often causes undue delay.

Administrative Freedom.

In my view the provinces must be given freedom in administrative as well as in financial matters, because you cannot have one without the other. It must, however, be not a mere paper freedom, but an actual, real freedom. It must be remembered, of course, that so long as a part of the provincial administration continues to be autocratically controlled, and therefore not responsible to Indian electorates, it is imperative to exercise a measure of check from above. Such control legitimately belongs to Parliament, and should be exercised through its agent, the Secretary of state for India.

During the six decades that have elapsed since the Act of 1858 was passed, the Secretary of State, who by the Act was furnished with complete power over Indian affairs, has in a large measure, delegated his authority to the Central Government in India. The provincial Governments are not sufficiently masters in their own house and are obliged to look to the Government of India for sanction before they can carry out work of purely local concern, often of a character that requires promptitude in action.

I am of opinion myself that in many matters of provincial administration a great deal more elasticity in control over provincial Governments should be established, and I believe this can be effected with greater success by the Secretary of State in Council re-assuming the powers granted him by the Act of 1858, and deciding afresh what matters can properly be left to the discretion of provincial Governments, those that can with greater convenience and efficiency be delegated by him to the Government of India, and those which he will reserve in his own hands. I believe that it is by pursuing a course in this direction that provincial governments can best be given that amount of freedom of action which it is desirable in the interests of their provinces that they should enjoy. In the above suggestion I am assuming that a select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, containing a strong element with experience of Indian affairs, is appointed on lines recommended in Section 295 of the Report and that certain changes are made in the India Office and in the constitution of the India Council.

Trade and Industry.

I believe, for instance, that the Secretary of State in Council would prove a more effective confirming authority than the Government of India in regard to matters pertaining to the development of trade and industry in India, which should become one of the most prominent features in Indian progress of the immediate future. Living and moving, as he does, in the financial centre of the world, he can easily place himself in communication with those concerned in finance and trade who will be in a position to afford him expert advice. Thus India would have everything to gain and nothing to lose through the abolition of the indirect method.

If the provinces are given a substantial increase of freedom of action, as I sincerely trust will be the case, the Provincial Governor of the future will have placed upon his shoulders many new and delicate duties. It is said by some that under the Reform Scheme the position of a Governor will become intolerable, and it will be difficult to secure any one to undertake the work. I cannot bring myself to believe that this will be the case. Men will have to be chosen of considerable experience, possessing tact and high quality in public affairs. The history of the British Empire presents a glowing record of public men who have left these shores and have filled with distinction and credit positions where they have had to discharge tasks no less onerous or difficult than those that will confront a Governor of an Indian province in the future. I have

little fear myself that, when the time comes, men will be found, as hitherto, to meet the occasion.

THE SPECTATOR ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[The following two letters were addressed to the Spectator, one by Mr. Lionel Curtis, and the other by Mr. C. Roberts M P., strongly objecting to the low and denunciatory language used by that paper in its comments on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We refrain from quoting the comments as they are full of the grossest abuse of Indians and the foulest attacks on all who sympathise with India. That paper, it requires only to be said, has outdone the the Indio-British association in its attack on Indian Reforms, and its knowledge of Indians and Indian affairs appears to be only equalled by the level of its own language.]

Letter of Lionel Curtis

Sir,

The following statement appears in your article on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report: "Now the gossips tell us that the Indian Report was thought and written by Curtis, camouflaged by Montagu, and signed by Chelmsford." When gossip is idle it ought to be stopped, and I must therefore say that I left India in February before the Report was written. I had said everything I had to say in my *Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government*, published in the previous December. This, like many other papers printed at the time, was before the Viceroy and Secretary of State. Both documents are in front of you, and you can judge for yourself how much or how little my arguments influenced their recommendation. But really the point is not worth the while either of yourself or of your readers at a time like this. What matters is simply how far those recommendations are sound or otherwise.

As, however, I am forced to take up my pen to contradict the gossips, I cannot lay it down without recording my protest against certain reference in this article to "*the political section of the Brahmanical cast in India.*" I submit to your better judgment, Sir, that "grave, demure, insidious, spring-nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed, philosophers of Hindostan" is a string of abuse not to be excused by the fact that it is given as a quotation from Burke. You cannot have realised the insults you are inflicting, nor yet the feelings to which they will give rise, when in the same paragraph you compare

Brahmins to iackals, and the whole psople of India to "a pack of animals outside in the dark waiting to be fed " We have enemies who are labouring constantly to sow hatred between Indians and ourselves. The writer of this article can know but little of modern India, or in using such language he would have hesitated to place a weapon so dangerous in their hands. A few days after the outgoing mails reach Bombav these words will be spreading broadcast throughout the vernacular Press, producing a flame of resentment in the minds of a deeply sensitive people. They will be printed and reprinted months hence, as coming from a paper hitherto recognised as the soberest organ of English opinion, and will cause the gravest embarrassment to those who represent us in India.

The class you are attacking has included men like the late Mr. Gokhale, Sir Sunder Lal, and hosts of others whom Englishmen have valued not only as friends but as loyal and enlightened supporters of the British rule. What excuse can be made for denouncing the whole class to which such men belong without exception or qualification? Your article will do definite mischief, not merely to your own cause, but to the whole position of England in India. I have never yet seen a situation which was helped by wounding people's feelings, still less those of a whole class and a whole people. As Lord Morley once said, "India is a country where bad manners are a crime," and in handling this grave crisis in Indian affairs, writers will do well to realise that all classes there are entitled to the same courtesy as those at home. I cannot picture you applying the language you have used of the Political Brahmanas and the people of India to the Frich Bishops or the people of Ireland. What public end do you think is served by such words?

I hold no brief for the Brahmana caste. But every thinking man who knows India and the Indian Press must hold a brief for the cause of temperance in public discussion. Our first duty in helping India towards responsible Government is to teach that habit. Precept is useless. Our only means are forbearance and example, and for the *Spectator*, of all papers, to open this discussion in a vein like this is nothing short of a public calamity. Every Englishman who has Indian friends will read your article with a feeling of shame. The best we can do now is to treat public discourtesy with the vigorous rebuke it deserves, and as my name is brought into the article, I must register my protest forthwith. But nothing can now mend the mischief it will do ...I am, Sir, &c.,

L. CURTIS.

Letter of Charles Roberts, M. P.

Sir,

Your vehement denunciation of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for Indian reform impels me to ask space for some reply.

Clearly your attack is levelled not merely against these proposals but also against the Cabinet's declaration of August last. That declaration, anyhow, was not in favour "of two generations at the very least" of the principles of Wellesley and Cornwallis. It did not merely contemplate self-governing institutions "a very long way off." The goal of Indian policy was stated to be "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government." Doubtless progress was to be by stages, but "the Cabinet had decided that substantial steps were to be taken in this direction as soon as possible." That utterance has been quoted and requoted all over India. It came from a Coalition Government representing all parties, and not a ripple of dissent from it has been seen in Parliament during the last eleven months. It is not only a question of the personal recommendation of Mr. Montagu, though no Secretary of State has ever before had such opportunities of forming a judgment. The policy has been countersigned by the Viceroy, supported whole heartedly by the colleagues who accompanied Mr. Montagu to India, and accepted by the Viceroy's Council and by the Council of India. I do not argue that you are personally bound in any way by the Cabinet's declaration, but it has profoundly affected the situation. The doctrine of paternal Government by the Trustee is definitely abandoned. The time has come to take the quondam minor into partnership within a sphere limited at first but admitting of expansion. I would submit that the first step in your alternative policy for India can only be the dismissal from office of the Cabinet as a whole.

You think that the offer of self-government to India is prompted by "timidity" and a "mixed condition of pity and terror." I am surprised at the impression which the Report seems to have made on you in this respect. I can but honestly state the effect on my own mind of visits to Delhi and Lucknow. They left me with a vivid impression of the immensely increased strength of modern Governments for the maintenance of law and order, and for the control of vast tracts of territory. Starting from that consciousness of increased strength, we can, in my view, with far less risk than there might have been in the past, proceed to a devolution of self

governing powers, in the value of which we honestly believe. You warn us against the chance of a swift descent into anarchy. That may happen if a Government is as criminally weak as that of the Tsar. But where does the Montagu Report fail to provide for the due discharge of Imperial responsibilities or for the maintenance of law and order?

On one page you suggest that the Report proposes to "sacrifice the dumb millions of India to a single caste, literally to a minority of a tiny minority." On the next page, in sketching the constitution of your experimental Indian Republic, you feel that "as wide a suffrage as possible" might prove a safeguard against "the dominance of a single caste or clique." The provincial Legislative Councils under the Montagu Chelmsford scheme are to be based on as wide and direct a franchise as possible. They have the safeguards of "reserved" services and the Governor's veto. Why is it certain that they must sacrifice the dumb, but at least partially enfranchised, millions to a tiny fractional minority?

Your alternative experimental Indian Republic ("subject to the guidance of a political officer", as in a Native State) would, I think, prove either a sham or a probable failure. The Republic under a new Lord Cromer would probably have very little of the genuine Republic about it. If the political officer was indeed nothing but a friendly onlooker, then I would submit that the breakdowns in self-governing institutions, whether in old Revolutionary France or in Bolshevik Russia, come from plunging untrained into self-government without providing time for the gradual growth of the unwritten customs, conventions, and understandings on which successful free institutions rest. That is the justification for the policy of progressive stages on which the Cabinet's declaration and the Report are based. If unexpectedly the Republic, in spite of an abrupt start without preliminary training, succeeded, how on your principles could you refuse all India the chance of setting up similar institutions without first learning the practical business of self-government? As far as foresight can go, that would indeed involve a deliberate plunge into Bolshevism.

I cannot refrain from a final remark that scathing invective and contemptuous denunciation break no bones in England, though it seems hardly the best atmosphere in which a great problem should be discussed. But your words will be read in India. You are expecting Indians to accept a doctrine hard enough for them. India can produce apparently men like, let us say, the late Mr. Gokhale,

who, as far as one could judge, was as fitted to work free institutions as the average British Cabinet Minister. Indians have the success of Japan before their eyes. But after the Cabinet's declaration you expect them to write themselves down as fit only for another fifty years of the principles of Cornwallis and Wellesley, and as unable to obtain "for at the very least two generations" even some approach to the institutions which exist every where throughout Europe and America and which all Eastern countries are now trying to obtain. And passion in discussion breeds passion in return. Is it in the interests of the Empire to provoke an answering storm of vehement repudiation of a position which is insulting to themselves? Forgive me for saying that those who have admired the *Spectator's* gravity and calm in the past are puzzled to account for a strange lapse from your true and dispassionate self.—I am, Sir, &c.,

Charles Roberts.

THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[H. H. The Aga Khan's book "*India in Transition*" which came out early last year 1917 sets forth His Highness' views on Indian Reforms. It enjoyed for some time an immense popularity and perhaps simplified Mr. Montagu's task by preparing the minds of English men for the acceptance of some Reforms which were growingly becoming inevitable and imperative. It is on this work that the following comment of the Gazette is based.]

The importance of the Aga Khan's book is not merely or chiefly in the scheme of reform which it advocates, though we believe that to be generally on sound lines, but still more in the account that it gives of the situation in India. It has hitherto been one of the principal arguments of the opponents of reform in India that if we yielded to the "agitators" we should be conciliating a small and unrepresentative class at the cost of alienating the much more powerful landowners, aristocracy, and ruling Princes who were the main support of British rule in India. We should be putting in power a handful of lawyers, journalists, and Anglicised Babus, who have no hold over the masses of the peasants, and would not be tolerated for a moment by the real Indian aristocracy if our protection were removed. There has for many years past been serious reason for questioning this hypothesis, and, if we may believe the Aga Khan, it has lost all validity in these times. The

picture that he paints for us is that all landowners, gentry, and ruling Princes, as well as politicians and Congressmen, are becoming united in a demand for some kind of responsible government. A right estimate of this movement, which is one of the principal features of Indian life since the war began, is so important that we will quote at some length what the Aga Khan has to say about it.

Increasingly, of late years, some of the best-known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a Constitutional and Parliamentary basis for their administrations. There can be no doubt that a liberal policy in British India will soon be followed in many of the States by widening applications of the principle of co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. It is most gratifying to Indian patriots to note the sympathy which the Princes and Nobles have shown with the aspirations of the people of British India towards selfgovernment. After all, these rulers, unlike the small dynasties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Italy, are children of the soil, and have a natural sympathy and fellow feeling with their countrymen.

There could be no better or more convincing presentation of these aspirations of India, in brief compass, than that given by the Maharaja of Bikanir, in his historic pronouncement at the luncheon of the Empire Parliamentary Association to the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, at the House of Commons, on April 24th 1917. Those of us who personally know the ruling princes of to-day—so active, hard-working, patriotic, and devoted to the welfare of their people usually; so free from all "side," and, in a word, so different from the legendary Maharaja of the imaginative writers of the past—have no reason to doubt that this eloquent plea voiced not only the views of the educated people of India but also those of the average Ruling chiefs. In fact His Highness of Bikanir spoke on similar lines to his brother Princes when they entertained him to a dinner in Bombay on the eve of his departure for the Imperial War Conference. It may also be noted that the Maharaja of Alwar's speech was full of democratic enthusiasm which have made a considerable impression in India within the last two or three years.

We can hardly emphasise too strongly the importance of this passage. The Aga Khan does not exaggerate when he describes the Maharaja of Bikanir's speeches as historic. They were a warning to the official world that the old India could no longer be relied upon to back the opposition to the new; and before many months had elapsed it became evident that the Maharaja

had spoken not for himself alone but for a large number of the ruling Princes and leading men both in the Protected States and in India proper. From this moment it became clear that the Indian movement was on a much broader base than its opponents had supposed, and that it had in it the genuine elements of a rational demand.

For the next step forward the Aga Khan's watchword is decentralisation. He would have India regrouped into large Presidencies, to the Governorships of which he would make the Indian Princes eligible, give them elective assemblies with a variety of franchise qualification but follow the German rather than the British model by making the Governor and the executive independent of the Assembly, except that the latter might remove an unsuitable head of a Department by a three-fourths majority. For each Province he would have a Senate or Second Chamber, partly nominated and partly appointed by important bodies or interests. He would have the functions of the Imperial and Provincial Governments carefully delimited, leaving to the Central Government everything that could be called all-Indian. In fact, his constitution would be a Federal one. The Viceroy would have his Cabinet, and beside a Senate nominated by the Provinces and the Protected States, again on the model of the German Bundesrath.

The Aga Khan would give large scope to Indians in legislation, but take large guarantees against rash radicalism. He would make the executives independent of the elective assemblies and leave the Viceroy and his Cabinet in firm control of army and navy, foreign policy, fiscal affairs, and everything that concerned all-India, with the nominated Senate as his legislative organ. He would like the Viceroy to be a member of the Royal Family, and he would keep him bound to and even extend the reference of policy to Whitehall, though there would necessarily be some modifications in the method.

There are two aspects of the Indian question which need constantly to be borne in mind in these times. One is the internal and domestic problem of India; the other is the immense importance of India in Imperial and foreign policy. Upon the first of these aspects the Aga Khan has one very subtle and interesting remark to make. He quotes the dictum of the late Lord Cromer that a Government like that of Britain in India, i.e. a Government without popular sanction "could not maintain itself

except by light taxation," and he points out that this though true sets a limit to development. "Bureaucratic Government, even when well intentioned and paternal, is conscious of some lack of moral right to call for those sacrifices from the people that will raise their conditions in the cultural and sociological field *pari passu* with or in advance of the economic.' Elementary education, for example, is a crying need of India but the Government as at present constituted dare not face the taxation that would be necessary to make it general or universal. And so with a dozen other departments in which a liberal expenditure would be for the advantage of the country. The bureaucratic Government may pride itself on the lightness of its taxation and yet by that very fact convict itself as necessarily and inevitably unprogressive.

On the other aspect of the question, the foreign and Imperial, the Aga Khan writes with knowledge and good sense. The chapter entitled "Germany's Asiatic Ambitions" shows him to be thoroughly acquainted with the motives of European policy and though as a Mohammedan he has natural regrets at the course of events which estranged us from the Turks, he sees our point of view and concedes that in all the circumstances we were obliged to act as we did. But he insists that at the end of the war the right and perhaps the only counter to German Asiatic designs will be a loyal and contented India visibly typifying the free principles of the British Empire against German absolutism. The importance of India in Central Asiatic policy is too often forgotten and the Aga Khan does well to remind us of it. We believe with him that a loyal and contented India is the key to the position, and that if we rise to the occasion and are prepared with a generous and imaginative policy we shall reap our reward. The danger is not in going forward but in delays and evasions which may lead the Indian people to suppose that we attach no serious meaning to our promises and give the agitators ground or pretext for extreme course.

THE AGA KHAN'S SCHEME. •

[The following is a bare outline of the Scheme of Reforms proposed by H. H. The Aga Khan in his book "India in Transition"]

The scheme of Reforms proposed is based on a Federal idea embracing the Native Principalities as well as the Provinces.

As India is too vast and diversified for a successful unilateral form of free Government, the Provinces should be autonomous in which official executive responsibility would be vested in a Governor as directly representing the Sovereign. The most striking pro-

posul is that the Governorships should now be open to Indians, confining the choice for some years hence to Ruling Princes, Bikanir for instance, who would leave their own territory for five years for this greater field. Officially, as Governors, they should be free from their states for their tenure of office. Later on other Indians would qualify for the Governorships. The Aga Khan recommends the adoption of the American principle of freedom of the executive from legislative control so far as tenure of office is concerned.

Provincial legislatures should be greatly enlarged; Bombay, for example, having 180 to 220 members in order to have a representative of every district, community and substantial interest. There should be a Senate or Upper House and the power of both Houses over the legislature and finance should be subject only to the veto of the Governor, and the Legislature might possess the right of removing by a three-fourths majority an unsuitable or incompetent Departmental head. Another striking proposal, but by no means new, is that the Viceroy should be a member of the Royal family of England, the son or brother of the King-Emperor, as this will secure a reality in the loyalty of the people through a personal allegiance to the Ruling family to which the oriental mind is specially susceptible. There will be a Prime Minister presiding over a Cabinet, choosing his colleagues under the Viceroy's guidance as he thought best.

After due establishment of a federal constitution, and once internal federation was complete, it would sooner or later attract Persia, Afghanistan and all principalities from Africa and similar countries into a freewill membership of a great South Asiatic federation of which Delhi would be the centre.

The need for building up a national army and a real Indian navy is emphasised after a survey of foreign relations as affected by Germany's Asiatic ambitions and the Pan-Turanian movement. The Aga Khan insists that a certain way of securing progressive civilisation, order, method and discipline to India lies in the creation of trusted local authorities natural to the soil and placing side by side with them, the best British and Indian officials available, to carry out measures from universal education to military service and political enfranchisement which have been instrumental in the evolution of all great nations.

There must necessarily be a final break with a Government deriving its authority wholly from outside and the commencement must be made from the lowest to the highest of the full co-operation of the people. These are means by which India will become a renewed, self-relying and sincerely loyal partner in a united Empire.

India in the Australian Senate.

[**Senator Reid** delivered the following speech in the Australian Senate in which a strong case was made out for granting Home Rule to India. The "**Yellow peril**" which haunts the White men of America and of the Far East was perhaps in the mind of some Senators who spoke of Japan and her designs in the Pacific.

As a safeguard Mr. Reid and others with him put forth the plea of knitting together the parts of the British Empire in still closer bonds by giving equal status to all, including India. In this connection his argument "Free India and she will give millions to fight and die for you", will be read with interest in India, for it is precisely this plea which was put forth by Sir Subramaniam, the President of the Home rule League, India, in his letter to President Wilson.]

Several speakers have referred in warning tones to the Eastern menace, and some honourable senators spoke of Japan in anything but respectful language. Even one honorable senator on this side of the chamber said that the bazaars of the East were filled with whispers about this large, desirable and unpopulated country of Australia, and he warned us that if something were not done to increase our population the consequence might be serious. I have never been one of those who feared the Asiatic bogey. Australia has every reason to be proud of and gratified with the honourable way in which Japan has during this War kept her compact with the Mother Country. If Japan had broken her treaty with Great Britain as the Germans broke the treaty regarding the neutrality of Belgium, Australia would have been at her mercy. I think we ought to recognise Japan's strict observance of her treaty obligations. I take the view that the safety of Australia lies in its being an integral part of the Empire.

Empire's Mission to the people of the East.

I regard the Empire as having a mission, not only to the people of Australia, but also to the people of the East, and from my point of view by becoming a live part in the Empire and doing our best in this War, we shall be assuring our own safety and future against Japan or any other menace that may arise in the East. If Britain in her wisdom will recognise the grievances of India, there will be no danger to Australia in future, because India is a part of the Empire that cannot do without. Despite all the mistakes

that have been made, British rule has been for India's benefit. There are 317,000,000 Indian subjects of the British Empire and at the present time their leaders are asking in very earnest tones for Self-Government.

Self-Government to India.

As the Empire is desirous of establishing Self-Government in all small countries I trust that those who meet at the Imperial Conference table will see that India receives her share of self-Government and the right to work out her own salvation as part of the Empire. If that privilege is granted to her and she enters into the councils of the Empire, there will be no menace to Australia from the East because India is strong enough to dominate Asia. Of course, some will say that Australia does not wish to be holden to be a coloured race for its independence but India is as much an integral part of the Empire as is Australia, and if the Empire is to grow we must, as Britishers, have regard to the future solidarity of the Empire, because it stands for peace, progress, liberty, and Self-Government among its own people in a way that no other nation or race has done. We stand before the world as an example of those who have been able to settle Colonies and create Self-Governments. The Commonwealth is one of the examples to the world. In this chamber, we have heard a great deal about the liberty of Australians, and so forth. Where did we get it? We have inherited it from those who built the Old Country. It is not particularly a part of the soil of Australia; it is in the blood of the British race. It was brought here by those who came here. Our Constitution is the result of what Britain has built up in the past, and we can keep it only because we belong to the race and to the British Empire.

India will Supply Millions.

We are all anxious to see the War brought to an end. We do not know when it is going to end; but if the Secretary for India in the Home Government would see his way to granting India Self-Government, there would be no need for the Empire to fear Germany, or any Allies which it might get in Europe; because India could supply millions of men if they were required. No conscription would be necessary; the men would be supplied willingly so long as India was recognised as an integral part of the Empire. This is a thought that has been in my mind all through the War, though I have never mentioned it before in this chamber.

I am a strong conscriptionist. I hold that in a democratic country like this, where we all have an equal voice in the making of laws and equal liberties, all would be able and willing to fight for liberties to the last man and to the last shilling. But that policy is not being carried out, though the Empire is in very straitened circumstances owing to the submarine menace and the lack of man power. As Britain is producing all the munitions for the Empire, she may require outside help. Notwithstanding the part that America may play, I feel that the British Empire with all its might and strength is the one Power that will work for the future settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace. But it can only be done by welding all parts of the Empire. Let India be brought in as an equal with the rest of us. From the point of view of winning the war in which all our liberties are at stake, if India could come to the rescue, it could supply millions of men, some of them the best soldiers we could ever have. It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of the inhabitants of India belong to the Aryan race, as we do. Thousands of them have skins just as white as ours. We are merely a branch of the old Aryan family that went to Europe thousands of years ago.

House of Lords will have to give Home Rule to India.

Senator Manghan.—Does the honorable senator think that the British House of Lords will give Home Rule to India?

Senator Reid.—They will have to give it; and if it came along now the people of India would rally to the Empire and its Allies, and help to smash Germany for all time. If there is any way of getting Mr. Hughes to the Imperial Council, I trust that he will recognise that India is an indispensable part of the Empire. This Senate has passed resolutions that other countries should have Self-Government and Home Rule. It would probably be wise for us to resolve that India as a part of the Empire should be given self-government to work out her own salvation. When the war is over, the British Empire will have a strong part to play in maintaining peace, in bringing about liberty and progress and in establishing Governments where they should be established, allowing each race to work out its own salvation. The British Empire is the only Power that can do this, and for that reason, we should do our best to weld it together for the sake of the future peace of the world.

THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" ON THE
HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

The **Home Rule** movement in India is a branch from the main stream of emancipatory feeling that is running throughout the old world. In little over a year it has become more powerful than any other movement that has been seen in India. It has made a clean sweep of educated India. It is hard to find an Indian youth of the educated classes that is not on fire with the hope it inspires. Already it has its branches in every province in India, and Home Rule reading-rooms and bookshops in all the larger towns. All the leading cities have several daily papers full of its propaganda; Madras has three or four, and new papers seem to rise every day. It has captured the Congress at a single blow, brushed aside the Moderates, and elected its leader, Mrs. Besant, president. It has captured newspapers owned by Moderates and dismissed directors unwilling to allow its propaganda in their columns.

The Moderates, men who have been the leaders of Indian reform for a generation, are as much at a loss in the face of this new movement as the Government. It is not only much stronger than any former movement. It is different in character. Reform has hitherto been an intellectual movement in India. Home Rule is for the most part emotional. The older movement rested on the strength of its case. The Home Rule movement rests on the strength of its following. The older movement was led by men like Gokhale, Mehta, Nairoji. The new is led by Tilak and Mrs. Besant. Congress was a purely deliberative body; the Home Rule league is purely propagandist. Its methods are Western. In each town a room or a shop is hired and a supply of Home Rule literature in the vernacular is kept. In the Chandni Chowk at Delhi, where all the races of India—Jats, Punjabis, Sikhs, Pathans, Bengalis—jostle one another in the crowded bazar, it is startling to come on a sign "Home Rule Reading room and Bookshop." The sign is bold and the letters are hard and staring. The fact, too, is hard and staring. The local committee, mostly young men of the educated classes, meet every Sunday to arrange meetings in the neighbouring villages during the week, which they address in turn. Propaganda of this kind, familiar enough in England, has been unknown in India hitherto. The League has plenty of funds, it has many wealthy patrons and the young men give their time and labour to the cause without stint.

Anglo-Indians speak of educated Indians as a "microscopic minority," but their intellectual output is immense. Every day brings forth a new pamphlet. Several different series have already appeared—the Home Rule series, the New India series, the Servants of India series, and others. For the most part they are well and temperately written, and make very effective use of the various declarations of our statesmen in favour of self-government. The manifesto that was presented to Mr. Montagu by the Home Rule League quoted Mr. Lloyd George: "The leading principle is that the wishes of inhabitants must be the supreme consideration in the settlement; in other words, the formula adopted by the Allies with regard to the disputed territories in Europe is to be applied equally in the tropical countries." President Wilson's speeches and addresses are reprinted. Every speech made in England, every declaration of our aims, every volume of Hansard, every book of politics, is watched and searched by the army of Home Rule workers for propaganda. Nothing escapes them, and being full of enthusiasm, their industry knows no limits. For the first time in her history Indian's millions are beginning to get a political education.

Repression would do more.

At the same time there is no idea of breaking the British connection. One hears little or nothing in India of an "Indian Republic." Separation is out of the question. Indians regard the two countries as thrown together by Providence like man and wife, for better or for worse. An Indian reformer grows very angry if you suggest to him that too brisk a propaganda might end in more Home Rule than Indians would like. India does not brood over past wrongs as Ireland does. The splendour of British ideals in India as laid down in the Proclamation of 1858 appeals strongly to the imagination of young India. As to the future, the young Indian's optimism has a note of confidence that is startling. "We do not ask the British to grant us Home Rule," said one of the League officials to the writer. "We ask God to grant it; we ask Him to hear our prayer if it be His will." "For myself, I am by no means sure," he added, "that five years of repression would not do more for us than Mr. Montagu's substantial measure of reform."

It is claimed by the League and denied by its opponents that the movement is a genuine Nationalist movement of the nineteenth-century type. The point of the claim is that if it is a genuine Nationalist movement it is a big thing and must command respect.

But there are few points of resemblance between this movement of an intelligentsia agitating for a place within their ruler's domain and the Nationalist uprisings of last century in Europe. Their ideals are Nationalist, and they speak a common tongue—English—but there the resemblance ends. The Indian movement belongs to an era of Nationalism. It seeks liberty, but liberty within the group. It is a demand not for the overthrow of a conqueror but for admission to his household.

Sources of Inspiration.

To understand what is happening in India it is necessary to try to realise the atmosphere in which young India lives and the reverberations thereof caused our declarations about freedom in Europe. From one point of view years of experience in India are a hindrance to such an understanding. It is not India that is our problem at the moment, but the heart and mind of young Indians whom we have educated. The youngmen see India freshly as a new-comer sees it, and to a new-comer the fact that stands out in India, like Kinchenjunga at dawn, as definite as the Taj in the moonlight, is that in his own country the Indian is a subject and inferior people. Nothing that one has read about India prepares one for the solidity of that fact. To the European in India this startling discovery has become commonplace, one of the ideas associated with India, like the Indian sun. Even to Indians of the older generation it has become commonplace, too, and that has cost the Moderate his leadership. But the young men feel it most acutely ever new.

In India daily intercourse between the races is not governed by the policy of the Government of India Act of 1833, or the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. There is no attempt in everyday life to give practical expression to the declaration of equality among the subjects of his Majesty. Wherever Europeans and Indians meet, whether in the street, or the train, or the steamboat, the relation between them is the simple one of ruler and ruled. Intercourse between the races is carried on always with this in mind. The prestige of the ruling race must be maintained. It is astonishing with what skill and address this immense structure is maintained, particularly by young men of good family. One is almost moved to regret the various democratic upheavals that have deprived these young Olympians of the opportunity to exercise their great talents at home. Even Indian Nationalists like and admire them. But Europeans in India are not all men of the highest breeding, and

the doctrine of the prestige of the Raj in less exalted quarters is allowed a more natural expression and evokes a more natural response.

How long ere thou take station ? How long ere thralls live free ?

Such is the motto of the League printed on the cover of all its pamphlets. Political equality is merely a means to an end. The end is social equality, the abolition of all that would suggest that the Indian is not as good as the European. "How long ere the thralls live free?" is the true inspiration of the Home Rule League. And it is that call which has brought to the banner of Home Rule a most heterogeneous collection. Politicians that in the West would be divided into a hundred warring sects—landlords and single-taxers, zamindars and agrarian agitators, capitalists and strike organisers, Protectionists and Freetraders—all are gathered into the fold. A busy Collector, with no other place to put him, keeps a big zemindar waiting under a tree for a couple of hours among a crowd of his social inferiors. Straightway a Home Rule recruit is made. A Bombay mill-owner taking a holiday in a remote province, meets an official on horseback. To quote the millowner, "He looked at me keenly as I passed. Then he stopped his horse. 'Stop' he said, and I stopped. 'Haven't you the common courtesy to salute' he said. 'Why should I salute?' I asked. 'Do you not know who I am?' he said. 'I do not,' I replied. 'I am the Commissioner of the District,' he replied. 'No doubt,' I said, 'but if you were the Lieutenant Governor I am not bound to salute you. The viceroy himself would not expect it.' 'Who are you?' he said. 'Where do you come from?' 'Are you going to settle in this district?' 'That is not my intention,' I replied, with a smile. And he rode on frowning." On his way home the same millowner was violently abused at the railway station for opening the door of a lady's compartment to let his wife in. Result, another wealthy patron for the League.

It must not be supposed that all this is mere wanton rudeness on the part of Anglo-Indians. It is not. These things arise inevitably out of the position of the white community, like small islands in an ocean of humanity. But they provide the chief motive for the Nationalist movement and put steam into its propaganda. It is these facts which have made Indians sink their differences and unite to attain a common end. Politically the Home Rule movement is a

State within a State. It stretches from the extreme left of Tilak and Srinivasa Sastri to the rajas and landowners on the extreme right. All classes come into its net—landlords who think the permanent settlement a stroke of genius, land reformers who would make an end of it to-morrow. Hindu revivalists, Mahomedan revivalists, all are one in the desire to walk erect in their own streets like other people. "If the Japanese and the Chinese and the Peruvians and the Brazilians and the Nicaraguans can manage their own affairs, surely we can also."

India in Revolution.

[The following article from the pen of Mr. Bernard Houghton, appeared in the "Positivist Review" of.....1918. Mr. Houghton's clear uncloyed perception of Indian problems and his courageous and far-reaching advice to his countrymen as to the handling of the present day India entitles him to a position amongst the Statesmen who are now sitting in Paris. See also his article in India, p.....]

It is seldom that the great political questions which agitate foreign lands are presented to English readers with impartiality.

The correspondents of the Press agencies are usually influenced by the traditions and interests of the classes in which they move; nor are the agencies themselves by any means free from bias. The news supplied from India is a case in point. It presents events entirely as seen through European eyes. Every event, even of trivial importance, that can militate against the grant of the Indian demands, is promptly telegraphed, whilst the great and orderly meetings, the overwhelming evidence of national movement and awakening, are passed by in silence. Hence it is that the British public remains in profound ignorance of the real conditions in India. It does not even "see through a glass darkly"; what little it sees is so distorted as to be a mere travesty of the truth. The real facts of the case are that India is stirred to its depths by the ideal of self-government; the whole empire is electrified by the spirit of nationalism, with its hope of increased self-respect, of a real national life, of progress on the basis of an ancient civilisation, hallowed to Indians by untold centuries. It is a revolution, albeit an orderly revolution. With the exception of the revolution in China, we are witnessing what is, at least numerically, the greatest movement in the history of mankind. So swift is the progress of the new ideas in

India that measures which might suffice in one year will in the next be almost outside the range of practical politics. That is a fact of which it behoves our statesmen to take note. The phenomenon is not confined to India. The startling rapidity of the revolution in China, the diffusion like a lightning flash of Bolshevik idea in Siberia, are within the recollection of all. It is to this cause that is due the failure of the Morley-Minto constitution. Issued with the announcement that it must suffice India for a generation, it would save for the truce at first called by the war, have been barely adequate for a lustrum. True, it was administered by the Simla Government in so unsympathetic a spirit that the Councils have come to be regarded as "a cynical and calculated sham." But essentially it was a measure which could offer but the briefest of pauses in the struggle between the peoples of India and their Government. It failed in that it made no provision for the already strong desire for self-determination. With this object lesson in view, few who know the present-day conditions in India will think that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report goes too far. The peril is rather that the reforms, already belated, may not satisfy even temporarily existing aspirations. Unless they find acceptance now, it is unlikely that they will endure for long or that the gathering clouds of ill-will and discontent will be dissipated in the sunshine of a healthy national life.

The Reform Report.

In many respects the Report will have the assent of all progressive minds. The peremptory order to free local boards from official trammels, the at least partial abolition of communal representation, the elected Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, the increased Indian element in the Executive, and the reform of the Council of India here all mark a notable advance and evince true statesmanship. So too does the division in the Provincial Governments of subjects into reserved and transferred, a scheme which probably offers the best solution of the problem of how to pass from a bureaucratic to a truly popular form of government.

But the proposal that the Indian minister in charge of the transferred heads should be irremovable by the Assembly will never do. Suppose, as will quite probably happen, that the minister is at variance with the Assembly on some vital question of policy. The Assembly will not vote on his proposals, they will cease to have confidence in him, yet they will be unable to remove him from office.

The result will remove him from office. The result will be a deadlock inside the Assembly and violent agitation without. Unless, too, the minister represents the majority in the Assembly there is no real education in self-government. Surely the better way is to have the minister, as in our own Constitution, responsible to the Assembly, and his terms of office contingent on its confidence.

The chief defect in the Report concerns the Government of India. That Government is regarded by Indians, and with reason, as the entrenched citadel of officialdom, the incarnation of all that is bad in the bureaucratic regime. Yet the proposals leave it practically unreformed. Though the official block disappears from the Imperial Assembly, a Council of State is created which answers the same purpose. The Assembly becomes in fine a mere Advisory Council. Is that a step towards self-government or political responsibility? Is it an un-reformed central government likely to administer the new constitution with sympathy? Surely not. The mere addition of an Indian member to the Executive Council will not remedy matters. What is required is the division of the portfolios into reserved and transferred, the latter being in charge of a minister responsible to the Assembly, exactly as I have suggested in the Provinces. Such an amendment would go far towards liberalising the Simla bureaucracy; it should strike the imagination of India, whilst providing a real half-way house on the road to popular government. As matters stand the covert sneer in the Report—surely not from the pen of Mr. Montagu—"Hanoz Dihli dur ast," (Delhi is yet far off) has only too much justification. From the comparative seclusion of Simla and Delhi bureaucracy still smiles, serene and unabashed, on the gathering hostility of a united India. In a recent speech Mr. Montagu affirmed that the reason why the reforms were so limited was the division by religion, race, and caste of Indian society. As the harshness of this division tends to disappear further steps forward will be possible. But if so, why is Burma, which is free from such division not included in the scheme of reform? The Burmese, who are strongly patriotic, are just as well suited as the rest of India for a democratic polity, except in one particular—they have not conducted a menacing agitation to that end. The conclusion is obvious.

In proportion as a people becomes patriotic and has scope for national development in the form of free institutions, the acerbities due to class and religious cleavage tend to disappear. Man has only room for one great object of devotion. Make patriotism that

object—indeed patriotism in its truest and best sense is closely akin to Positivism—and the estrangements due to religion, race or class fade away. All classes tend to become not mutual foes but brothers, their hatreds and repugnances dissolved in the love of their common fatherland. We have seen the process at work in the United States, in Canada and in South Africa. Signs of it are already visible in India, witness the historic pact of Lucknow in December, 1916, between Hindus and Mohammadans. The freer the scope now given for national aspirations, the quicker will be the progress of this beneficent force.

The other great countries of Asia—Japan, China and Siberia—have each had their Revolution whereby they exchanged absolutism and stagnatism for democratic ideals. It is now the turn of India. We may hope that, unlike the happiness in those countries, the Revolution in India will move by peaceful stages. But peace or violence, bloodshed or orderly development, hang on whether the British Government and public realise the momentum of the forces that confront them, and, in sympathy with these forces, give adequate scope for their development.

**SIR RABINDRA NATH TAGORE IN THE
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.**

The Meeting of the East and the West.

For over a century and a half India has borne a foreign rule which is western. Whether she has been benefited by it, whether her arts and industries have made progress, her wealth increased and her opportunities of self-government multiplied, are a matter of controversy which is of very little material interest to the present generation of our countrymen, as it cannot change facts. Even from the point of view of historical curiosity it has a very imperfect value, for we are not allowed to remember all facts except in strict privacy. So I am not going to enter into any discussion which is sure to lead to an unsatisfactory conclusion or consequences.

But one thing about which there has been no attempt at concealment or difference of opinion is that the East and the West have remained far apart even after these years of relationship. When two different peoples have to deal with each other and yet without forming any true bond of union, it is sure to become a burden, whatever benefit may accrue from it. And when we say that we suffer from the dead weight of mutual alienation we do not mean any adverse criticism of the motive or the system of government, for the problem is vast and it affects all mankind. It inspires in our minds awe verging upon despair when we come to think that all the world has been bared open to a civilisation which has not the spiritual power in it to unite, but which can only exploit and destroy and domineer and can make even its benefits an imposition from outside while claiming its price in loyalty of heart.

Therefore it must be admitted that this civilisation, while it abounds in the riches of mind, lacks in a great measure the one truth which is of the highest importance to all humanity; the truth which man even in the dimmest dawn of his history felt, however vaguely it might be. This is why, when things go against them, the peoples brought up in the spirit of modern culture furiously seek for some change in organisation and system, as if the human world were a mere intellectual game of chess where winning and losing depended upon the placing of pawns. They forget that for a man winning a game may be the greatest of his losses.

Men began their career of history with a faith in a Personal Being in relation to whom they had their unity among themselves. This was no mere belief in ghosts but in the deeper reality of their oneness which is the basis of their moral ideals. This was the one great comprehension of truth which gave life and light to all the best creative energies of man, making us feel the touch of the infinite in our personality.

Naturally the consciousness of unity had its beginning in the limited area of race—the race which was the seed-plot of all human ideals. And therefore, at first, men had their conception of God as a tribal God which restricted their moral obligation within the bounds of their own people.

The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonials and their conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

During the Mahomedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints and Mahomedan sufis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mahomedans, as well as of Hindus.

In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Roy, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan Roy was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma.

Other men of intellectual eminence we have seen in our days who have borrowed their lessons from the West. This schooling makes us intensely conscious of the separateness of our people giving rise to a patriotism fiercely exclusive and contemptuous. This has been the effect of the teaching of the west everywhere in the world. It has roused up a universal spirit of suspicious antipathy. It incites

each people to strain all resources for taking advantages of others by force or by cunning. This cult of organised pride and self-seeking, this deliberate falsification of moral prospective in our view of humanity, has also invaded with a new force men's minds in India. If it does contain any truth along with its falsehood we must borrow it from others to mend our defect in mental balance. But, at the same time, I feel sure India is bid to give expression to the truth belonging to her own inner life.

Today the western people have come in contact with all races of the world when their moral adjustment has not yet been made true for this tremendous experience. The reality of which they are most fervidly conscious is the reality of the Nation. It has served them upto a certain point, just as some amount of boisterous selfishness, pugnacious and inconsiderate, may serve us in our boyhood, but makes mischief when carried into our adult life of larger social responsibilities. But the time has come at last when the western people are beginning to feel nearer home what the cult of the nation has been to humanity, they who have reaped all its benefits, with a great deal of its cost thrown upon the shoulders of others.

It is natural that they should realise humanity when it is nearest themselves. It increases their sensibility to a very high pitch within a narrow range, keeping their conscience inactive where it is apt to be uncomfortable.

But when we forget truth for our own convenience, truth does not forget us. Up to a certain limit, she tolerates neglect, but she is sure to put in her appearance, to exact her dues with full arrears, on an occasion which we grumble at as inappropriate and at a provocation which seems trivial. This makes us feel the keen sense of the injustice of providence, as does the rich man of questionable history, whose time-honoured wealth has attained the decency of respectability, if he is suddenly threatened with an exposure.

We have observed that when the West is visited by a sudden calamity, she cannot understand why it should happen at all in God's world. The question has never occurred to her, with any degree of intensity, why people in other parts of the world should suffer. But she has to know that humanity is a truth which nobody can mutilate and yet escape its hurt himself. Modern civilisation has to be judged not by its balance-sheet of imports and exports, luxuries of rich men, lengths of dreadnaughts, breadth of dependencies, and tightness of grasping diplomacy. In this judgment of

history, we from the East are the principal witnesses, who must speak the truth without flinching, however difficult it may be for us and unpleasant for others. Our voice is not the voice of authority, with the power of arms behind it, but the voice of suffering which can only count upon the power of truth to make itself heard.

There was a time when Europe had started on her search for the soul. In spite of all digressions she was certain that man must find his true wealth by becoming true. She knew that the value of his wealth was not merely subjective, but its eternal truth was in a love ever active in man's world. Then came a time when science revealed the greatness of the material universe and violently diverted Europeans attention to gaining things in place of inner perfection. Science has its own great meaning for man. It proves to him that he can bring his reason to co-operate with nature's laws, making them serve the higher ends of humanity; that he can transcend the biological world of natural selection and create his own world of moral purposes by the help of nature's own laws. It is Europe's mission to discover that Nature does not stand in the way of our self-realisation, but we must deal with her with truth in order to invest our idealism with reality and make it permanent.

This higher end of science is attained where its help has been requisitioned for the general alleviation of our wants and sufferings, where its gifts are for all men. But it fearfully fails where it supplies means for personal gains and attainment of selfish power. For its temptations are so stupendously great that our moral strength is not only overcome but fights against its own force under the cover of such high-sounding names as patriotism and nationality. This has made the relationship of human races inhuman, burdening it with repression and restriction where it faces the weak, and brandishing it with vengeance and competition of ferocity where it meets the strong. It has made war and preparation for war the normal condition of all nations, and has polluted diplomacy, the carrier of the political pestilence, with cruelty and dishonourable deception.

Yet those who have trust in human nature cannot but feel certain that the West will come out triumphant and the fruit of the centuries of her endeavour will not be trampled under foot in the mad scrimmage for things which are not of the spirit of man. Feeling the perplexity of the present day entanglements she is groping for a better system and a wiser diplomatic arrangements. But she will have to recognise, perhaps at the end of her series of death lessons, that it is an intellectual Pharisaism to have faith only in

building pyramids of systems, that she must realise truth in order to be saved, that continually gathering fuel to feed her desire will only lead to world-wide incendiarism. One day she will wake up to set a limit to her greed and turbulent pride and find in compensation that she has ever-lasting life.

Europe is great. She has been dowered by her destiny with a location and climate and race combination producing a history rich with strength, beauty and tradition of freedom. Nature in her soil challenged man to put forth all his forces never overwhelming his mind into a passivity of fatalism. It imparted in the character of her children the energy and daring which never acknowledge limits to their claims and also at the same time an intellectual sanity, a restraint in imagination, a sense of proportion in their creative works, and sense of reality in all their aspirations. They explored the secrets of existence, measured and mastered them ; they discovered the principle of unity in nature not through the help of meditation or abstract logic, but by boldly crossing barriers of diversity and peeping behind the screen. They surprised themselves into nature's great storehouse of powers and there they had their fill of temptation.

Europe is fully conscious of her greatness, and that itself is the reason why she does not know where her greatness may fail her. There have been periods of history when great races of men forgot their own souls in the pride and enjoyment of their power and possessions. They were not even aware of this lapse because things and institutions assumed such magnificence that all their attention was drawn outside their true selves. Just as nature in her aspect of bewildering vastness may have the effect of humiliating man, so also man's own accumulation may produce the self-abasement, which is spiritual apathy, by stimulating all his energy towards his wealth and not his welfare. Through this present war has come the warning to Europe that her things have been getting better of her truth, and in order to be saved she must find her soul and her God and fulfil her purpose by carrying her ideals into all continents of the earth and not sacrifice them to her greed of money and dominion.

THE "TEXTILE MERCURY" ON INDIAN TRADE.

The following is an extract from the Textile Mercury of Manchester which strongly exposes the inequity of the British Commercial and Industrial policy towards India.

Cotton Cultivation and Manufacture.

India not only is, but was, growing cotton, spinning and manufacturing, centuries before cotton was seen in this country. . . . Indian muslin used to be one of the finest fabrics woven long years before a single bale of cotton had been grown in America. Indeed almost before we began to use American cotton in this country, so serious did we consider the competition of Indian muslins with Lancashire products that in 1790 they were prohibited from being imported into this country. Cotton was first grown in America in 1786. If therefore the staple of Indian cotton has deteriorated, it is an open question as to how far the United Kingdom has contributed to this very unfortunate result by preventing the importation of her finest products. It is certain that this action of Great Britain if not absolutely the cause was largely contributory to this disastrous result, disastrous alike to Indian cotton growing, spinning and manufacturing, and to Lancashire by depriving her for long years of an alternative supply of suitable cotton.

With such a large number of its people depending upon cotton growing and manufacturing, India has for long years been desirous of regulating the importation of foreign power-woven fabrics, in the interests of its hand-loom and power-loom workers. . . .

The British Government compels India against her will to open her markets freely to foreign manufacture in accordance with the policy adopted in this country in 1861. The great self-governing dominions will have none of it. Canada, Australia, South Africa are free and unfettered in this respect. India is bound by our insular folly. But worse has to be recorded. When the Indian Government proposed an all round import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for revenue purposes, she was compelled, at the instance of Lancashire, to impose an excise duty to the same amount upon all Indian manufactures of the same classes. No other British exporting industry has asked for or received such special treatment. This policy is enforced upon India, not for her good, but admittedly and solely in the interests of Lancashire. It will readily be understood that this excise duty is far from popular in India. It does seem curious for Lancashire to boast of her world supremacy, and yet to stand in

such fear of a possible $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent advantage in goods made from coarse counts. We are told by Lancashire's spokesmen that Lancashire does not want coarse goods business and is quite content to let the foreigner make them, as she concentrates on fine goods. The position is not logical. If we are quite willing that the foreigner should make his own coarse counts, why prevent India from doing the same?

Some Trade Relations with India and the United States.

Exports of Cotton Manufactures (excluding yarn) from the United Kingdom Annual average, 1909-12

To the United States £3,095,000

To India £27,476,000

India therefore, buys annually from us nine times as much as America.

Incidence of Trade Between the United Kingdom, India, and the United States. (Board of Trade Memorandum).

Imports from India, £57 millions, average duty levied on same by U. K. £5,300,000

Imports from U. S. A. £123 millions, average duty levied on same by U. K. £850,000

Exports to India, £58 millions, average duty levied by India. 2 percent Exports to

U. S. A. 839 millions, average duty levied by U. S. A. 73 per cent

The disproportion between the amount of duty levied by Great Britain upon India and American produce is very striking, as is the discrepancy in the duties levied by them on British produce. And yet in the face of this glaring inequality of treatment, apart altogether from the relative deserts of the two countries, when in 1903 the greatest Colonial Minister the Empire ever had, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, proposed that some of the tax of 5d per lb on Indian tea should be transferred to American wheat or flour, English gentlemen denounced the proposal as a tax on food. Was it in ignorance? Was it due to arly prejudice? Or was it—? It was.

JUSTICE TO INDIA.

Prior to 1858 India was under the administration of a commercial company. In 1858 the British Government took over the