

## APPENDIX I

### MEMORANDUM OF "THE NINETEEN"

#### MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The following is the full text of the Memorandum submitted to the Viceroy by nineteen elected additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to "post-war reforms" in India:—

There is no doubt that the termination of the war will see a great advance in the ideals of government all over the civilised world and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small nationalities and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity in the international relations of the world. India has borne her part in this struggle and cannot remain unaffected by the new spirit of change for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country and hopes held out that, after the war, the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision.

#### **The Uncompleted Work of 1909**

The people of India have good reasons to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook under British rule, and for the steady, if slow, advance in her national life commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833. Up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition and not responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909 for the first time introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit the Indians into the inner counsels of the Indian Empire.

So far as the Legislative Councils are concerned, the numbers of non-official members were merely enlarged with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The Supreme

Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such majority included non-nominated members and the European representatives. In measures largely affecting the people, whether of legislation or taxation, by which Europeans were not directly affected, the European members would naturally support the Government and the nominated members, being nominees of Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether Supreme or Provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial. The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian element in the Executive Councils, where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian members.

The object which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill (April 1, 1909), that "it was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy." This object, it is submitted, has not been attained.

#### **Other Grave Disabilities**

Apart from this question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities, which not only prevent the utilisation, but also lead to the wastage, of what is best in them, and are positively derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act, which excludes from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer corps,

and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the army, are disabilities which are looked upon with an irritating sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough if these were mere disabilities. Restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to serious danger. The position of Indians in India is practically this, that they have no real part or share in the direction of the government of the country, and are placed under very great and galling disabilities from which the other members of the British Empire are exempt, and which have reduced them to a state of utter helplessness. The existence, moreover, of the system of indentured emigration gives to the British Colonies and the outside world the impression that Indians as a whole, are no better than indentured coolies, who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things makes the Indians feel that, though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire. Other Asiatic races also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her status in the Empire. Humiliating as this position of inferiority is to the Indian mind it is almost unbearable to the youth of India whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts where they come in contact with other free races.

In the face of these grievances and disabilities, what has sustained the people is the hope and faith inspired by promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government and have faithfully and loyally stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to the battlefields of Europe, not as mercenary troops, but as free citizens of the British Empire which required their services, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely, to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquillity reigned throughout India when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while voicing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in

this great war, spoke of Indians as "the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future."

### What is Wanted

India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship. This would assure the Indian people that England is ready and willing to help them to attain self-government under the aegis of the British Crown, and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen. What is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them. This is what, India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision.

If after the termination of the war, the position of India practically remains what it was before and there is no material change in it, it will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country, and the beneficent effects of participation in common danger, overcome by common effort, will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation and is contemplating measures of reform in the administration of the country. We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to respectfully offer to Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must, in our opinion, go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the government of the country, and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career, which indicate want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. With this view, we would take the liberty to suggest the following measures for consideration and adoption:—

### Thirteen Recommendations

1 In all the Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial half the number of members should be Indians; the European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans, should have experience of actual administration, for, as in the case of ministers in England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the departments is always available to them.

As regards Indians, we venture to say that a sufficient number of qualified Indians, who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Council and hold portfolios, is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, the late Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir Shams-ul-Huda and Sir Sapkaran Nair have maintained a high level of administrative ability in the discharge of their duties. Moreover, it is well known that the Native States, where Indians have opportunities, have produced renowned administrators like Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Sheshadri Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, not to mention the present administrators in the various Native States of India.

The statutory obligation, now existing, that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils, and for that purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

2 All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. These representatives, we feel sure, will watch and safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population with whom they are in closer touch than any European officer, however sympathetic, can possibly be. The proceedings of the various Legislative Councils and the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League bear

ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses and their acquaintance with their wants and wishes.

The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people, Mahomedans or Hindus, wherever they are in a minority, being given proper and adequate representation having regard to their numerical strength and position.

3 The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should be not less than 150, and of the Provincial Councils not less than 100 for the major, and not less than 60 to 75 for the minor provinces.

4 The Budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

5 The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on, and discuss and pass resolutions relating to, all matters of Indian administration, and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to Provincial administrations save and except that the direction of military affairs, of foreign relations, declarations of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties, other than commercial, should be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard, the Governor-General-in-Council or the Governor-in-Council, as the case may be, should have the right of veto which, however, should be exercised subject to conditions and limitations.

#### The Position of the Secretary of State

6 The Council of the secretary of state should be abolished. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, hold in relation to the Government of India a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the secretary and the under secretaries should be placed on the British estimates.

7 In any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given through her chosen representatives a place similar to that of the self-governing Dominions.

8 The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous, as stated in the Government of India's despatch, dated 29th August, 1911.

9 The United Provinces, as well as the other major provinces, should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom and should have an Executive Council.

10 A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted.

11 The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans.

12 Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a territorial army established in India.

13 Commissions in the army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

#### The Signatories

The memorandum is signed by the following nineteen elected members:—Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy, K. C. I. E., of Kasimbazar (Bengal Landholders), Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay), Mr. Bhupendranath Basu (Bengal), Rai Bahadur Bishan Dutt Shukul (Central Provinces Landholders), Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (United Provinces), Mr. K. V. Rangaswamiengar (Madras Landholders), Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque (Mahomedans of Behar and Orissa), Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Madras), Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (United Provinces), Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, C. I. E. (Bombay), Rao Bahadur B. Narasimheswara Sarma (Madras), Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan (Mahomedans of Madras), Mr. Kamini Kumar Chandra (Assam), Rai Bahadur Krishna Subai (Behar and Orissa), Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika (Orissa Landholders), Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy, C. I. E. (Central Provinces), Rai Sita Nath Roy Bahadur (Bengal), Raja Sir Mahomed Ali Khan, K. C. I. E., of Mahmudabad (Mahomedans of the United Provinces), and Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah (Mahomedans of Bombay).

---

## APPENDIX II

### ENGLISH STATESMEN ON INDIA'S SERVICES

#### INDIA'S PRINCELY SUPPORT

##### Statement by Under Secretary of State

In reply to a question, Mr. CHARLES ROBERTS, Under Secretary of State for India, made the following statement in the House of Commons regarding the offers of help made in India in connexion with the war:—The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated September 8, 1914:

“Following is a summary of offers of service, money, etc., made in India to the Viceroy. The Rulers of the Native States in India, who number nearly seven hundred in all, have with one accord rallied to the defence of the Empire and offered their personal services and the resources of their States for the war. (Cheers.) From among the many Princes and Nobles who have volunteered for active service, the Viceroy has selected the Chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kishangarh, Rutlam, Sachin, Patiala, Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur, the Heir-Apparent of Bhopal, and a brother of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, together with other cadets of noble families. The veteran Sir Pertab would not be denied his right to serve the King-Emperor in spite of his seventy years, and his nephew, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, who is but sixteen years old, goes with him. (Cheers.)

“All these have, with the Commander-in-Chief's approval, already joined the Expeditionary Forces. The Maharaja of Gwalior and the Chiefs of Jaora and Dholpur, together with the Heir-Apparent of Palanpur, were, to their great regret, prevented from leaving their States. Twenty-seven of the larger States in India maintain Imperial Service Troops, and the services of every corps were immediately placed at the disposal of the Government of India on the outbreak of war. The Viceroy has accepted from twelve States contingents of cavalry, infantry, sappers, and transport, besides a camel corps from Bikaner, and most of them have already embarked.

“As particular instances of generosity and eager loyalty of the Chiefs, the following may be quoted:—Various Darbars have-

combined together to provide a hospitalship to be called 'The Loyalty' for the use of the Expeditionary Forces. The Maharaja of Mysore has placed Rs. 50 lakhs at the disposal of the Government of India for expenditure in connexion with the Expeditionary Force. The Chief of Gwalior, in addition to sharing in the expenses of the hospital ship, the idea of which originated with himself, and the Begum of Bhopal has offered to place large sums of money at the disposal of the Government of India and to provide thousands of horses as remounts. (Loud cheers.) From Loharu in the Punjab and Las Bela and Kalat in Baluchistan come offers of camels with drivers, to be supplied and maintained by the Chiefs and Sardars. Several chiefs have offered to raise additional troops for military service should they be required, and donations to the Indian Relief Fund have poured in from all States. The Maharaja of Rewa has offered his treasury, and even his private jewellery for the service of the King-Emperor. (Cheers.) In addition to contributions to the Indian Fund, some Chiefs—namely, those of Kashmir, Bundi, Orchha, and Gwalior and Indore—have also given large sums to the Prince of Wales' Fund. Maharaja of Kashmir, not content with subscribing himself to the Indian Fund, presided at a meeting of 20,000 people held recently at Srinagar and delivered a stirring speech, in response to which large subscriptions were collected.

"Maharaja Holkar offers, free of charge, all horses in his State Army which may be suitable for Government purposes. Horses also offered by Nizam's Government, by Jamnagar, and other Bombay States. Every Chief in the Bombay Presidency has placed the resources of his State at the disposal of Government, and all have made contributions to the Relief Fund. Loyal messages and offers have also been received from the Mehtar of Chitral and tribes of the Khyber Agency as well as the Khyber Rifles. Letters have been received from the most remote States in India, all marked by deep sincerity of desire to render some assistance, however humble, to the British Government in its hour of need.

"Last, but not least, from beyond the borders of India have been received generous offers of assistance from the Nepal

Durbar ; the military resources of the State have been placed at the disposal of the British Government, and the Prime Minister has offered a sum of three lakhs of rupees to the Viceroy for the purchase of machine-guns or field equipment for British Gurkha Regiments proceeding overseas, in addition to large donations from his private purse to the Prince of Wales' Fund and the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. To the 4th Gurkha Rifles, of which the Prime Minister is honorary Colonel, the Prime Minister has offered Rs. 30,000 for the purchase of machine guns in the event of their going on service. The Dalai Lama of Tibet has offered 1,000 Tibetan troops for service under the British Government. His Holiness also states that Lamas, nnumerable throughout the length and breadth of Tibet, are offering prayers for success of British Army and for happiness of souls of all victims of war.

“The same spirit has prevailed throughout British India. Hundreds of telegrams and letters have been received by Viceroy expressing loyalty and desire to serve Government either in the field or by co-operation in India. Many hundreds have also been received by local administrations. They come from communities and associations, religious, political, and social, of all classes and creeds, also from individuals offering their resources or asking for opportunity to prove loyalty by personal services. The following may be mentioned as typical examples :—The All-India Moslem League, the Bengal Presidency Moslem League, the Moslem Association of Rangoon, the Trustees of the Aligarh College, the Behar Provincial Moslem League, the Central National Mahomedan Association of Calcutta, the Khoja Community and other followers of Aga Khan, the Punjab Moslem League, the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, the citizens of Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, and many other cities, the Behar Landholders' Association, the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, the Taluqdars of Oudh, the Punjab Chiefs' Association, the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, the Hindus of the Punjab, the Khalsa Diwan representing orthodox Sikhs, the Bohra Community, and the Parsee Community of Bombay.

“The Delhi Medical Association offer the field hospital that was sent to Turkey during Balkan War. Bengalee students offer enthusiastic services for an ambulance corps, and there were many

other offers of medical aid. The Zemindars of Madras have offered 500 horses, and among other practical steps taken to assist Government may be noted the holding of meetings to allay panic, keep down prices, and maintain public confidence and credit. Generous contributions have poured in from all quarters to Imperial Indian Relief Fund." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

#### STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The MARQUESS of CREWE made a statement to the House of Lords on September 9, 1914, in substance similar to that made in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary for India, of what he called the wonderful series of offers of their resources in the cause of the Empire made by the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India, and read the King-Emperor's Message in response thereto. After giving the detailed account of the offers of service, money, and other help made to the Viceroy by the native Princes, Chiefs, and Rulers, and representative bodies of the Indian people, he said that similar offers had reached the Secretary of State from chiefs who happened to be at present in Europe. The Gaekwar of Baroda and Maharaja of Bharatpur, to mention two only, had placed the whole resources of their States at the disposal of his Majesty's Government. The Indian community in England, including the Indian students, had made loyal offers of services. He felt confident that the House and the country would feel deep appreciation of this magnificent demonstration of the loyalty with which the Princes and peoples of India had identified themselves with the cause of the Empire. (Cheers.) He also said that he had received a telegram from the Viceroy describing what happened yesterday in the Legislative Council. The Viceroy, in opening the proceedings, read the message from the King Emperor, and then made a speech in which he said he was sure he was expressing the views of the whole of India in assuring his Majesty of unflinching loyalty and devotion. A resolution was moved declaring that the members of the Legislative Council, voicing the feelings which animated the whole of the people of India, desired to give expression to their feeling of unswerving loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to the King Emperor, and their unflinching support of the British Government. The resolution also stated the desire of the people-

of India, in addition to the military assistance afforded, to share in the heavy financial burdens imposed by the war. The resolution was supported by representatives of various races and creeds, and was carried without a single dissident. Their lordships would agree that this demonstration of loyalty was one of the most gratifying facts as the outcome of the war—that the representatives of the various races of India should in so whole-hearted a manner rally round the British Government. He was sure their lordships would desire to express their appreciation of the part that India was playing in the great rally of the Empire. (Cheers.)

#### Speech by Lord Lansdowne

The MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: The announcement by the noble marquess is one of surpassing interest, and one which will prove to be of historic importance in the annals of the British Empire. Let me, before I go further, express the admiration with which we listened to the words in which his Majesty was pleased to acknowledge the offer which the Government received from the people and Princes of India. It is indeed a wonderful series of offers. One and all of the peoples of India have come forward at this critical moment to assure us of their support in whatever form they are able to provide it. It is indeed a great thing that those multitudinous races and peoples should have joined in this movement without reference to geographical divisions, religious differences, political divisions, or distinctions of race. We know how deep those cleavages are, and how often they separate one part of India from another. But in this case they were not allowed to prevail, and I am sure that the result will produce an immense impression not only on the people of this country, but on all who, no matter in what part of the world, are anxious spectators of the great struggle which is now proceeding. (Cheers.) I listened with special interest to that part of the noble marquess's speech in which he gave us an account of the manner in which the ruling Chiefs of India have come forward. There was a time when I had the honour of enjoying the friendship and intimacy of a number of those Chiefs; and I left India with a profound impression of the sincerity of their desire to bear, whenever an opportunity was offered to them, a useful and

honourable part in the affairs of the Empire. (Cheers.) Their generosity is proverbial. The word generosity is often accompanied by the word "princely," and in India we have every reason to be aware of what "princely generosity" means. But in this case they have given us a great deal more. I well remember the pride which the great chiefs and rulers took in the Imperial Service Corps instituted in the time of my predecessor, Lord Dufferin. I know it was their ambition that those Imperial Service troops should not be merely extremely smart on parade, but should be given a chance of fighting alongside of our troops in the cause of the Empire. I heard with great interest the noble marquis's catalogue of the Princes who are to accompany the Indian force on this campaign, and I may perhaps be permitted to echo what he said with regard to one whom I am able to describe as an old personal friend of my own. I mean the Regent of Jodhpur, better known to his intimates as Sir Pertab Singh. I also heard with great satisfaction the noble marquis's account of the support which he was receiving from the Maharajah of Nepal. We owe a great debt to the Nepal Government (cheers), for it is with their assistance and concurrence we are able to raise those magnificent Gurkha regiments, of whom I am glad to know a certain number will accompany the Indian expedition.

**THE MARQUESS OF CREWE:** Seven battalions of Gurkhas. (Cheers.)

**THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE:** I doubt whether every one in this country realises how great a thing it is that those ruling chiefs should come forward in this way upon our side. I wonder, for example, whether every one realises that the Maharajah of Mysore, whose munificent gift the noble marquis referred to, rules over a population which exceeds the whole population of Sweden. I wonder whether any one calls to mind that the Maharajah of Gwalior, the Maharajah Scindia, has more subjects than the King of Denmark, or that the Nizam of Hyderabad governs a people twice as numerous as the people of the Netherland and three times as numerous as the people of Ireland. It is no small thing that those rulers, standing where they do in our Indian system, should have come forward without exception and given such practical proof of their desire to help us. I venture on the

part of those who sit on this side of the House to congratulate the noble marquess on the manner in which the India Office has been supported at this critical time, and I add to that our congratulations to the Viceroy, to whom at a moment when he must have many sad preoccupations, the great response of India must bring consolation and encouragement. I am sure it will be the desire of the House that our cordial thanks should be conveyed to the people of India and the Indian chiefs who have stood by us in so conspicuous a manner. (Cheers.)

---

## THE COST OF THE INDIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

### Lord Crewe

The Marquess of CREWE moved in the House of Lords on September 16, 1914: "That, his Majesty having directed a military force consisting of British and Indian troops, charged upon the revenues of India, to be despatched to Europe or service in the war in which this country is engaged, this House consents that the ordinary pay and other ordinary charges of any troops so despatched, as well as the ordinary charges of any vessels belonging to the Government of India that may be employed in this expedition which would have been charged upon the resources of India if such troops or vessels had remained in that country or seas adjacent, shall continue to be so chargeable, provided that, if it shall be necessary to replace the troops or vessels so withdrawn by other vessels or forces, then the expenses of raising, maintaining, and providing such vessels and forces shall be repaid out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for the purpose of the said expedition." The enthusiasm which the sending of the Indian Expeditionary Force had evoked in India was (he said) a magnificent tribute to the justice of British rule there, and was evidence also of how high the heart of India beat in sympathy with the United Kingdom in this mighty conflict. It was the desire of India also that she ought not to profit in the sense of making any saving in consequence of the absence of her troops abroad. The precedents varied. In some cases India had been asked to defray the extra charges involved in the sending of her troops to other parts of the

world; in other cases the entire cost had been undertaken by this country. The particular course taken in the motion was thought by India to be a perfectly fair one; and speaking without prejudice as to what might happen in the future, both as to the duration of the war and a number of other factors about which it was impossible to express any opinion, he submitted it to the House as an arrangement that was reasonable both from the Indian and British points of view.

#### Lord Curzon

Earl CURZON of KEDLESTON desired to take the opportunity of joining in the tribute of admiration of the splendid spirit of loyalty shown by all creeds and classes in India, and of congratulation to the Viceroy and the Government of India for the substantial and magnificent assistance which they had been able to give to the Empire in this crisis. In ordinary circumstances he might have felt some doubt in regard to the justice of the proposal submitted by the noble marquess. There had been fluctuations in our policy in the past, fluctuations, in some cases, not altogether creditable to our standard of chivalry and honour. Broadly speaking, the principle which was now observed was that when Indian troops were employed outside India the expenditure should not fall upon her revenue. That was so in the case of the expedition which he, as Viceroy of India in 1900, had the honour of sending for the relief of the Legations at Peking. But this particular case was exceptional. The troops of India were spontaneously taking part in a war which might be held to involve the interests of India as included in the whole Empire.

#### The Pay of British officers with the Force

Viscount MIDLETON referred to a letter which appeared in the "Times" of that day in regard to the payment of Indian officers on service in Europe, and said that probably the noble marquess would feel that there was very considerable hardship if officers, especially married officers, who had establishments in India on a certain rate of pay, were to suffer loss through giving up work in India and becoming equipped for foreign service. Whether the loss fell on the revenues of India or of this country, these officers should not be at any loss on account of going to serve his Majesty

on the Continent. He hoped the noble marquess would give the subject his favourable consideration.

The Marquess of CREWE said his attention had been called to the letter in the "Times." The question was simple enough in the case of officers of the Indian Army, but probably the letter in the "Times" was written in the interest not of an officer in the Indian service, but of one of a British regiment that happened to be in India at the time, receiving there the increased rate of Indian pay, and now brought home to Europe; and in that case the question was not so simple. It might be felt by officers in some other British battalions serving almost alongside this one that it was hardly reasonable that officers in the same service should receive the far higher rate of pay, perhaps for a considerable period, than they themselves were receiving. There was also the further difficulty that a large number of officers, both in the Indian service and the Indian British regiments who were home on leave, had been detained and had gone to join the forces. On the whole, however, he was disposed to regard this claim with a great deal of sympathy. In a number of cases the establishment of wives and families had to be kept running in India for an indefinite period, and the sacrifice of the extra Indian pay might be a very serious matter. He was not able to make a definite promise, but he could assure the House that it was being carefully considered by his office as to how the claim could best be met.

The resolution was agreed to.

---

## INDIA'S WILLING BURDEN

### Mr. Asquith

Mr. ASQUITH, who was received with prolonged cheers, moved a resolution on the same day in the House of Commons in similar terms to the one adopted in the House of Lords with respect to the charges on the revenues of India of British and Indian troops employed in Europe. He said he was quite certain that the motion would be received with complete assent and gratitude in every quarter of this House. He did not think that in all the moving exhibitions of national and Imperial patriotism which the war had evoked there was any which had more touched, and rightly

touched, the feelings of this House and the country than the message sent by the Viceroy of India announcing the magnificent response which the Princes and people of that country had made to our need. (Cheers.) In consequence of the provisions of Section 55 of the Government of India Act, 1858, it was not constitutionally right or proper to charge on the revenues of India except in the case of actual invasion or sudden and unforeseen emergency the cost of armed forces which might be sent outside that country. The assent of both Houses of Parliament was needed before any such charge could be imposed on the revenues of India. The assistance of the Indian Army in imperial exigencies had been more than once, indeed several times, since the passing of that Act, offered by India and accepted by ourselves. He would not go into the precedents, because it was not necessary to do so, but in most of those cases the whole cost of the charge had been met, as he was sure we would willingly meet it in this case, out of the revenues of the United Kingdom. But when this matter came up two or three weeks ago before the Legislative Council of the Viceroy of India, one of the unofficial Indian members moved a resolution to the effect that India would desire in the present emergency that she should be allowed not only to send her troops, but to contribute the cost of their maintenance and pay, and the Viceroy on behalf of the Government of India, and he was sure with the assent and sympathy not only of this House and the people of this country, but of the whole people of the British Empire, accepted that offer. The result was that through this patriotic initiative not in any sense dictated or inspired by the Government, but proceeding from an unofficial member of the Council of India, these splendid British and Indian troops that were already upon their way, and which we believed would afford to us and to the Empire at large most effective assistance—(cheers)—in the righteous struggle in which we were engaged—(cheers)—these Indian troops would be sent, as far as their ordinary charges were concerned, at the expense of the Government and people of India. The resolution he had to move was of a purely formal character, and was necessary in order to comply with the requirements of the Act of Parliament. But he was sure the House would not be giving expression to what every

one felt if it did not couple with its acceptance an assurance of its sincere and heartfelt appreciation of the spontaneous and splendid assistance which our great Dependency of India was giving us. (Loud cheers.)

#### Mr. Bonar Law

MR. BONAR LAW said he was glad to have the privilege of seconding the resolution which had been moved. Since the war broke out nothing, as the Prime Minister had said, not even the heroic conduct of our own soldiers on the field of battle, had moved the people of this country more deeply than the spontaneous, the enthusiastic outburst of loyalty to their Emperor and patriotism to the Empire of which we had an account in the message of the Viceroy given the other day. (Cheers.) The circumstances under which this resolution was necessary were another proof of the reality and of the value of that assistance. Previously, when Indian troops, as the Prime Minister had pointed out, had been used out of India the Government of India had looked with a jealous eye in order to see that no part of the financial burden should fall on the people of India. Now, the Indian Government, representing and inspired by the Indian people, were not only sending their sons to risk their lives at the side of our own soldiers, by whom they would be proudly welcomed as comrades, but were insisting on bearing a share of the burden of the expense which was involved. He ventured to say the other day at the Guildhall that the moral forces which our enemies not only despised but affronted would prove in the long run stronger than the material forces on which only they relied. It was on moral forces that we relied to-day. The generous aid which was coming to us from the self-governing Dominions in every part of the Empire was coming of their own free will—it could not be demanded by us, and it could not be enforced by us. This assistance from India also was coming, not from force but from good will, and he believed that it was coming because, on the whole, every one who left this country to take part in the Government of India, from the Viceroy to the humblest official, was inspired by the tradition that it was his duty, not to exploit India for the benefit of this country, but to rule it for the good of the people of India. On the whole, we had succeeded, and it was because in the main the

people of India recognized that that was the spirit in which the government was carried out that we had received so generously their assistance in our hour of need. (Cheers.)

## THE INDIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

### Lord Kitchener

Earl KITCHENER, in the course of a statement on the campaign in the House of Lords on November 26, 1914, said that the arrival of the Indian divisions on the scene was of great assistance to Sir John French, and with French reinforcements which were being pushed up to the front, the Germans gradually realised that their public boasts to advance to Calais resembled closely their statement with regard to Paris. (Cheers.) Referring to the entrance of Turkey into the field against the Allies, he said:— At the end of October, without any warning, Turkey violated her neutrality by suddenly bombarding Odessa and other Black Sea ports. Previous to this she had already massed troops in order to invade Egypt, and armed Bedouins had crossed our frontier. We are now in touch with the advanced parties of the Turkish forces about 30 miles east of the Suez Canal. The hostile action of Turkey has further induced us to send an Indian expedition against the Turkish provinces at the northern end of the Persian Gulf. This force was twice met and twice defeated the Turkish troops, and has occupied the important town of Basra. (Cheers.) Active operations are also going on in South and East Africa.

Earl CURZON OF KEDLESTON thanked the Secretary of State for War for his reference to the Indian troops. It was indeed a source of delight to know that they had comported themselves on the field of battle with a gallantry not less than that of our European Allies or of the British comrades by whose side they were placed. He would like to join in the congratulations to the Indian troops for their singularly successful capture of the port of Basra. Anybody who knew the East knew that that exploit would ring throughout Asia, and would be regarded there not merely as the capture of a substantial position, but as a damaging blow to Turkish prestige.

### INDIA'S WAR CONTRIBUTION

The Marquess of CREWE moved:—"That his Majesty, having directed military forces charged upon the revenues of India to be

despatched out of India for service in the war in which this country is engaged, this House, in compliance with Section 55 of the Government of India Act, 1858, consents that the ordinary pay and other ordinary charges of any troops so despatched, or that may be so despatched during the continuance of the war, as well as the ordinary charges of any vessels belonging to the Government of India that may be employed in these expeditions which would have been charged upon the resources of India if such troops or vessels had remained in that country or seas adjacent, shall continue to be so chargeable provided that, if it shall be necessary to replace the troops or vessels so withdrawn by other vessels or forces, then the expense of raising, maintaining, and providing such vessels and forces shall be repaid out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for the purpose of the said expeditions." The motion, he said, was necessary under the Act of 1858. This was not the moment to attempt a nice calculation as to the direct interest of India. For the present all that need be done was to express their thanks to India for the generous and spontaneous manner in which she had come forward at this period to share the expense. (Cheers.)

Earl CURZON of KEDLESTON, on behalf of the Opposition, supported the motion, and it was agreed to.

## THE INDIAN ARMY AND ITS SERVICE

### Statement by the Under Secretary

Mr. CHARLES ROBERTS moved a resolution in the House of Commons on November 26, 1914, similar in terms to that moved in the House of Lords by the Marquess of Crewe, giving the sanction of the House to the ordinary expenses of the Indian Expeditionary Force operating in non-European countries being chargeable on the revenues of India. Two months ago, he said, the Prime Minister had moved in that House a motion relating to the despatch of the Indian forces to Europe: and under it the House of Commons gave its assent to the payment from Indian revenues of the ordinary charges of a force of British and Indian troops to be despatched to Europe for service during the present War. That resolution, however, did not sanction the application

of Indian revenues to defray the cost of military operations outside India in non-European areas of the War, and it was, therefore, necessary to pass the present Supplementary Resolution, which gave a general assent to the contribution which India wished to make to the expenses of the Indian forces employed in any of the theatres of War, wherever they might be. It was not an oversight that the original Resolution did not cover the whole ground. Parliament had rightly surrounded with constitutional safeguards the application of Indian revenues to pay the cost of Indian expeditions outside the confines of India except in cases of invasion or unforeseen sudden emergency, and, therefore, it had been thought necessary to get the assent of both Houses of Parliament to meet the gap which it was now proposed to cover. India did not seek to make any saving out of the absence of the troops she would have had to pay for if they had remained in Indian cantonments. Therefore, it had been agreed, with the unanimous assent of the Legislative Council, that Indian revenues should continue to bear the normal expenses which they would have had to bear if the War had not taken place, while this country bore the extraordinary expenses involved in the despatch of troops to the theatre of War. That was the financial arrangement under the previous Resolution. It was proposed to follow that precedent in the present Supplementary Resolution, but it must be understood that it was not a hard and fast rule, and was liable to subsequent modification by agreement, and with the assent of Parliament, according to the nature of the operations in which the Indian troops might be engaged. In any case, we had warmly to recognise the substantial help which was being afforded to the Empire by the appearance of Indian troops at a great number of points in a latitudinal line which extended from Taingtau to La Bassee across the breadth of three Continents. (Cheers.)

So much for the purely technical and formal aspect of this Motion. But he had been asked a little while ago to explain the absence of the customary Budget statement in reference to Indian finances, and he desired to take that opportunity of making it plain that the postponement was not due to any inattention or indifference to Indian questions. Indeed, there never was a time

when the interest in Indian questions and the feeling of good-will between England and India was more widespread or more strong than at present. (Cheers). All the documents required by Statute had been presented to Members of the House of Commons but, just as our own domestic discussions had had to be postponed, so the discussion on some Indian points had better be taken at a later date. But he did not think they would suffer by the delay, and he hoped that circumstances might admit that, later on in the present Session, the customary Budget discussion on Indian affairs would take place.

### The Censor and the Public

There had been some complaints in the papers, both here and in India, as to the meagre details which had been given of the work of the Indian troops. It was known, of course, that they had taken part in the reduction of Tsingtau, in the rapid and successful occupation of Fao and Basra in the Persian Gulf, that they are in force in Egypt, that they took part in the landing at Shaik Said, and that, sharing the vicissitudes of war, they were present at an attack against great odds in East Africa. Of course, the main force was in France, taking part in battles which were taking even longer to decide than the famous battle of the great Indian epic, which lasted eighteen days before it was concluded. All were agreed that it was exceptionally necessary in the case of India that full details of the work of the Indian troops should be given, and arrangements had been made towards that end. There were official reporters who were sending summaries of the doings of the Indian troops, which were telegraphed to India, and we were pleading with the Military Censor to give as much information as military necessities would allow. On the other hand, every one would recognise that ever since the debacle at Sedan, which was undoubtedly facilitated by the publication of news in the London newspapers, the military censorship in all countries was growing stricter and stricter. It was, of course, a strain on our natural anxieties, but every endeavour was being made to give as much news as possible. There was also one special disadvantage in reference to the Indian troops. The newspaper accounts had mainly referred to gallant behaviour on the part of the Sikhs and Gurkhas, and they fully deserved all the recognition which

they had obtained. But there were other Indian races who were represented—Pathans, Jats, Dogras, Punjabi Mussulmans, Rajputs, Mahrattas and others—whose doings had been somewhat overlooked. Of the actual exploits of the troops the official reports, private letters and the accounts of eye-witnesses all told the same story. There was no need to speak of the quality of the British units in the Indian Army, or of the very gallant leadership of the officers with the Indian Troops, but the Indian troops themselves had, by all accounts, acquitted themselves in accordance with the expectations of those who best knew their courage and training. (Cheers.) They very soon adapted themselves to conditions of fighting which were as novel to them as to the British troops. They had stood the shell fire steadily, and when the time came to give the details of their action in the recent fighting it would be a record of which both India and England would be proud. (Cheers.) He hoped he might also be allowed to bear testimony to the energy of the Viceroy during the outbreak of this War. The varied expeditions which had been despatched from India showed the energy which he had displayed in the midst of personal griefs and anxieties, for the organization of the Lady Hardinge Hospital in this country was a reminder of a sorrow which is still recent, and the House knew that his son, on whom the D. S. O. had been conferred, had been severely wounded. (Hear, hear.) They had to express sincere sympathy and admiration for the energy with which the resources of India had been marshalled in the service of the Empire. Perhaps he might also be allowed to bear testimony to the invaluable services of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Beauchamp Duff, and to express also the great sympathy of the House with him in the loss which he had sustained in the death of his son in the War. (Hear hear.)

### The Loyalty of the Princes

He hoped the House would bear with him if he added a word or two about the loyalty which India had displayed during the despatch of these expeditions. It was always difficult, at a distance from any country, to be sure that one gauged and interpreted rightly the feeling of that country, but he thought one could distinguish certain different notes as one read the mass of tele-

grams, resolutions, manifestos, speeches and newspaper articles in which Indian opinion had expressed itself. It was quite impossible to summarise them, but one noted first the fighting spirit of many of the Ruling Chiefs who at once despatched telegrams pleading in urgent and insistent terms their personal claim to serve the King-Emperor upon the battlefield. (Cheers.) He would quote one picturesque phrase which struck him in one telegram. It ran as follows:—"The noise of battle is lulling music to Rajput blood." That was the spirit of the Maharajas who are at the front—the veteran Sir Pertab Singh and his young nephew, and the Maharajas of Eikanir and Kishengarh. Would the House allow him to quote another telegram which the Maharaja of Eikanir sent:—

"I and my troops are ready and prepared to go at once to any place, either in Europe or India, or wherever services might be usefully employed in the interest of safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and his Dominions. Your Excellency knows the traditions of the Rathor Eika Rajputs. We long to be early at the front, but whether my troops can be used at present or not, I would earnestly ask your Excellency at least to give me myself an opportunity for that personal military service of the King-Emperor and the Empire, which is my highest ambition as a Rathor Chief and as a member of His Imperial Majesty's Staff."

The Maharaja had had his wish. He was in France at the front, and his Camel Corps had been doing very useful service in the peninsula of Sinai. Might he add one other telegram? This was sent by the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Mahomedan ruler of the largest Indian State, who said:—

"At this crisis I beg that your Excellency will lay before His Majesty the King-Emperor the assurance that my heart beats at one with that of all the loyal people of Great Britain and her Dominions throughout the world, and that my sword and the whole resources of my State are His Majesty's to command for England and the Empire."

It was very difficult to acknowledge adequately all the princely munificence of the ruling chiefs in connexion with the expedition. The generosity of the Maharaja of Jaipur and that of

the Maharaja of Gwalior might be mentioned as instances. The Maharaja of Gwalior, besides princely contributions to every fund started in England or India, running into many thousands of pounds, had organised, jointly with the Begum of Bhopal, a hospital ship and had given a large contribution of horses. His latest munificent gift was a fully equipped motor ambulance fleet. Ill-health alone, to his grievous disappointment, had prevented him from taking the field in person.

### A Tribute to the Educated Classes

A wave of instinctive and emotional loyalty had swept over the people of India. But it would be unfair not to recognise that besides this, there is among the Indian educated classes a loyalty based on reason and the recognition of facts. It was at times less warmly expressed, but was none the less substantial. It was sensible of the undeniable benefits conferred by British rule. It regarded—not to put the case too high—the present regime as the best working arrangement for India. It was satisfied that within the framework of the Empire legitimate hopes and aspirations could in due time be met. This more sober sentiment found expression also among those Moslem who could not but feel the strain on their religious sympathies imposed by the insensate folly of Turkey's attack upon the British Empire. Men like the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Aga Khan had been unhesitating in the advice they had given to those with whom their views would naturally carry weight. Indian Moslems had, he believed, made up their minds that their secular allegiance was due to the King-Emperor. They knew that their religion obtained the amplest toleration and respect in the British Empire, and that the idea that the present War was a religious war was an absurdity. The matter was perhaps summed up in the remark of an Indian Mussulman:—"Why should anyone question the loyalty of India? Is it not our Empire, too?" (Cheers).

### An Executive Council for the United Provinces

What was happening before our eyes did, at all events, vindicate the policy that had been adopted and was being worked out in India—the policy of enlisting the co-operation of Indians in the work of Government. There was no finality in the task of adjusting the machinery of government to Indian conditions.

and to the new forces that our own action had evoked. For the time being, as everyone recognised, administrative and constitutional problems were necessarily in abeyance, but he wished to take this opportunity of announcing a change in the Constitution of one of the provinces which was in course of settlement before the outbreak of the War. It was not a change of a very far-reaching character, and the Secretary of State and the Viceroy saw no reason in the existence of the War to postpone the announcement. The Secretary of State had asked him to state that he had approved the proposal of the Governor-General in Council to create a small Council in the United Provinces to assist the Lieutenant-Governor in the executive government of the province. (Cheers.) A draft of the necessary Proclamation would be laid in due course before Parliament. This would give to the United Provinces a machinery of government similar to that which obtains in the larger provinces of India. It would, incidentally, enable an Indian to serve as a member of the highest Executive Council in the province. He would add that the establishment of the council has the support of the Viceroy and of the Lieutenant-Governor. (Cheers.)

#### The Aftermath of the War

For the rest, it was premature to attempt to anticipate the consequences that might follow from this striking and historic event—the participation of India in force in the World-War of the Empire. (Cheers.) The results would not be fully seen until the War was over. But it was clear that India claimed to be not a mere dependant of, but a partner in, the Empire, and her partnership with us in spirit and on the battlefields could not but alter the angle from which we should all henceforward look at the problems of the government of India. (Cheers.) He thought he might call the attention of the House of Commons to one possible illustration of this change in the point of view. It must be a source of pride and satisfaction to India that she had sent the first of the great contingents from the Over-Seas Dominions into the European theatre of War, and that one of her brave soldiers, if the newspaper statements were correct, had been recommended for the coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross. (Cheers.) Indian Armies were soon to be followed by troops from Canada,

Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. He need not allude to points of friction that had existed between India and some other parts of the Empire, though he was glad to remember that the difficulties in South Africa had been overcome. But he would refer to the summary of the Viceroy's speech in the Legislative Council during the debate on the despatch of the troops a few weeks ago. He said:—"There is nothing like comradeship in arms and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level distinctions, inspire mutual respect, and foster friendship." He added:—"I cannot help feeling that as a consequence better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire. Many misunderstandings will be removed and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner. In this sense, out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of us all." (Cheers.) That wish was shared also by the Secretary of State and would be echoed in the House of Commons. In the atmosphere of friendship and good-will which unite India and England to-day there was surely a bright hope for the future. (Cheers.) India must feel that East and West were engaged in a military partnership which, as we believed, was both for the benefit of the Indian peoples and for the Empire as a whole, and he could not but trust that the common endeavours of these days will enable India to realise that she was occupying, and was destined to occupy, a place in our free Empire worthy alike of her ancient civilization and thought, of the valour of her fighting races, and of the patriotism of her sons. (Cheers.)

#### THE RESPONSE OF INDIA

##### Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P., at Sheffield

Mr Charles Roberts, M. P., Under Secretary of State for India, visited Sheffield on February 25, 1915, and gave an address at the Victoria Hall on "The Response of India." Mr. H. A. FISHER, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, presided, and was supported by the Lord Mayor (Councillor O. C. Wilson) and other leading citizens.

Mr. ROBERTS said that India's loyalty during the past six months had left an indelible impression upon Englishmen, and

that generous outpouring of hers would not easily be forgotten. The Viceroy had told us that no fewer than 200,000 men had been, or were being, withdrawn from India for service in the various theatres of war. That was no small contribution of effective fighting force to our cause, and it was accompanied by a handsome money contribution.

There were two points, he thought, which had their influence on the attitude of the ruling chiefs. The pledged word that Britain gave to Belgium had also been given to guarantee their State: and they felt in a special sense their tie of personal allegiance to their Emperor. India's politicians had been as outspoken and unswerving in their support as the fighting races. At the Indian National Congress, held last December in Madras, there was a fine scene of patriotic enthusiasm when the resolution of loyal support was unanimously carried. He would like to add a word of recognition and thanks to those Indian students in England who formed themselves into an ambulance corps and accepted the rough and tumble of war in order to render service to their wounded fellow-countrymen.

### **The Claim to a Share in the Empire**

The real innerness of this striking manifestation of loyalty was, he believed, to be found in the desire of the Indian peoples that Indian soldiers should take part in the war side by side with their British comrades. The great withdrawal of troops from India was proof of the general trust and confidence which could safely be reposed in the loyalty of the Indian people, and nothing that had occurred during the past seven months had in any degree betrayed that confidence. Had Britain, as in the Boer War, regarded the struggle as a *sahibs'* war, in which India took no part, that way danger lay; for it would have denied India's share in the Empire of which she forms part.

He was constantly asked how had the Indian troops acquitted themselves. The answer was that they had acquitted themselves as those who knew them best expected of them. (Applause.) They had fought in a far-flung line of battle; and as to the spirit in which they had fought, two Indians, as was known, had, for the first time, won the coveted distinction of the V. C.

### A Blow for the Pessimists

There were two further reflections he wished to make. The outburst of loyalty was no cause of surprise, although it was a source of gratification, to those who knew India best. But it must have been a real blow to the pessimists who in recent years had exaggerated what they called the spirit of Indian unrest. It was an elementary blunder to confuse a small criminal revolutionary group, whose crimes had sternly to be repressed, with the constitutional agitation that pursued the changes it advocated by an appeal to reason and justice, and loyally desired to work out those changes within the framework of the British Empire. The war had shown these things in their right perspective.

### Indian Co-operation In Administration

Certainly it did nothing to dissuade Englishmen from their policy of associating Indians with the work of government. This wise policy had borne good fruit in the critical testing time. Every one must see that it had not reached its final stage. He would not suggest anything so absurd as to say that India, with its ancient civilisation and its deep attachment to immemorial customs, could be treated as though it was a brand-new Western State of the American Union. But he trusted to the good sense of Britons and Indians alike gradually to work out a system of government as an outgrowth of Indian traditions and adapted to Indian needs which would in due time meet the legitimate aspirations of India.

Secondly, he would ask them specially to recognise the admirable loyalty that had been shown by the Moslems of India. They plainly saw that this was not a religious war but a political war against the ambitions of Germany for world-domination. Our Government had given the pledge that the holy places of the Moslem faith should be immune from attack by ourselves, and had obtained the assent of our Allies to a similar promise, while ruling princes, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, and leaders of Mahomedan thought like the Aga Khan, had been unswerving in the sagacious advice which they had given to their co-religionists. Islam was not only a religion. It was a civilisation with a great past, a distinctive character, and a tradition that made its appeal to millions of men and whatever might be the

political consequences to Turkey of its deplorable blunder, Islam would remain a world-force.

### Reforms After The War

It was being asked in some quarters:- Why were not immediate steps being taken to meet Indian claims? Why were not practical grievances being settled out of hand, such as those connected with the Arms Act, the Volunteers, or the question of commissions in the Indian Army? He had no wish to put in a mere dilatory plea for delay. But the immediate task was to concentrate all endeavours for victory in the war. The minds of statesmen and administrators were too pre-occupied for controversial discussion. Measures, even if accepted in principle, often required prolonged consideration before the details could be properly adjusted. It was not fair to friendly critics, who might be entitled to a hearing, to stifle discussion by an appeal to patriotism, but an appearance of discord and disunion should encourage the enemy. In India the idea of a truce for the time being had been readily accepted. It was not really a question, as it was, of rewarding Indians for good behaviour. Indians themselves had repudiated the suggestion. Something much more fundamental was at stake, and that was the consolidation of right feeling between Britain and India. That right feeling should not come as a mere wave of passing emotion. It should crystallise into a permanent attitude of mind. If that could be won as the lasting outcome of the war, public opinion in this country would be ready to adjust itself to such modifications as might prove to be necessary in the government of India, and the solution of the practical problems would follow accordingly. There were obstacles enough in the way. Let not mere unregenerate colour prejudice and racial feeling be added to them. Such persons as were afflicted with that malady should, since the world was wide, turn to work that would bring them in contact with none but their own kith and kin. Once let Englishmen concede the reciprocal superiorities of different races and the free scope for outstanding ability, whatever the caste or colour or creed of its possessor might be, and he did not think Indians would need to quarrel with them.

Would they allow him in passing to suggest that it would be well if the Press and people generally would give up talking

about "natives" or "natives of India"? These expressions were now felt in India to be discourteous, though he was sure they were often used merely to describe those whose birthplace was India, without any knowledge that the phrase was disliked.

### Indians and the Empire

It was wide of the mark to suggest that Indians were not a grateful people, or that the benefits of the British connexion were not recognised by them.

There was, however, one point in the relations of India to the Empire which could not be regarded with satisfaction. Last year, under the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, we established for the first time a uniform citizenship for the whole British Empire. But those Empire-wide rights did not include the free admission to all parts of the Empire. The control of immigration was vested in the self-governing Dominions, and Canada and Australia practically made it impossible for Indians to enter their territories, which the Dominions wished to reserve as white man's country. Recently, there was serious friction between the South African Government and the Indian settlers in South Africa, though that particular difficulty had been happily arranged by a practically complete agreement. Let them hope that the settlement of one controversy might form a precedent of good augury in other cases. And here again the war might be trusted to pave the way to a better state of feeling, a greater spirit of generosity, a larger sense of the claims of the Empire as a whole.

### The Hopes of the Future

In a speech delivered the other day in India, the complaint was made that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy pointed out "no land of promise" to the people of India. Perhaps it was rather the tendency of administrators to get on with the job in hand. Yet from the very nature of the case he thought that the future of India offered full scope for the aspirations of its sons. It was, as it seemed to him, a land where a growing measure of self-government in accordance with the special conditions of India was being progressively worked out as the fitness for self-government was proved, and the whole great experiment was like nothing that had ever existed before in the world. Then, as if that

were not enough, the war had opened out new vistas. India no longer was to live as she did in past ages, apart in her own world. Now, and in the future, her life would blend with the main current of the world-movement, opening out into the central stream of history; and her sons before our eyes would consciously claim their part in the common heritage of the great Empire which, as we believed, stood for freedom and international right, and which had been truly said to be the greatest secular agency for good, now existing in the world. Was the land of promise not visible there? (Loud applause.)

On the motion of the Lord Mayor, seconded by Colonel H. Hughes, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Roberts.

---

#### INDIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR

Viscount Bryce presided at a meeting of the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts on March, 18, 1915, when Lieut. Col. A. C. Yate gave a lecture on "The Indian Army."

##### Lord Bryce on Indian Devotion

Lord Bryce, in opening the discussion, said that the story of the Indian troops was inextricably bound up with the whole romantic history of British Rule in India. One of the most interesting things in Indian and British history was the ability which our people seemed to possess, perhaps beyond that of any European race, to get into touch with the natives of another country and another language, to secure their loyalty and attachment, to enter into their feelings, and show themselves apt leaders of brave men. Colonel Yate had suggested what a magnificent training ground the experience in India was for many great British soldiers. It was the experience of Wellesley in India that made him to be chosen at the darkest hour of England's fortunes to go out and take command of our troops in the Peninsula and begin that career of conquest which ended at Waterloo—the greatest contest in which Britain had been engaged up to the present war. During all those years there had been ripening in the Indian Army that spirit of loyalty and devotion to its leaders as there had been ripening among us that appreciation of the noble qualities of the Indian troops, both of which had now

found the most remarkable expression in the events of the last eight months—by far the most remarkable events in the whole long and brilliant history of the Indian Army. It was impossible to conceive a more striking instance of the loyalty and attachment of the people and princes and troops of India to the British Empire than the spontaneous offer which touched us all in August last. Since then by deeds of brilliant valour, the Indian troops had shown themselves the worthy compeers of our own troops and the troops of our Allies in their courage, devotion and endurance of all hardships. It was one of the redeeming incidents of a time full of sorrow. It was a new tie, and perhaps the deepest and most binding of all the ties that hereafter would unite us to India, because it showed that the efforts which we had made to discharge worthily the duties which Providence had laid upon us in India had been appreciated in India, and it showed that the people of India recognised that the future had in store for them and for us a closer connection than ever before based upon this endurance of common suffering and upon this devotion to a common cause. We might reasonably hope that our relations to India would rest upon a surer foundation of mutual affection and respect than was possible before, and that there would now be a feeling of common interest and common pride in the glory of the Empire and of common devotion to its welfare.

---

## VALOUR OF INDIAN TROOPS

### Sir Francis Younghusband

In a paper read by Sir Francis Younghusband at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on May 11, 1915, he paid a glowing tribute to the valour of the Indian army. The Indian soldier, said Sir Francis, came upon the scene at a crucial moment, and did a service for the Empire for which the Empire owed him gratitude. The seventy thousand troops from India arrived in France when the German, foiled in their rush on Paris, were making their tremendous lunge at Calais. Just at the moment when the British line thin to breaking point, had to hold back the incessant and terrific onslaught of the Germans, this contingent

of troops from India came upon the scene, and in their first serious action, on October 28, carried the village Neuve Chapelle, since become so famous. Had we not been to bring these reinforcements from India, had our position there been so precarious that we could not afford to take them away, and *a fortiori* had we been under necessity to send out more British troops to strengthen our position in India, then in all probability our troops in Flanders would not have been able to stay the German onrush, and our brave little army would have been swept off the Continent. That Indians were able to help the French, the Belgians and ourselves in stopping a blow which the Germans had prepared for years is a thing of which they may be proud, and for which we should always be grateful to them.

#### A Reservoir of Strength

India ( continues Sir Francis ) instead of being a strain and drain on England, was found to be a reservoir of strength, sending out men to project the heart of Empire, to protect the line of communications between England and India, to guard the gates ways to India, to attack the enemy's possessions.

The credit of this is due, in the first place, to the warm-heartedness and instinctive loyalty of the Indian people and in the second place, to the right-mindedness with which the British have sought to fulfil their trust to India. Whatever other qualities the people of India have, they have certainly a great capacity for affection. They show an extraordinary degree of devotion to individual Englishmen and women, and unbounded affection for such a ruler as Queen Victoria. They are not a cold-blooded race. They have quick warm hearts and they have an innate sense of loyalty to their rulers. The credit of what India did last autumn must therefore in the first place go to them. ... .. We, who have completed our service in India and can look back over our careers can see the harm we may have done by many unwitting roughness and rudeness and much unconscious harshness and discourtesy, arising in our earlier days from sheer ignorance and lack of sympathy and imagination.

#### The Settlement after the War

Discussing the settlement after the war, Sir Francis Young husband said :

Such deep emotions have been loosened, so many interests aroused and hopes raised, so much new light has been shed and experience gained, that men returning from wars in Europe, in Egypt, in Turkey, in Mesopotamia, in East Africa and in China will be men with a wider outlook and larger demands than they ever had before. And the Indian public, educated by not only keenly watching but by actually participating in the mighty happenings of these times, will be a different people from what they were before the war commenced. All will take time to settle down, and when they do it will not be to things as they were before. It will be to a new order to which they will have to accommodate themselves. And in the process of adjusting themselves to these new conditions there must necessarily be trouble, friction, discontent. It will be no easy process; and problems of extraordinary delicacy and complexity are already looming on the horizon. The old demand of Indians for commissions in the Army will be pressed; and it seems so reasonable and fair to grant it to men who have fought so loyally and well. But if the fighting in France has taught us one thing more forcibly than another, it is the need of still more British officers with Indian regiments. It is a thorny subject, beset with difficulties, and one which, whether it is left alone or settled, is certain to cause discontent in common quarter.

#### India and the Colonies

Another still more difficult question is the admission of Indians to the Colonies. That was delicate enough before the war. How much more delicate will it be after it? When India has taken such a prominent part in the defence of the Empire, how discontented she would be if there remains any part of it from which her people were still refused admission?

A more definite share in the Councils of the Empire; a larger part in the management of their own affairs; a higher status altogether; the right to bear arms and to volunteer; a more equal social position—all those demands will be pressed. And the Chiefs who have stood so nobly by us may well hope to be granted a more prominent and effective part in the affairs of the Empire.

In regard to these difficulties, the experience we have gained in the war will help us to a solution. The thought of German lust for domination and habit of domineering, the degree to which Germany became intoxicated with power and the blindness with which it was exercised, disposes us to search out our own hearts to see whether we also may not unconsciously have been guilty of a similar sin. And even if we acquit ourselves of guilt we may at least recognise what we may be led to if we are not carefully on our guard. For there is in power something peculiarly blinding and dulling to the moral sense, and only those of the quickest sensibility and swiftest imagination are fitted to exercise it over peoples weaker than themselves.

After the war we may expect that the Indians will make, with increasing insistence, the demands I have mentioned for a greater share in the management of their own affairs. But in dealing with this question, we may lay fast hold of this fact that the leaders of Indian opinion and the great mass and bulk of the people have not the slightest desire, hope of ambition to sever the tie with England. In making their demands it is not severance but autonomy at which they aim; Self-Government, indeed, they want; but Self-Government within the Empire, not outside it.

---

## "COMRADESHIP AND CO-OPERATION"

### India's answer to Germany

The Lord Mayor of London presided at a great meeting held at the Guildhall on May 19, 1915, under the auspices of the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations for the purpose of giving public expression to the Empire's sense of gratitude for the efforts and sacrifices made in the prosecution of the war by the self-governing Dominions, the Colonies and Protectorates and India. The Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law were the principal speakers, and among those present were the Marquess of Crewe, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, the Official representatives in London of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, Major-General Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, the Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, the Raja Sahib of Akalkot, Captain the Raja of Barwani, Lord Reay, Lord Jelington, Lord George Hamiltons

Lord Harris, Mr. Edwin Montague, Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali.

### The Prime Minister's Speech

Mr. ASQUITH moved the following resolution: "That this meeting of the citizens of London records, on behalf of the British people, its abiding gratitude for the unparalleled services rendered by the self-governing Dominions, the Colonies, the Protectorates, and the Indian Empire, in the struggle to maintain the ideal of Liberty and Justice, which is the common and sacred cause of the Allies." We were, he said, well on in the tenth month of the greatest war in which we or any other people had ever been engaged. At home we had every reason to bestir ourselves. Our shores were, geographically, at any rate, within striking distance of the enemy, and the main theatre of war was nearer to London than our own northern counties. It was not so with our fellow-subjects to whose magnificent comradeship and co-operation we were paying our tribute of gratitude that day. They were far removed from the sphere of conflict, and now that the high seas had been cleared of hostile cruisers, their seaborne commerce pursued almost its normal course. But they were sons and daughters of the Empire. What touched us, touched them.

### What India has done

After passing in review the contributions to the common cause, both in money and in men, of the Dominions, and the gallant services rendered by the Colonial troops, Mr. ASQUITH proceeded:—

Let me say one word now about India. (Cheers.) A White Paper was presented to Parliament last September enumerating the gifts and offers of service from the Princes and peoples of India. (Cheers.) As is apparent to any one who studies that return they have come from all quarters, and upon the most prodigal scale; but even so, they have since been largely supplemented and increased. I will just select two or three instances simply as samples from this long and splendid catalogue. The Maharaja of Mysore made an enormous money contribution—one of the finest and most munificent that has come from any part

of the Empire. That great feudatory, the Nizām of Hyderabad, contributed £400 to the expenses of the Imperial Service Lancers and the 20th Deccan Horse. The Maharaja of Gwalior have contributed—the list is so long that I hardly like to read it—with an amount of care and prevision which is beyond all praise, to almost every department which needed help and support. And I am glad to put it on record that his Majesty the King has just accepted a most generous offer of machine-guns from the Maharaja of Nepaul—(cheers)—a gift which is the expression of his intense desire—and it is a desire which is not founded upon obligation, but upon goodwill and sympathy—to contribute to the actual resources of the British Government in war material.

Our fellow-subjects in India itself have not been behindhand. They have raised a very large Imperial Indian Relief Fund, and the three Presidencies—Bengal Madras and Bombay—have each had separate funds of their own which have been devoted on a large scale, and with the best results, mainly to the relief and support of the troops whom India has sent out.

What shall I say about the Indian forces? (Cheers.) India has put in the field, in the several theatres of war, including British troops sent from India, a force equivalent to nine complete infantry divisions, with artillery—(cheers) and eight cavalry brigades—(renewed cheers)—as well as several smaller bodies of troops aggregating more than an infantry division, in minor and outlying spheres. Putting the same thing in another way, India has placed at the disposal of the Empire, for service out of India, twenty-eight regiments of cavalry, British, Indian, and Imperial Service, and no less than 124 regiments of infantry, British, Indian, and Imperial. (Loud cheers.)

Then, again, when we look to the actual achievements of the forces so spontaneously despatched, so liberally provided, so magnificently equipped, the battlefields of France and Flanders bear undying tribute to their bravery and devotion. (Cheers.) I repeat what I said a few minutes ago, that I make no apology for entering into these details. They teach in a concrete form, which is better than any rhetoric, the truth that the Empire is one in purpose and one at heart. (Cheers.)

## Mr. Bonar Law

Mr. BONAR LAW, in seconding the resolution, said that when a venomous reptile was let loose, there was only one thing to be done, that was to destroy it. But in order to accomplish that task we needed—and, thank Heaven, we had behind us—the full force not only of the United Kingdom, but of the British Empire. (Cheers.) Our enemies had singled us out from all the Allies as the chief object of their hatred. The British Empire was the antithesis of everything for which German militarism stood. They relied on force, and force alone. They not only despised but they did not understand, moral forces and it was moral forces on which the British Empire rested. (Cheers.)

The Prime Minister had spoken of what had been done for us, let us say, by our Indian fellow-subjects. We knew some thing of it: but he did not think we fully realised here how much those men who had fought and died by the side of our own soldiers had helped us through these long months. (Cheers.) It was his belief that as a nation we had more reason to be proud of the spontaneous enthusiasm on behalf of their Emperor and their Empire of the Indian Princes and peoples than we had to be proud of the conquest of India. (Cheers.)

He did not wish in anything to look beyond this war. (Cheers.) Our enemies said it was we who organised it. What could we gain by it? What can we gain by it now? Nothing except peace, and security for peace in the future. (Cheers.) But perhaps he might be permitted to say for himself, and himself alone, not attempting to speak for any party, that he had now a hope that we should gain something more as the result of this war. The Dominions of the British Empire had not been created by the war, but the conditions had been changed by the war, and it was his hope, and if it was taken up in earnest while the metal was still glowing red hot from the furnace of war, he believed it could be done, that as a result of it we might see a Parliament of the British Empire, in which every part of that Empire, in proportion to its resources and its numbers, would share in the duty and the honour of ruling the British Empire. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was unanimously carried and acknowledged by Mr. C. H. PERLEY (Canada), Sir GEORGE REID (Australia), Mr. T. MACKENZIE (New Zealand), and Mr. SCHREINER (South Africa).

#### Lord Crewe

The MARQUESS of CREWE, in moving a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, desired to express his conviction that the recognition by that meeting of the answer which India had given to Germany would thrill through the whole of the Empire. That answer had been given by the Indian Army, by the Princes of India, and by the whole people of India, who had lavished their labour, their gifts, and their prayers on behalf of the cause of which their beloved King-Emperor was the centre and the symbol. (Cheers.) Of the hopes of the future Mr. Bonar Law had spoken eloquently, and he, for his part, would like also to think that the association of India and the Colonies at such a gathering as that was a significant sign of the essential comprehension which, as the years rolled on, would, as he firmly believed, sweep away all those obstacles of distance, of creed, or of race, which seemed to interfere with the complete union of the different members of the great Imperial Confederation—a union which would hinge upon the free activities of each, and which would be firmly based upon a common belief in the progress of the whole. (Cheers.)

#### Mr. Harcourt

Mr. HARCOURT, in seconding the resolution, said that for more than nine months his office had been the clearing house of the patriotism and the generosity of the Empire. (Cheers.) It had been the switch-room of messages of devotion and sacrifice and a coherer of divers races to a universal determination. The reason for all this was not only Imperial interest and Imperial sentiment, but a passionate appreciation of British methods of Imperial rule. At the end of this war he believed it would be said, and truly said, that Germany had not fought in vain, for she would have consolidated—the British Empire. (Loud cheers.)

---

**INDIA'S MONETARY CONTRIBUTION**  
**Finance Member's Acknowledgment**

At a conference with the Karachi Chamber of Commerce on October 14, 1916, Sir William Meyer said in reply to the remarks of its Chairmen.

Lastly coming to your remarks about an Indian National War Loan I must in the first place entirely dissent from the statement that India has made no direct monetary contribution towards the cost of carrying on the war. We have made a very considerable contribution by defraying the normal cost of the large Indian expeditionary forces that have been sent to fight the battles of the Empire in various continents. It must be remembered that while we still pay for these troops we have for the time no lien on their services which would be very valuable to us in the present situation. I said in my Budget speech that we should probably contribute 7 million during 1914-15 and 1915-16 to the Home Government in this way. And as a matter of fact I think we shall probably give more. As I said too in my speech on the final Budget debate, India has contributed things far more valuable than money: 2,000,000 trained soldiers and vast supplies of munitions of war of all kinds.

**India's Part in the War**

I have no sympathy, therefore, with one who belittles the part that India is taking in the present conflict. The specific suggestion that India should raise a large national war loan on which she would presumably pay the interest is one on which I could not look with any favour. A considerable amount of money has already been contributed by individuals in India to the last home war loan and no doubt the next one will call forth similar contributions. But to start a special Indian loan in India is quite a different matter. In making suggestions of this sort, it seems to me that you do not realise the gravity of the present financial situation. Here we have had in order to help to preserve the resources of the United Kingdom for war loans at home to curtail materially the borrowing programme in England which we looked forward to carrying out this year and it is not likely that we shall be able to raise any money by borrowing in London in 1916-17. As you are aware our programme of productive works

have hitherto depended very largely on borrowings in the London market. We have now to look to India for such money as we can borrow and consequently those programmes will have to be very largely curtailed. The lending capacities of India are, as experience has shown, still very limited. I need only remind you in this matter of the complete recent failure of the Rangoon Port Trust to raise a loan of 7 lakhs at 4 per cent. And we cannot face the prospect of depriving ourselves of the aid which we shall have to look for from them by letting them be diverted to a Home war-loan. I may also remind you that the present financial year is estimated to close with a heavy deficit and with the prospect of the war continuing in 1916-17 the same is likely to occur. Then this makes it still more impossible to act in the way you suggest. Believe me, gentlemen, the first duty of those who, like yourselves, have thrown in their lot with India, is to India and I would ask you to use your superfluous cash in subscribing to the Indian Government loans. India, as I have already pointed out, has materially helped the Empire in this crisis. The best way in which she can render further help is to be prosperous and contented internally and to rely as far as possible on her own resources financially. But although I differ from you materially on the proposal you have put forward it is a matter of great satisfaction to me to think from the spirit that animates your address that whatever sacrifices the Indian Government may hereafter have to call upon you to bear, whether this be in the way of increased taxation or by the drastic retrenchment of expenditure in which you are interested you will suffer them willingly, nay cheerfully for the sake of India and of the Empire of which she forms a great part.

---

## THE INDIAN PRINCES AND PEOPLES AND THE WAR

### Statement by the Secretary of State

In reply to a question by Sir John Jardine in the House of Commons on October 20, 1915, Mr. Chamberlain made the following statement as regards the contributions to the war made by chiefs and princes of India:—

A very bulky and detailed statement of the offers of service in connexion with the War made by Ruling Chiefs and important

persons and associations in India has been received from the Government of India, and copies have been placed in the Library. The statement includes the offers and gifts that were enumerated in the telegram which the Under Secretary of State read to the House on September 9 last year, and which has since been presented to Parliament; but even the most monumental of these have since been largely increased. It is impossible to summarise these additions, which still continue to be received as the progress of the War has given fresh opportunities of service; but the House will, perhaps, permit me to quote one or two examples to illustrate the spirit that animates the whole of India. Besides the Chiefs mentioned last year, the rulers of Nawanagar, Rajkot Baria, Jamkhandi, Akalkot, Savanur, Barwani, Loharu, and Wankaner have been permitted to go on active service in one or other of the spheres of operations. In addition to the Imperial Service troops originally selected from among those offered, contingents from the following States have also been accepted for service in India or abroad:—Junagadh, Khairpur, Nawanagar, Bhavnagar, Janjira, Tehri, Bahawalpur, Maler Kotla, Sirmur, Bhopal, and Idar.

Three hospital ships, equipped and maintained from unofficial sources, have left the shores of India:—The "Loyalty," given jointly by a number of Ruling Chiefs; the "Madras" given by the Madras War Fund; and the "Bengali," given by the people of Bengal. The last was, most unfortunately, wrecked on its way to the Persian Gulf; the first two have been continuously employed this year in carrying sick and wounded between India and the theatres of war.

The Nizam of Hyderabad has offered 60 lakhs for the expenses of one of his Imperial Service regiments, which has gone to the front, and of the Cavalry Regiment of the Indian Army of which he is honorary colonel. The Maharaja of Mysore, besides the 50 lakhs he had already given, has offered the services of his State in many other practical ways. The Maharaja Sindia of Gwalior, whose health has prevented him from going to the front, has made further munificent gifts in money and in kind, including a motor ambulance fleet and six armoured aeroplanes. The Begum of Bhopal, in addition to large contributions to relief funds and

other services, has sent 500 Korans for sick and wounded Moslem soldiers. The Gaekwar of Baroda gave 5 lakhs of rupees for the purchase of aeroplanes. The Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala and the Jam of Nawanagar, besides other services, are jointly maintaining a hospital for officers in a house at Stanines, which his Highness the Jam has given for the purpose.

It is not possible to enumerate the offers and the contributions of various kinds that have been received from individuals and from associations in British India. It must suffice to say that they demonstrate the firm determination of all classes and creeds to take their place in fulfilling all the positive duties of citizenship.

Nor have the notabilities and tribes of the borderland been behind the inhabitants of British India in the spontaneity of their expressions of loyalty. The offers of service by the Frontier Militias, the proposal of the Khyber tribes to furnish an armed contingent, and the subscription by the Wazirs of Bannu of their allowances for one month to the Relief Fund, are striking examples. Beyond the border, the Chiefs of Baluchistan made valuable offers of camels, and the Sheikhs of Koweit and Bahrein contributed to charitable funds in India. The Maharaja of Bhutan, besides offering the financial and military resources of his State, contributed a lakh of rupees to the Relief Fund. The Prime Minister of Nepal added largely to the munificent gifts mentioned last year, and has rendered his Majesty's Government most valuable services by the military facilities which he has accorded. The Dalai Lama of Tibet, as was stated last year, offered 1,000 soldiers at the outbreak of war; his continued sympathy with the cause of the Allies is shown by the fact that on hearing of General Botha's victories in South-West Africa he ordered flags to be hoisted on the hills around Lhassa, and special prayers to be offered for further victories. It will not perhaps be out of place in this connexion if I add that his Majesty's Government have received striking proofs of the friendship of the Amir of Afghanistan and of his determined loyalty to the British alliance.

It has not been possible for the Government to avail themselves of all these many and varied offers of service, but our appreciation of them is not less on that account. And the House will agree with me in seeing in them conclusive evidence of the

unshaken solidarity of the princes and peoples of India and of the neighbouring countries, without distinction of race or religion in defence of the vital interests of the Empire. (Loud cheers)

---

## INDIA AND THE WAR

### Mr. Chamberlain's Tribute

The Secretary of State for India issued for publication the following statement, which, in view of reports of unrest in India which were circulated abroad, and especially in America, was made by him to the American Press.

#### The Internal Situation

Statements, says Mr. Chamberlain, are often made that India is on the brink of revolution, and before the war there was much talk of sedition. There were also seditious acts, culminating in an attack on the Viceroy. The wish being father to the thought, Germany eagerly swallowed all such stories, and jumped to the conclusion that when Great Britain was involved in a life-and-death struggle with a European power India would seize the opportunity to throw off British authority. In this expectation the Germans used every means to turn the situation to their own advantage and create trouble for us.

At one time there was a small amount of trouble, but how trifling was the result as compared with the hopes and expectations of the enemy! Out of a population of 320,000,000 there are naturally some who are discontented, and even a few who are violently inimical to Government.

#### Missionaries of Sedition

A body of malcontents did start a conspiracy to overthrow British rule. The plot originated among the Hindu settlers in California, who, for a year or two before the war, had been carrying on an anti-British propaganda. Soon after the outbreak of the war a number of these sailed for India with the design of seducing Indian troops and starting a concerted rising which was to have taken place in February, 1915. They had been led to expect to find India in revolution. As a fact, they found it quite tranquil, and all the leading men enthusiastically supporting the

British Government. So far from raising the Punjab, as they hoped, the missionaries of sedition met with a stubborn resistance from the villagers whom they approached, their attempts to seduce troops failed, and they did not secure the adhesion of a single man of any influence and importance.

The complete failure of their fantastic conspiracy is the best evidence of the stability of British rule. In Bengal, too, there has been a series of daring outrages in the shape of murders and robberies which have produced some alarm. The ignorance and credulity of young men have been taken advantage of. Facts have been misrepresented to them, and they have been led to believe that India is oppressed and that expulsion of the foreigner will bring the millennium. And some of these young men of the student class have committed crimes of violence, which are, however, condemned by all influential Bengalis.

These are the chief instances of trouble we have had in India since the war began. They are trivial when viewed in comparison with the whole situation. Apart from them the state of India is perfectly satisfactory, and now, after twenty months of war, the Viceroy is able to report that "the internal situation could hardly be more favourable."

### **Splendid Loyalty and Substantial Help**

India, instead of being a cause of anxiety, has been a substantial help to the Empire in time of need. She was able to send troops to aid in the great battle of Ypres in those critical days when the Germans were striving to reach Calais. She has also sent troops to Egypt, Gallipoli, East Africa, Mesopotamia, Persia and China. No fewer than twenty-one regiments of Indian cavalry and eighty-six battalions of Indian infantry, in addition to the troops placed at the disposal of the Government by the rulers of the Indian Native States, have been fighting the battles of the Empire far beyond the Indian borders. These have been despatched completely equipped, and, in addition, drafts more than filling up the vacancies caused by casualties have been regularly forwarded. And the people of India, sepoys and Maharajas, villagers and highly educated public men, have given their support because they are deeply convinced that in this war the British Empire is fighting in a just and righteous cause. The Indian people have a

high sense of right and wrong. They saw that in this war the Allies were in the right, and they regarded the cause of the Allies as the cause of India.

### The Rally of The Princes

In fact, the rally of India to the Empire has been one of the most remarkable events in its history. Directly the war broke out the rulers of the Indian Native States took the lead in asserting their enthusiastic loyalty to the King-Emperor. Numbering nearly 700 altogether, they with one accord rallied to the defence of the Empire and offered their personal services and the resources of their States. Among the many princes and nobles who volunteered for service in the war was the veteran Sir Pertab Singh, who, in spite of his seventy years, refused to be denied the right of serving the King Emperor in Person, and who spent many months in the trenches in Flanders. Twenty-seven of the large States which maintain properly trained and equipped troops for Imperial service placed these at the disposal of the Government. Other chiefs offered large sums of money. Three States offered camels and drivers. One chief in addition to his troops, offered his private jewellery. Large contributions were made to the patriotic funds. Outside India altogether, the Nepal Government placed the whole of their military resources at the disposal of the British Government, and the Dalai Lama of Tibet offered 1,000 troops and stated that innumerable Lamas all over Tibet were offering up prayers for the success of the British arms.

### —And of the People

The Viceroy received thousands of telegrams and letters, from every quarter expressing loyalty and the desire to assist. They came from every community, from all manner of different associations, religious and political, from all the different creeds and from countless numbers of individuals, offering their resources and their personal services. In the Viceroy's Council one of the Indian members moved a resolution, which was carried unanimously, declaring that the members of the Council, voicing the feeling that animated the whole of the people of India, desired to give expression to their feelings of unswerving loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to their King-Emperor, and an assurance

of their unflinching support to the British Government. This resolution further expressed the opinion that the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being offered by India to the Emperor, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden imposed by the war on the United Kingdom, and thus to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire.

#### **Material Aid.**

During the progress of the war further offers of help have been and continue to be received, and more of the chiefs have been able to serve at the front.

Three hospital ships, equipped and maintained from unofficial sources, left the shores of India—the "Loyalty," given jointly by a number of Ruling Chiefs; the "Madras," given by the Madras War Fund; and the "Bengali," given by the people of Bengal. The Maharaja of Mysore offered 50 lakhs of rupees (£ 333,000) to the Viceroy for any purpose in connexion with the war to which the Government decided to devote it. Similarly, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the premier Chief in India, offered 60 lakhs of rupees (£ 400,000) for the expenses of one of his regiments which has gone to the front. The Maharaja Sindia presented a motor-ambulance fleet and six armoured aeroplanes. Other chiefs made further contributions to patriotic funds. And from beyond the borders of India came additional proofs of support. The Chiefs of Koweit and Eabrein, on the Persian Gulf, contributed to charitable funds in India. The Dalai Lama of Tibet, on hearing of General Botha's victories in South-West Africa, ordered flags to be hoisted on the hills round Lhasa; while the Amir of Afghanistan gave striking proofs of his friendship and of his determined loyalty to the British alliance.

#### **The Congress and Public Opinion.**

The leading Indians in the provinces directly administered by the British Government were equally decisive in their expression of loyalty. And last December the distinguished Bengali president of the Indian National Congress, Sir S. P. Sinha, said in his opening address: "The supreme feeling which arises in our minds is one of deep admiration for the self-imposed burden which England is bearing in the struggle for liberty and freedom, and a feeling of profound pride that India has not fallen behind the other portions

of the British Empire, but has stood shoulder to shoulder with them by the side of the Imperial Mother in her sorest trial."

The Indian National Congress is an independent unofficial body. In ordinary times it is highly critical of the Government. The expression by its president, and the resolution of loyalty which was passed, may be taken as representative of the feeling of the great bulk of the Indian people. (*May 12, 1916.*)

## UNWRITTEN HISTORY

### Lord Hardinge on India and the War

Lord Hardinge, in the course of a conversation with the London correspondent of the "New York Times," gave the following account of Indian affairs since the outbreak of the war:—

For months during the early period of the war India was practically denuded of British troops, and the Indian contingent who went abroad to fight the British Empire's battles amounted to some twenty times the total of the force which was sent to China at the time of the Boxer rebellion.

### The Policy of "Mutual Trust"

"How was this possible?" Lord Hardinge was asked.

"Only because of mutual trust," he replied. "At the outset of the war I had consultations with the leaders throughout India. I frankly exposed to them the situation and the needs of the Empire, and was assured that there would be no serious trouble in India. I believed their assurances, and my trust has been amply justified."

We sent out of the country no less than 300,000 men to various fields of the Imperial battle-line in France, Egypt, China, Mesopotamia, East Africa, Gallipoli, and even the Cameroons. These consisted of both Indian and British troops. When it is remembered that the British Army of occupation usually numbers some 73,000 men, and that at one time for a few weeks there remained only a handful of British troops—something between 10,000 and 15,000 men—in a country with a population of over 315,000,000, one can realise that such a course of action would have been foolhardy in the extreme had there been any real foundation for the report of widespread and serious disaffection spread

from enemy sources. If India had been as disloyal as the Germans would doubtless have liked it to be, our policy would have been tantamount to an evacuation, with the probability that we were condemning the few thousand of troops left behind, practically without artillery, and the whole white civilian population to being submerged under a tidal wave of revolt. This situation was, however, purely temporary, for since the period of the first few months of war the garrison of India has been considerably reinforced by Territorial and garrison battalions and Territorial artillery.

The Indian Empire gave to the British Empire, in the critical early stages of the war, when England's resources in artillery were, as is well known, entirely inadequate to the needs of the situation the whole of its artillery of the most modern and up-to-date pattern, with the exception of a few batteries, which were kept on the north-western frontier for protection against attack from without. And even these batteries were reduced from six to four guns. India also supplied the British Government with great quantities of shells, rifles, and small arms ammunition, and the Government of South Africa with shot and shell.

From these facts it is apparent that the Indian Government had full confidence in the loyalty of the Indian princes, chiefs, and peoples. How has that trust been justified? A few striking examples will prove more than generalisations about India's loyalty.

#### **Plots that Failed**

In the winter of 1914-15, about 7,000 Sikhs returned to India from the western part of the United States and Canada. They were imbued with revolutionary ideas, and were, doubtless, under the impression that the whole country was ready to rise. They made their way up country, and, arrived in the Punjab, committed all sorts of excesses, not stopping at murder. This was in February, 1915. Not only did they fail to subvert the population, but when the Government took in hand the task of suppressing the disorders and hunting down the perpetrators, they were invariably assisted by the Sikh peasants, who in numberless cases themselves seized and handed over the guilty parties to the authorities.

In the Punjab these returned Sikhs were undoubtedly parties to a conspiracy which had for its object to cause a general rising and seize in the first instance the Ferozepore arsenal. It was through the unfailing loyalty of the people themselves to the British Raj that the conspiracy came to naught.

There is ample evidence that German assistance, financial and otherwise, has been given to agitators. One plot was directly instigated by Germany through various agents, who were supplied with considerable funds. This was an ambitious scheme—nothing less than to create a general revolt, which was timed to break out on Christmas Day, 1915. However, the Government was furnished with full information of the projected rising, and was able to forestall it, and render all preparations abortive. The centre of this plot was in Bengal, where there has always been a certain amount of anarchist activity. Another specific instance of the loyalty of the people in presence of a conspiracy of this kind occurred in Balasore. Here the presence of a number of revolutionaries was signalled to the police by villagers, whom the agitators had approached. The peasants themselves assisted the police in tracking down and arresting the revolutionaries some of them actually giving their lives in their loyalty to the Government in a mêlée that occurred when their arrest was effected. Yet again, in every case where attempts were made to suborn sepoys of Indian regiments from their allegiance information was given to the Government by the soldiers themselves.

### **Crazy Revolutionaries**

Of course, there is a certain amount, though small comparatively, of disaffection and disloyalty in India. Among a population of over 300 millions, comprising so many varieties of race and sect, and representing all degrees of political and educational development, how could it be otherwise? But even so, this discontent is anarchistic rather than revolutionary. It has no constructive programme. It represents a desire to tear down authority, not a plan to set up a new authority. I wish to state most emphatically—and American readers can take my word for this—that the persons at the back of this movement—such as it is—are not the intellectuals of India—they are to be found among the half-educated. The Ghadr party, so called because of

the paper of that name, which is printed abroad and introduced secretly, is frankly anarchistic. It is encouraged by a few crazy people in the United States and Western Canada, and probably subventioned by Germany. The head of the Ghadr party is Hardyal, who was at the time employed at the German War Ministry, and who was last heard of, I believe, in Japan. This anarchistic party is small in numbers and influence, but it is desperate and dangerous. Its greatest strength lies in Bengal. Its predominant plan is to reduce the province to chaos by the murder of police and officials. As you may remember, the last Viceroy was, like other individuals before him, the victim of these methods. I am happy to say I am quite recovered from the wounds I received on that occasion, and that my Indian servant, who was on the elephant with my wife and myself, has also quite recovered. It may interest people to know that it has been proved that the bomb was thrown by one of a gang of three, of whom two have already suffered capital punishment for other crimes of a similar nature.

### Controversies Suspended

Since the outbreak of the war all political controversies concerning India have been suspended by the educated and political classes, with the object of not increasing the difficulties of the Government's task. In certain cases, where drastic legislation was necessary, the Government was able to pass it without the slightest opposition in the Imperial Legislative Council, which consists of sixty-eight members, with an Indian representation of about thirty, and a Government majority of only four. Speeches made by Indian members of the Council are striking testimony to their sense of increased responsibility. There is no doubt of the very considerable political progress of India. Even during the five and a half years of my stay there I noticed a vast political development. Those politicians whose ultimate aspiration is self-government have become more moderate and sensible in their demands as they came to realise that it was impossible for India to stand alone. It is unquestionable that this improvement is an outcome of the reformation of the Councils undertaken by Lord Morley and Lord Minto.

### The Princes and the People

Nothing could possibly exceed the loyalty of the Indian princes and chiefs, who have shown themselves ready to make great sacrifices for the sake of the Empire. They have contributed enormous sums of money and large numbers of Imperial service troops employed both abroad and in India, where in some cases they are fulfilling the service of British regulars. Most of the princes and chiefs offered themselves for service with the British colours, and many of them are actually serving. There has not been one single instance of even disaffection or even of absence of patriotism on the part of the princes or chiefs, whom I regard as the pillars of the State.

No doubt there was a good deal of perturbation on the littoral of India during the ravages of the "Emden" in Indian waters, but the people of India now realise the immunity they enjoy from the predominance of British sea-power. There are certain Germans in Persia and in Afghanistan—in the latter country they are now interred—who had wireless stations at Ispahan—now in the hands of the Russians—and at Shiraz, and transmitted all sorts of information, true and false.

### The North-West Frontier

This doubtless accounts for some of the reports which have been current in America, particularly with regard to conditions on the North-West Frontier. It is true that during the past year we had no less than seven very severe attacks from tribesmen just outside our frontier. They were, however, all repulsed, and the tribesmen severely punished. Frontier disturbances now present a very much more serious problem for the tribesmen, in view of the introduction of aeroplanes, armoured cars, and high explosives. No serious trouble need be apprehended.

At the outbreak of the war, his Majesty the Amir gave the Viceroy the most solemn assurances, which have since been renewed, of his intention to preserve the neutrality of his country; and I, as the ex-Viceroy, have the firmest confidence, in spite of the very great pressure put upon him by certain members of his family and some prominent officials, encouraged by Germans and Turks who are in Cabul at the present time, and who went there with letters from the Kaiser in the hope of inducing the Amir to

proclaim a Jihad on the North-West Frontier, that his Majesty's promises will be loyally performed. In Tibet the Dalai Lama is most loyal. We heard that Lhassa was beflagged after General Botha's successes in South Africa.

---

## INDIA'S SERVICES TO THE WAR

### Statement by the Viceroy

In his opening address in the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla on September 5, 1916, Lord Chelmsford made the following summary statement of what India had done during the past two years:—

The winter of 1914-15 was one of the most critical periods of the war for it was evident that the troops then available on the Continent and in the United Kingdom were inadequate for the defensive role allotted to them and that the only way, pending the raising and training of new Armies, in which the position could be saved was by replacing the Regulars serving in the Mediterranean and Colonial garrisons, with Territorials and by drawing upon India for troops to the fullest possible extent. The demands then made on us were honoured in full and with the utmost promptitude. Two cavalry and two infantry divisions, completely equipped in every respect with staffs, horses, transport ambulances and all requisite auxiliary services were despatched to France. Of the endurance and gallantry displayed by the Indian Corps, while serving in the trenches during the trying winter of 1914-15 and again in the severe fighting that took place in the following spring I need hardly speak, for its details are known to you all. Despite a wastage in *Personnel* of over 150 per cent. per annum and a considerable loss in animals the Indian Corps were always kept up to strength and liberally provided with clothing, munitions and equipment from India.

At the same time as the despatch of troops to France, nearly the equivalent of a Division was sent to East Africa while one Cavalry and six Infantry Brigades were despatched to Egypt. Very soon after, a Division complete in every respect was sent to Mesopotamia where it has since been largely reinforced while

smaller forces were employed at Muskat in the Persian Gulf and at Aden. All these forces were based on India which provided the drafts of men and animals and the food, forage and material required for their maintenance.

Besides the heavy burden of having to meet the needs of Expeditionary Forces at the same time, India had to maintain the troops on her frontiers and to conduct operations which attracted little attention at the time but which were nevertheless on a considerable scale.

### A Great Imperial Asset

The Army in India has thus proved a great Imperial asset and in weighing the value of India's contribution to war, it should be remembered that Indian forces were no hasty improvisation but were an Army being fully equipped and supplied which had previously cost India annually a large sum to maintain.

I wish that time would permit of my giving you an account in greater detail of the assistance in men and material which India has furnished and is furnishing to the cause of the Empire. It would show the strain that is still imposed upon us by the maintenance of these large forces overseas. It would not, however, be justifiable at this stage of my speech to inflict on you a full recital of these facts and figures. Still I cannot refrain from mentioning a few salient points.

On the outbreak of war, of the 4,593 British officers on the Indian establishment, 530 who were at Home on leave were detained by the War Office for Service in Europe. 2,600 combatant officers have been withdrawn from India since the beginning of the War, excluding those who proceeded on service with their batteries or regiments. In order to make good these deficiencies and provide for War wastage, the Indian Army Reserve of Officers was expanded from a total of 40 at which it stood on the 1st of August, 1914, to one of 2,000.

The establishments of Indian units have not only been kept up to strength but have been considerably increased. There has been an augmentation of 20 per cent. in the Cavalry and of 49 per cent. in the Infantry, while the number of recruits enlisted since the beginning of the War is greater than the entire strength of the Indian Army, as it existed on the 1st August 1914. These

remarkable results may be attributed to the confidence inspired by the British officers of the Indian Army, the cordial co-operation of the civil authorities and the loyal response of the people of India.

Recruiting has been opened to several classes to whom military service was previously closed. Considerable public interest has been aroused by the sanction given for the formation of a Bengali Double Company which will be trained on the frontier and sent on active service. The Bengal Stationary Hospital recently broken up rendered admirable service in Mesopotamia and its record there was one of which the promoters of the scheme may well be proud.

### Military Transport

The despatch of so many Expeditionary Forces from India has necessitated a great expansion in military transport. Four Camel Transport Corps and twenty-seven Mule Corps have been despatched on service representing a total of over 13,000 men and 17,000 animals. To replace these units and provide for wastage, some sixteen new transport corps and cadres have been formed.

Six labour corps have been sent to the front and some 1,500 overseers, draftsmen, clerks, storekeepers, carpenters, smiths, mechanics, etc., have been despatched to Mesopotamia for duty on military works and India has supplied large stocks of military material.

### Medical Personnel and Equipment

In respect of medical *personnel* and equipment, and this is a matter in regard to which the Government of India have come in for special criticism, India's contribution towards the overseas expeditions have been on a very big scale. Forty field ambulances six clearing Hospitals, 35 Stationary Hospitals, 18 General Hospitals, 9 X-Ray sections, 8 Sanitary sections, 7 advanced Depots and 1 General Medical Store Depot are now serving overseas. The *personnel* provided for these units and other services amounts to 258 officers of the R. A. M. C. 704. I. M. S. officers, 40 lady nurses, 475 Assistant Surgeons, 845 Sub Assistant Surgeons, 731 British Nursing orderlies, 284 Indian ranks and nearly 20,000 Indian followers. In order to meet the

demands on the Indian Medical Service 344 officers have been withdrawn from the Civil Service employment and some 200 private practitioners and Civil Assistant Surgeons have been given temporary Commissions. In the subordinate branches 206 Assistant Surgeons and 560 Sub-Assistant Surgeons in various kinds of civil employment have been released for military duty. The strain which has been caused to the Civil Medical Departments by these changes and withdrawals has been very great. In the medical sphere, in fact, it must be patent to all that in responding to the demands made upon it, we have gone as far as it was possible to go.

### **Ordnance Department**

The efficient working of the Indian Ordnance Department is shown in the enormous increase in the output from our factories and arsenals since the outbreak of war. To name one item only I note that we have supplied the War Office with stores to the value of a million sterling, including some 265,000 high explosive empty shells manufactured by the Munitions Branch. The Indian Ordnance was only organised to supply the requirements of military operations of the North-West Frontier and it is, therefore, no small tribute to its power of expansion that it has been able to deal so successfully with such vastly increased demands.

### **Royal Indian Marine**

The work of the Royal Indian Marine in connection with the war has been of great importance. 171 vessels have been chartered and fitted up as transports and since the beginning of the war the sailings of transports from Bombay alone had up to the end of July, numbered 926 and the arrivals 1,044. These figures give some idea of the shipping and transport work which has to be dealt with by the marine and embarkation staffs at Bombay. Moreover 70 steamers, 100 launches and 207 lighters and barges have been purchased and prepared for service in Mesopotamia. 192 officers and 7,000 Indian seamen and stokers are now serving in the Government Flotilla on the rivers of Mesopotamia. The work has been carried on under high pressure in the Royal Indian Marine dockyards and repair shops for river craft have been established in Mesopotamia.

### Railway Service

The Railway Board, besides controlling the manufacture of munitions outside Ordnance factories, has provided the material and *personnel* required for the construction and working of military railways in East Africa, Mesopotamia and at Aden.

In addition to all the material, rolling stock and engines required for these Railways, the Board has equipped and staffed a number of workshops overseas and constructed, on behalf of the military authorities, various descriptions of vehicles and equipment such as armoured motor cars, motor lorry bodies, water tanks, as also eleven complete armoured trains and 7 hospital trains.

Hon'ble Members will, I think, agree that the account of what India has contributed towards the war is a record of loyal achievement of which, as the Secretary of State recently stated in Parliament, she may indeed be proud.

### Assistance from the Ruling Princes.

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India have continued to give invaluable assistance towards the prosecution of the war and the relief of sick and wounded soldiers. Among recent contributions have been the Rajputana gift of over 4½ lakhs for aircraft machine guns and motor ambulances, the gift of Rs. 45,000 by His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa and the Solanki Rajput Chiefs for the purchase of aeroplanes, the gift of one lakh of rupees by His Highness the Maharaja Holker of Indore and of Rs. 22 lakhs by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner from his privy purse. Hospital accommodation has been provided or offered by their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala, Bikaner, Datia, Benares, Jind and Kapurthala, the Maharao of Sirahi, the Nawab of Malerkotla and the Raja of Suket and substantial contributions have been received from the Rulers of Cutch, Limbdi, Dasada, Snopur, Bahawalpur, Faridkot, Manipur, Dhar, Jaora, Barwani, Ali Rajpr, Raghugarh and Shahpura.

The Imperial Service troops are still doing very valuable work on the various fronts, notably the Mysore Lancers and the Bikaner Camel Corps in Egypt, the Kashmir Rifles, the Jind Infantry and Faridkot Sappers in East Africa and the Malerkotla Sappers in Mesopotamia and I am glad to hear that the Kashmir

and Jind Durbars have recently received a special message on congratulations from General Smuts on the efficiency of their troops. The Sirmur Sappers had the distinction of assisting in the gallant defence of Kut.

The veteran warrior, His Highness Sir Pratab Singh, after a brief visit to India has returned to France where, with His Highness the Raja of Rutlam, he continues to uphold the name of the Rajputs for patriotism and valour.

To all these and to those other rulers whose princely gifts and loyal services have been acknowledged on previous occasions, I should like to offer, on behalf of myself and my colleagues in this Council, our warmest and most sincere thanks.

---

## A FILM OF INDIAN WARRIORS

### Mr. Chamberlain on their prowess

A new series of war pictures was shown for the first time, of September 11, at the West End Cinema Theatre, Coventry Street. They were taken on the Western front by Mr. H. D. Girdwood, geographer and historical photographer to the Government of India, and deal almost exclusively with the Indian Expeditionary Force. The performance was held under the patronage of Queen Alexandra, and among those present were Viscount French, Sir Sam Hughes, Sir Thomas Holderness, Sir James Dunlop Smith, General Sir C. C. Egerton, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Francis Young-husband and Mr. and Mrs. Austen Chamberlain.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was introduced by Mr. G. F. Sexton, proprietor of the West End Cinema, made a short speech before the pictures were thrown on the screen. He said that, though they met in the heart of London, the occasion was really an Indian occasion. The pictures had been taken in France under circumstances of considerable difficulty, and at a time when the censorship of all efforts either a literary or pictorial representation of the doings of our troops was more strict than in recent times. Nothing could be more remarkable than the way in which, at the call of the King-Emperor, the Government, the princes, the people of India had responded with all they had to offer, and

had contributed, and continued to contribute, to the successful prosecution of the war.

The scenes photographed took place in France, and there were Indian troops in France to this day, but it was not in France alone that the Indian Army had helped to maintain the honour of the flag. On the battlefields of France they had won recognition, but in East Africa, in Mesopotamia, at Aden, in Gallipoli, in Egypt, and in all the theatres of war Indian troops had borne their part with credit to themselves and with advantage to the Empire. In that audience there might be among the convalescents whom he saw before him men who had served alongside these Indian troops and who would be glad to bear testimony to their gallantry, their endurance, their patience, and their perseverance in circumstances which were new, strange, and alien to anything they had hitherto experienced.

While in men and in material the Indian authorities had nobly come to the assistance of the Empire as a whole, they had had their own cares and dangers to foresee and meet, and especially he had in mind the occasion when they repelled a serious rising in our own territory. No one could think of Indian co-operation in this war, no one could speak of it, without thinking of the forces in Mesopotamia, reinforced largely, but still consisting in the majority of the troops sent from India. We had all sympathised with the hardships they had undergone; we had all admired the heroic efforts they made for the relief of their comrades at Kut. We shared the disappointment that, owing to the difficulties of climate, communications, and floods, the troops failed to achieve the object they had in view. He thought that sometimes Mesopotamia bulked too largely in the public eye as the Indian contribution to this struggle. No one would understand the responsibility which the Government and the military authorities had undertaken, no one would understand the contribution India had made to the defence of our common interests, unless they understood that the effort in Mesopotamia, great as it had been, was but one of many undertakings in which her troops had borne a glorious share.

Perhaps he might be permitted to speak of the fellowship established between comrades in arms, established, for instance,

between the famous Anzac Corps and the Indian soldiers who fought with them. He hoped that with such results as these the war might arouse throughout the whole Empire a keener interest in the country which had given to us so largely and so readily, might secure for Indian aspirations new sympathy in all parts of the King-Emperor's Dominions, and might result in a closer union, not merely among peoples of our own blood within the Empire, but among all the peoples whose fate was being decided by this great struggle, whose liberties, whose honour, and whose peace were at stake, and who in the measure of their ability were contributing in men and in material resources to secure our common success.

At the close of Mr. Chamberlain's speech, Mr. Sexton called for three cheers for India, and Mr. Girdwood gave an account of his experiences in securing the pictures.

#### The Pictures Described

"With the Empire's Fighters" is the title given to the film. The pictures were taken, as Mr. Chamberlain said, under circumstances of great difficulty and danger. Mr. Girdwood followed the Indians into the front trenches and even beyond, getting a machine-gun bullet upon one occasion through his camera and having other very sharp escapes while he was about it. Regarding these doings, eighteen months and more ago, the Censor at the time allowed us to learn nothing, and Mr. Girdwood must have been considerably the earliest in the field of authorised kinematographers. He obtained some of his best pictures by climbing into a tree with his camera and daring the German sniper to do his worst, which he very nearly did.

The cavalry come first upon the scene. The Jodhpur Lancers are seen going into action, and Jacob's Horse moving up to support an offensive. We are taken right into the front-line trenches, eighty yards from the German lines, and watch Sir James Willcocks examining machine-gun emplacements manned by Dogras and Indian cavalry, while the continual fall of leaves across the picture tells of the German rifle fire overhead. Glimpses are given of the Prince of Wales at his chateau in France; and Sir Pratap Singh, the Maharaja of Barwani, and other Indian princes ride across the screen. Sikhs are shown

chanting hymns outside a French farmhouse, Gurkhas playing football with some of our Highlanders, Indian cavalry tent-pegging and trick-riding, and Jats wrestling. Another picture represents perhaps the strangest sight of all: Gurkha pipers marching up and down and playing the "Marseillaise" before a crowd of French peasants. The post-office in the field and the admirable arrangements made for the wounded also form part of the record.

The sight in the Somme film of two English soldiers being shot down as they climb out of the trench has aroused discussion whether these things are not too terrible to be filmed, but long ago Mr. Girdwood was photographing far more ghastly things, such as a rush by the Gurkhas over a German trench and across it to storm the second line. The cutting of the German trench is visible in the foreground, and the little men with the cocked hats come running across by the hundred. They seem to be lying down to take cover when scores and scores of them fall down in the brushwood. The reality is far grimmer; these are the dead and wounded. Nothing can give a better idea of what the taking of a trench means than this picture, with the Gurkhas swarming into the captured trench and consolidating it, while in the background the Red Cross men are carrying the dead and wounded away.

Terrible and lacerating as this section is, and a similar one which shows the storming of a trench by the Leicesters (who formed part of the Barailly Brigade), the film is well worth seeing, and we hope that arrangements for its exhibition in India have not been forgotten by the India Office.