



D Y A R C H Y

Patriciae

Papers relating to the application of
the principle of

D Y A R C H Y

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

To which are appended

the Report of the Joint Select Committee and the

Government of India Act, 1919

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

L. CURTIS

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1920

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK

TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION xix-lxi

Reasons for publication, xix — Responsibility for invention of dyarchy, xx — I. The Duke Memorandum, xx — This title explained, xx — Connexion of Indian and Imperial problems, xx — The movement for political reform, xxi — Responsible government preferred to self-government as definition of goal, xxii — Necessity of gradual advance by first training electorates, xxii — Minto-Morley reforms no training for responsible government, xxiii — Dyarchy suggested, xxiii — Its rejection, xxiii — Its reconsideration in the form of a scheme drafted by Sir William Duke, xxiv — This experience repeated in subsequent inquiries, xxv — Why the Duke Memorandum was not published, xxv — Its circulation in India, xxvi — Attack on the author in Parliament, xxvii — Drafting of the scheme defended, xxviii. — II. Letter to the People of India, xxix — Publication of private letter and consequent agitation in India, xxx — Reasons for replying to agitation, xxx — Subsequent effects of the incident, xxx.

III. Letter to Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, xxxi — How the letter came to be written, xxxi — The term 'dyarchy'. Its origin and utility, xxxii — Assistance rendered by Indian Civil Servants, xxxiii — Relations of I.C.S. to Nationalists, xxxiv — Circulation of letter, xxxiv — Comments thereon, xxxv.

IV, V, VI. xxxv — How these papers were compiled, xxxv — Difficulty of grasping system of government from official reports, xxxvi.

VII. xxxvi — Responsible government defined as the goal, Aug. 1917, xxxvi — Origin of the Joint Address, xxxvii — Names of the promoters, xxxviii — Its premature publication, xxxviii.

VIII. xxxix — How Letters to the People of India came to be written, xxxix — Interviews with Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, xl — The Patiala Conference, xl — My relations with authors of Joint report, xli —

IX. xlii — Introduction to the English edition, a plea for parliamentary inquiry, xlii.

X. xlii — Letter to *The Times* urging appointment of franchise and functions committees, xliii — Scheme of decentralization achieved by functions committee, xliii.

XI. xliii — The Joint Select Committee, xliv — My reasons for writing my evidence at length, xliv — Inconsistency of Montagu-Chelmsford report xlv — Reserved powers safeguarded by Selborne Committee, xlv — Committee's amendment criticized, xlv — How governors might improve on the procedure prescribed, xlvi — Danger of governors failing to exert their powers, xlvi — Need for better social relations, xlix — Examples of overbearing conduct, xlix — The roots of anarchy, l — Social as well as constitutional reform essential, li — Attitude of the English to coloured races, li — Caste, lii — Anti-European feeling, liii — Case for expulsion of Europeans guilty of offensive conduct, liii — Conditions under the Company liv — Company's powers should be revived, lv — How the advent of full responsible government may be hastened, lv — Effect of responsible government in Italy, lvii — Responsibility of leaders in a democratic state, lviii — Dyarchy on its trial, lviii — How the Indian reform question was handled in England, lix — India's opportunity of wider service, lix.

I

THE DUKE MEMORANDUM 1-37

Introductory note, 1 — CHAPTER I. Existing system described, 3 — Government of India, 3 — The Provinces, 4 — Bengal. The executive, 4 — The legislature, 6 — Relations to Indian Government, 6 — Demand for further reforms in provincial governments, 7 — Note on councils, 8.

CHAPTER II. Changes within existing frame, 11 — Indian element in executive, 12 — in legislature, 13 — Direct election, 14 — Increase of powers, police, 15 — Financial control, 16 — Advisory committees, 16 — Limits to such reforms, 17.

CHAPTER III. Alternative scheme, 18 — Dyarchy suggested, 18 — Consistent with reforms already proposed, 19 — Dual executives, 20 — Transferred powers, 21 — Education and local government, 22 — Sanitation, registration, and co-operative credit, 23 — Agriculture, forests, and public works, 24.

CHAPTER IV. Finance, 25 — Difficulty of dividing revenue, 25 — Heads of revenue, 26 — New sources, 28 — Division of officials, 29 — Accounts and audit, 30.

CHAPTER V. Local self-government, 31 — Local bodies, 31 — Chairmen, 32 — Village unions, 32.

CHAPTER VI. Criticisms and difficulties, 33 — Inefficiency, 33 — Ill-treatment of officials, 33 — Friction, 34 — Financial difficulties, 34 — Redress of grievances distinguished from constitutional reform, 35 — Dangers of present system, 36 — Advantages of dyarchy, 36 — Its progressive character, 36 — Social reform, 37 — Political training provided, 37.

II

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA 38-95

Charges based on a private letter, 38 — Round Table movement, 38 — Connexion with Sir J. Meston and Mr. Marris in South Africa, 39 — South African Union, 40 — Position of British citizens in South Africa, 40 — Extension of movement to Canada, 41 — Indian question discussed with Mr. Marris, 41 — Visit to Canada, 42 — Round Table founded, 43 — The Dominion groups and their work, 43 — First results, 43 — The Agra group, 44 — Growth of Canadian groups, 44 — Imperial problem analysed, 45 — Character of movement, 45 — Conclusions accelerated by war, 46 — 'The Problem of the Commonwealth,' 46 — The Dominions revisited 1916, 47 — Foreword to Australian edition, 48 — Indian problem excluded, 48 — Visit to India advised, 49 — Arrival in India, 49 — Rearrangement of plans, 50 — Text of letter which occasioned the charges, 51 — Why the letter was printed for private circulation, 57 — Why Sir J. Meston and Mr. Marris never saw it, 58 — Its private character, 59 — A misstatement explained, 59 — Answer to charges contained in the letter, 59 — Two points emphasized, 62 — Relations with officials, 62 — Press attacks at Lucknow, 63 — Circulation of the letter at Lucknow, 64 — Its publication, 64 — Some Indian opinions on the letter, 66 — Its effect on Hindu-Moslem relations, 66 — An English opinion, 67 — The ethics of privacy, 67 — The language difficulty, 68 — Question of Round Table groups in India, 69 — Value of group methods, 70 — Creation of Indian groups and its failure, 71 — Attacks on the Round Table and Mr. Kerr, 72 — Attitude of Nationalists towards British sympathizers, 75 — Attitude of Dominions towards Indian reform, 76 — The Indian and Imperial problems inseparable

77 — Treatment of this subject in the problem of the Commonwealth, 77 — Misrepresentation in Indian reviews 78 — Respect for Indian susceptibilities, 79 — 'Self-government has a formula analysed, 80 — Reasons for substituting 'Responsible government', 81 — The post-war settlement, 83 — Financial consequences of war, 83 — Imperial problem explained, 84 — Its solution as involving separate parliaments for Imperial and British affairs, 85 — India's choice between the two, 85 — Representation of India in Imperial Parliament, 86 — Position of Islam in the Upper House, 87 — In the Lower House, 87 — The question before India summarized, 88 — Plea for reverting from personal to public issues, 89.

APPENDIX. The Congress League Scheme, 90.

III

LETTER TO THE HON. BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU WITH COMMENTS THEREON . 96-200

Prefatory note, 96 — Inter-relation of Indian with Imperial problem, 97 — Value of direct inquiries by Parliament, 98 — Result of congestion of business, 98 — Failure of Parliament to instruct its agents, 99 — The cure a separate Imperial Parliament, 99 — Appropriate place for India's Charter, 100 — British objection to declaration of principles, 100 — e. g. Asiatic emigration to Dominions, 101 — This analogy disputed, 101 — Reasons for defining goal, 102 — Federalized countries to be imitated rather than United Kingdom, 102 — Reform must begin in provincial governments, 103 — Indian and Federalized systems contrasted, 103 — Hence the need of dyarchy, 105 — Division of functions between popular and paternal governments, 105 — Failure to distinguish central from provincial functions in India, 106 — Peculiar position of the I. C. S., 107 — Need for vertical as well as horizontal divisions, 108 — Each province must advance at its own pace, 108 — No element of responsible government in Congress-League scheme, 108 — Importance of working theories out in schemes, 109 — Mischievous results of official vote, 109 — Value of real party-government, 110 — Retention of official speakers, 110 — Tax on time of official members, 111 — Legislative council to advise on but not control all functions, 111 — Importance of direct election, 111 — List of powers for transfer to exclusive control of elected councils, 113 — Dual capacity of councils, 114 — Elasticity of plan proposed, 114 — Creation of ministry described, 115 — Increase of transferred powers by special legislation, 118 — e. g. in social reform, 119 — Progress by results, 119 — Difficulties of dyarchy. Dualism, 120 — Financial friction, 120 — Advantages of dyarchy, 121 — Progressive results. Education in responsibility, 121 — Eventual application of responsible government to central authority at one step, 122 — Advantage to India of a true Imperial government, 122 — Importance of Parliamentary inquiries, 122 — These suggestions sketched to elicit criticism, 123.

Appended criticisms, 124 — Prefatory note, 125.

Comments by Indian Non-officials

No. 1. *From an advocate*, 126 — Objections to official majority, 126 — Inter-relation of functions, 126 — Transfer of primary education advised, 127 — Personal character of Indian elections, 127 — Governments with fixed terms advised, 127 — Friction over taxation feared, 128 — Propaganda by officials 129 — A modification of dyarchy suggested, 129 — Franchise qualifications, 130.

No. 2. *From an advocate*, 130. Reasons for immediate reform in central government, 130 — Against nominating legislators, 131 — Hostility of I. C. S. feared, 131 — Democratization of Indian legislature must be simultaneous, 132 — Otherwise it will block progress of electoral government in the provinces, 132.

No. 3. *From an educated member of the depressed castes*, 133. Political training should begin in village and other local bodies, 133 — Conclusions summarized, 134.

No. 4. *From a teacher*, 135. Proposals generally approved, 135 — Danger from Dominions to Indian interests in Imperial Parliament as proposed, 136 — Principle of progress by steps approved, 136 — Difficulties inherent in dyarchy, 137 — e. g. relations of civil servants to elective governments, 137 — Dyarchy already exists in sphere of local government, 138 — Reform should begin at the bottom and work upwards, 138 — Direct representation approved, 138.

No. 4a. *A group discussion*, 138. Danger of over-taxation under reformed Imperial Parliament, 138 — Other dangers discussed.

No. 4b. *Separate note by one of the group*, 140. Supplementary suggestions. Indianization of services. Commissions for Indians, 140 — Imperial reform approved, 140.

Comments by Non-official Europeans

No. 5. *From a teacher*, 141. Position of commentator described, 141 — Makeshift policy of Indian Government, 141 — I. C. S. criticized, 141 — Scheme approved in outline, 142 — Education should be transferred, 142 — Imperial reform approved, 142 — Indian representation must be genuine, 142 — Asiatic migration question discussed, 143 — Colonial officials in India, 144 — Inherent disunity of India, 144 — Dyarchy discussed, 145 — Imperial civil service suggested, 145 — Definition of sphere of central government essential, 145 — The District Officer, 145 — Official vote must be eliminated, 147 — Difficulties of party government in India, 148 — Questions of representation, 149 — Disturbing effect of elections on colleges, 150 — Transferred functions discussed, 150 — Indian control of education, 151 — Ministerial control of officials, 152 — Period of experiment, 152 — Taxation difficulties, 153 — Military questions, 153 — Extension or withdrawal of transferred powers, 153.

No. 6. *From missionaries*, 153. Backwardness of native states, 154 — Elementary education recommended for transfer, 154 — Importance of a wide electorate, 154 — University representation, minority representation, 155.

No. 7. *From a teacher*, 155. Difficulties of Imperial reform, 155 — Need for a declaration of Indian policy, 156 — Difficulty of abolishing official vote, 156 — Difficulties inherent in dyarchy, 157 — Especially in provincial governments, 157 — Taxation difficulty, 158 — Gradual association preferred, 158.

No. 8. *From a European engaged in commerce*, 158. Objections to scheme of British Community, 158 — Importance of British Community, 158 — Must be protected by sufficient representation, 161 — Difficulty of providing such protection, 161 — Objections to electoral government in Bengal, 162 — Methods of gradually educating an electorate, 163 — Responsible ministries premature, 163 — Alternatives suggested, 163 — Need for decentralization, 164 — Dangers of over haste, 164.

No. 9. *From a missionary teacher*, 165. Opium and factory control, 165 — Importance of rural vote. Caste difficulties, 166.

Comments by Official Indians

No. 10. *From a school inspector*, 166. Objections to Imperial reform recanted, 166 — Immediate reform of Indian legislature desired, 167 — Dyarchy as already existing in India, 167 — Difficulties of creating rural electorate, 167 — Parliament should decide on further transfer of powers, 168.

No. 11, 168. Need for Indian representation in Imperial Parliament, 169 — Need for definition of goal, 169 — Indian commissions in army, 169.

Comments by Senior Members of I. C. S.

No. 12, 169. Appointment of Indians to posts of responsibility, 169 — Views of Malcolm and Munro, 170 — Intemperance of British opinion after Mutiny, 170 — Post-mutiny reaction, 171 — Strachey and Munro contrasted, 172 — Decentralization, 173 — The official vote, 173 — Difficulty of creating Indian electorates, 173 — Simultaneous examinations, 173 — Sir Syed Ahmed's views on the Mutiny, 174 — Educational policy criticized, 174 — Loyalty of educated Indians in Mutiny, 175.

No. 13, 175. Declaration of policy, 175 — Abolition of official vote, 175 — Dangers of direct election, 175 — Objections to dyarchy in Upper India, 176 — Low political moral. Inefficiency. Shortcomings of zamindars, 176 — Communal representation, 177 — Domination of professional politicians, 177 — Powers proposed for transfer criticized, 177 — Special objections to dyarchy in India, 178 — Taxation difficulties, 178 — Alternative proposals. Indianization of services. Departmental boards, 179 — Imperial reform, 179.

No. 14, 180. Principle of scheme approved, 180 — Objections to exclusion of officials from legislature, 180 — Alternatives discussed. Elected members on existing executives, 180.

No. 15, 181. Scheme generally approved. Local government suitable for transfer, 181.

No. 16, 181. Scheme disapproved. Objections thereto summarized, 181.

No. 17, 182. Method of presenting the facts criticized, 182 — Objections to dyarchy, 183 — Difficulty of collaboration between autocratic and popular governments, 183 — Indivisible character of taxation, 183 — Not acceptable to Indian opinion, 184 — Administrative structure too closely interconnected to be divisible, 184 — Alternative recommended along lines of increasing popular control, 185 — Question of second chamber, 185 — Examination of Congress-League scheme by Round Table methods advised, 186.

No. 18, 186. Comments based on Madras experience, 186 — Case against centralization over-stated, 186 — I. C. S. supervision exaggerated; not an obstacle to dyarchy, 187 — The official vote. The executive not at present bound by resolutions of legislature, 187 — Difficulties of direct election, 187 — Merits of large constituencies, 187 — An experiment with taluk-boards suggested, 188 — Transfer should begin with local self-government, 189 — New revenue, 190.

No. 19, 190. Possible friction over taxation, 190 — Single and double chambers, 192 — The ballot, 192.

No. 20, 192. Danger of Indianizing civil service when introducing electoral government, 192 — Powers recommended for transfer, 193 — One man one vote, 193 — Illiterate vote easy to poll, 193 — Reserved powers, 194 — Scheme for further developments, 194 — Dangers of indirect election corruption, 194 — Life of assembly. Racial antagonism. Mandarin government, 195.

*Comments from European Officials other than Members
of the I. C. S.*

No. 21. *From a teacher*, 195. Imperial reform disapproved, 195 — Interference of Parliament and of Royal Commissions with Indian affairs deprecated, 195 — Fresh declaration of policy undesirable, 196 — Written constitutions condemned, 196 — Unity of India and analogy with Dominions illusory, 197 — Failure of representative institutions in India, 197 — Dyarchy condemned, 197 — Indian nationality a figment, 198 — Bureaucracy essential and incompatible with cabinet government, 198 — Slightness of material for electorates, 198 — Limited taxable capacity, 198 — Obstacles of character and social conditions, 198 — Dewans of native states, 198 — Good government, not self-government, the need of India, 199.

No. 22. *From a teacher*, 199. Diversity of India, 199 — Need of idea of self-sacrifice in India, 200.

No. 23. *From a frontier officer*, 200. Scheme generally approved, 200 — Reforms limited to district and municipal bodies inadequate, 200 — Need for announcement of goal, 200.

IV

THE STRUCTURE OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT 201-238

The central executive, 201 — Provincial governments, 202 — Relations of central to provincial governments in self-governing countries and in India contrasted, 203 — Functions of central government in India, 204 — Supervisory functions, 205 — Relations of services to departments explained, 206 — Position of the I. C. S., 206 — Imperial and provincial services, 207 — Control of central government universal, 207 — Central control, its methods and limitations, 208 — Departmental regulations, 208 — Revenues classified, 209 — Imposition and collection of taxes, 209 — Provincial settlements, 209 — Fixed assignments, 211 — How estimates are framed, 215 — Provincial balances, 215 — Borrowing, 215 — The government of the United Provinces, 216 — Reasons for selecting this province, 216 — The Lieut.-Governor, 216 — The Board of Revenue, 216 — Official spelling, 216 — Functions of Board of Revenue, 217 — The government secretaries, 218 — Heads of departments, 218 — Commissioners, 218 — Districts and district officers, 218 — Treasuries, 219 — Tahsils, 219 — Parganas villages and relative officials, 219 — District organization, 220 — The district officer and his assistants, 220 — Administrative and judicial functions combined, 220 — Duties of district officer summarized, 220 — Security. Criminal jurisdiction, 221 — Agrarian administration, 222 — Land revenue, 222 — Revenue Courts, 223 — Position of district officer, 223 — Famine, 224 — Minor revenues, 225 — Miscellaneous functions, 225 — District boards, 225 — Their composition, 225 — Functions and revenues of boards, 226 — Their procedure described, 227 — Evidence of their progress, 230 — Municipal boards, 231 — Their revenues. The octroi, 232 — Their functions, 233 — Note by an officer on local boards, 234 — District officers as chairmen, 235 — Government control of boards, 236 — Communal representation, 237 — Methods of taxation, 237 — Divisions. Commissioners. The Board of Revenue, 238.

V

LAND REVENUE 239-290

The Indian village, 239 — Land revenue the basis of Indian empires, 240 — Its origin according to Manu, 240 — Reforms of Akbar, 242 — Question whether land revenue is rent or tax, 243 — Rent defined. The Georgian principle, 245 — Its application to India, 246 — Cornwallis and land revenue in Bengal, 247 — The Permanent Settlement of 1793, 248 — Hopes based on it, 248 — Resulting loss of revenue, 249 — Case of Faridpur, 249 — Results compared with forecasts, 250 — Subinfeudations, 250 — Consequent growth of rent chargers, 252 — Their miseducation, 253 — Lack of contact between officials and people in Bengal, 255 — Inadequacy of Bengal revenues, 256 — Orders to extend permanent settlement cancelled, 257 — Policy of periodic reassessments, 257 — Ryatwari system established by Munro, 257 — Zemindari system in the United Provinces, 258 — Method of assessment, 258 — Reductions in revenue levied, 260 — Reductions in assessments, 261 — Controversy as to method of reducing revenue, 261 — Cess, 262 — Site values, 262 — Results of confusion between rent and tax, 263 — Reasons for rent theory, 264 — Importance of retaining revenue from site-values, 265 — Agricultural incomes exempted from income tax, 265 — Effect of tax theory of land revenue on incidence of taxation, 266 — Tenancy laws, 266 — Political reasons for policy adopted, 267 — The ryatwari system in Madras, 268 — Methods of revenue collection, 268 — Famine remissions, 269 — Lightness of government demand on private wealth, 269 — Galetti's comparison of Indian and Italian village taxation, 269 — General conclusions. Additional revenue obtainable for education, but only through self-taxation, 274.

APPENDIX A. Note by revenue officer on assessment of land revenue, 276 — Different view of another revenue officer, 276 — Assessment of site values, 277 — Graduated assessment proposed, 278 — Note on assessment by a third revenue officer, 279.

APPENDIX B. An Indian criticism, 280 — Argument of paper on land revenue summarized, 280 — Conclusions deduced, 281 — Taxation burdensome owing to poverty, 282 — Extravagant cost of government, 284 — Galetti's comparison criticized, 284 — Failure to employ Indians in posts of responsibility, 287 — Absurdity of rent theory, 288 — Author's note in reply, 288.

VI

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT CONTINUED
291-325

A. Financial relations of government with district boards, 291 — District and provincial settlements compared, 291 — The United Provinces district described, 291 — Revenues of board classified. Local cesses, 292 — Increase of board revenues in 1914, 292 — Method of distributing increase, 293 — Standardization of expenditure, 294 — Contracts with boards, 295 — Financial relations with municipal boards, 295 — Limits of self-government conceded to boards, 296 — Vernacular schools, 296 — Backwardness of primary education, 296 — Gokhale's Bill and Government of India's resolution, 296 — Subsequent steps in United Provinces, 297 — Lieut.-Governor's resolution of August 25, 1914 — Absence of Education Acts, 297 — Boys' schools, 298 — School committees, 298 — Curricula,

298 — Agricultural education, 299 — View of education in rural India, 299 — Need for agricultural education, 300.

B. Nationalism as a stimulus to education, 301 — Gradation of schools, 303 — Mohammedan schools, 303 — Fees, 304 — Teachers' pay, 304 — Secondary vernacular schools, 304 — Curricula, 304 — Examinations, 305 — English schools, 305 — Popularity of English education, 306 — Obstacles to female education and measures to overcome them, 307 — The Hindi-Urdu controversy, 308 — The Lieut.-Governor's decision, 310 — Training of teachers, 312 — Inspectors, 313 — Their relations to district boards, 313 — Advisory Board of Education, 314 — Functions and revenues of boards summarized, 314 — Relative inefficiency of urban schools, 314 — Functions of boards other than education, 315 — Rural sanitation, 315 — Vaccination, 316 — Veterinary work, 316 — Roads and bridges, 316 — Constructional works, 316 — Dependence of boards on government officials, 317.

C. Scheme of dyarchy reviewed in light of data and criticism, 317 — Transfer of education, 317 — Difficulty of separating prison from health administration, 318 — Veterinary service, 319 — Roads and buildings, 320 — Public Works Department, 320 — Transferred powers reconsidered, 321 — Need for smaller provincial areas, 322 — Necessity for three ministers, 322.

APPENDIX. Note on Hindi-Urdu question, 323.

VII

A JOINT ADDRESS 326-356

The Pronouncement of August 20, 1917, 326.

A. Principles, 327 — Need for agreement between Europeans and Indians. Limits of agreement, 327 — The Pronouncement accepted by both, 327 — The United States of India within the British Commonwealth, 328 — Exclusion of Burma, 329 — Overgrowth of provinces, 329 — Subdivision into Provincial States, 330 — Reform should begin in the provinces, 331 — Dyarchy as implied in the Pronouncement, 332 — Executive council reform. Indian members. Administrative committees, 334 — The creation of electorates, 334 — Electorates must be vested with real responsibility — Reservation of police and justice for final transfer, 335 — Direct election advocated, 336.

B. Outline of scheme proposed, 336 — Scheme outlined in terms of United Provinces, 336 — Subdivision into four Provincial States, 336 — Electorates, 337 — Assemblies and their functions, 337 — Creation of ministries, 338 — Organization of new departments, 338 — Relation of Chief Commissioner to ministers, 338 — Share of consolidated revenue to be transferred, 339 — Self-taxation and responsible government inseparable, 339 — Audit, 339 — Reasons against supervision by provincial government, 340 — Total suspension the real safeguard, 340 — Periodic inspection of results by independent commission, 340 — Constitutional agitation to be barred during septennial periods, 340 — Gradual development of transferred powers and revenues by enabling legislation, 341 — Generalization of powers granted locally, 342 — Final establishment of responsible government for all India by national convention, 342 — Interim position of provincial governments, 342 — Executive councils to be everywhere established, 343 — Composition of provincial legislatures. Disappearance of official voters. Advisory character of provincial legislatures, 343 — Control of enabling legislation by executive councils, 344 —

Composition of central legislature, 344 — Standing civil service commission, 344.

C. Safeguards, 346 — Necessary for industries financed from Europe, 346 — The Veto. Instructions to governors, 346 — Powers of provincial executives to act in default, 347 — Power of suspension, 347 — European representation, 349.

D. Procedure recommended, 349 — Appointment of commissioners suggested, 350 — Need for dispatch, 350 — Importance of creating a visible path to responsible government, 351 — Schedule of points agreed, 351 — Signatures, 353 — Letters appended, 355.

VIII

LETTERS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA ON RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT 357-466

LETTER I. The meaning of words, 357 — Lack of instructions to British officials since 1858 — Ambiguities of 'self-government', 357 — The significance of responsible government explained, 358.

LETTER II. The Pronouncement of August 20, 357 — The question put by the Congress and League, 359 — Answer of Imperial Government. The method of the answer criticized, 360 — Intentional use of the term 'responsible government', 361 — Responsible government by instalments, 362 — Because electorates must be created, 363 — Final and unalterable character of pronouncement, 363 — Not the result of fear, 363 — Need for advice from Europeans in India, 364 — And for avoiding conflict between British opinion at home and in India, 365 — Mr. Montagu's mission as limited by the Pronouncement, 366.

LETTER III. Electoral systems false and true, 366 — Composition of legislatures examined, 367 — Limitation of electorates in United Provinces, 367 — Chain of indirect elections, 367 — The system an electoral sham, 368 — Morley's failure to face responsible government, 368 — Electorates cannot be trained by school-teaching, 368 — Education without responsibility renders a country ungovernable, e. g. Russia, 369 — The educational effect of experience illustrated by an example. Permanganate and cholera, 369 — Effect of voting must be traceable, 370 — Religion as a motive for political obedience. Importance of substituting a moral motive, 370 — Education and political responsibility must go hand in hand, 371.

LETTER IV. The existing system and its logical outcome, 371 — Effect on legislators of irresponsible position, 371 — Stringent control of official members, 371 — Its evil effects on the government and on nationalists, 372 — Congress League scheme the logical outcome, 372 — The importance of defining responsibility. Reasons against elected executives, 373 — Dual responsibility of executives impossible, 374 — Successive steps open to advance on Minto-Morley principle, 374 — Meaning of control discussed, 374 — Positive as well as negative control essential, 375 — An official minority worse than useless, 375 — Danger of government by influence, 376 — Objections to dividing budget annually, 376 — Advantage of periodic divisions, 377 — Dualism inherent in proposal under criticism, 377 — Final concession of financial and legislative control paralyses government, 378 — Congress League scheme criticized as the negation of responsible government, 378 — Its result the deadlock desired by extremists, 378 — The Minto-Morley principle a path to anarchy, 379 — Government, not anarchy, the only foundation of responsible institutions, 379 — Immediate grant of full responsible government barred by Pronouncement, 380.

LETTER V. The fruits of experience, 380 — Necessity of harmonizing executive and legislature, 380 — How effected in England, 380 — In Scotland, 381 — In Ireland, 382 — In America, 382 — In Canada, 382 — In the Transvaal, 383 — India need not repeat mistakes made in these countries, 383 — Lowell on the cases of Jamaica and Malta, 384 — Indian appeals to German examples, 389 — The German position analysed, 390 — Italy and Japan, 391 — Cases where responsible government has only been attained through bloodshed, 391 — Importance of first establishing provincial democracies, 391.

LETTER VI. Alternative methods compared, 392 — Mr. Gokhale's proposal to apply Minto-Morley principle to the district officer, 392 — Home Member's reply, 392 — Problem not soluble by reference to precedents only, 393 — Proposal to institute responsible government in one province, 393 — Fallacy underlying proposal, 393 — Real problem is to create electorates, 394 — A misleading experiment if tried merely as a test, 394.

LETTER VII. The Goal, 395 — How to avoid makeshift policies, 395 — Choice between Europe and America as models for India, 395 — Dominion self-government possible only if India is treated as national unit on lines of United States, 396 — Importance of Indian nationalism as contrasted with Bengali or Punjabi nationalism, 397 — Nationalism as foundation of Imperial loyalty, 397.

LETTER VIII. The Map of India, 398 — Separation of Burma from India, 398 — Imperialization of Indian frontier, 399 — Simplifying effect of this step, 400 — Importance of establishing responsible government in appropriate provincial areas, 400 — Indian prejudice in favour of existing provinces, and some other British creations an obstacle to responsible government, 401 — Areas appropriate to local provincial and national governments, 402 — Why provincial governments are necessary, 402 — Over-centralization in United Kingdom, France, and Italy, 402 — Origin of oversized provinces in India, 403 — The natural result of autocratic government, 403 — Cf. Spanish and French America and China, 403 — Contrast U. S. A. and British Dominions, 404 — Danger of oversized provinces under popular government, 404 — U. S. A. as index to appropriate size of provinces, 405 — American standards as applied to India, 406 — Provincial areas should be based on history, religion, race, but especially on language, 406 — Relative position of vernacular and English in Indian politics, 406 — Failure of Durham's policy in Quebec, 407 — The case of Orissa, 407 — Sind, Marathas, Canarese, Tamil, and Telugu communities, 408 — Value of experiment, 408 — Subdivision of United Provinces, 408 — India can finally decide for herself whether to retain old provinces, provincial states, or both, 409 — But necessary experience will not be available unless provincial states are tried meanwhile, 409 — A change of opinion since drafting of joint address admitted, 410 — India's opportunity by Tandy, 410.

LETTER IX. Administrative mechanism and its reconstruction, 411 — Indivisible character of administrative machinery as fatal to dyarchy, 411 — This view the product of paternal system, 411 — Machinery must be divisible under responsible government, 412 — Solution of difficulty suggested, 412 — Dyarchy involves additional taxation, which representative government makes possible, 413 — How to divide the revenues, 413 — Staffs must also be divided, 413.

LETTER X. The training ground of electorates, 414 — The crux of problem is the training not of Indian officials but of Indian electorates, 414 — Responsibility essential to such training. Its bilateral character, 415 — Why training in local government is insufficient, 415 — The spheres of

local and political government distinguished, 416 — The London County Council contrasted with Wales, Prince Edward Island, or Rhode Island, 417 — The distinction as illustrated by Indian conditions, 417 — Taxation, 418 — District settlements, 418 — Position of present administrators contrasted with that of future ministers, 419 — The Hindi and Urdu issue, 420 — The Lieut.-Governor's decision, 420 — Distinction of influence and government, 421 — Why the Lieut.-Governor's decision was accepted, 421 — Such decisions as made by responsible ministers, 422 — Apparent superiority of autocratic decisions really superficial, 423 — Basic reasons in favour of popular decisions explained, 423 — Analogy of division of food in a regiment, 423 — Justice the product of opportunities for injustice, 424 — The issue between efficiency and character at stake in the war, 424 — In the end character produces efficiency, 425 — Though efficiency be sacrificed to produce character, 426 — My views deprecated by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, 427 — My reply, 427 — Principle of responsible government universal, however applied, 428 — Ilbert's ideal that of the Minto-Morley reforms, 428 — As illustrated in the decision over the Hindi-Urdu controversy, 428 — Further progress now possible only by transferring such decisions to Indian electorates, 429 — Increase of powers with the growth of electorates, 429 — Freedom of progress for each community, 430 — Need for clearness and precision of thought in Englishmen, 430 — The faculty of final decision must be transferred to Indians, 430 — Freedom a human ideal, 431 — Its potency in creating character, 431 — Development of Indian reform on basis of experience, 431 — No limits can be fixed to such development, 432 — Paramount necessity of clearly defined responsibility for paternal as well as popular government, 432.

LETTER XI. Extremists and how they meet, 432 — Reasons for opposition to dyarchy by Nationalists, 432 — By Europeans, 433 — Why full responsible government in the provinces means full responsible government in the Government of India, 433 — Transfer of police control discussed, 433 — Acquisition of police control by provinces means full responsible government for India, 434 — Which at this stage is barred by Pronouncement, 435 — Disorder as a danger to the progress of responsible government, 435 — Consequent danger of argument that gradual transfer of powers to popular governments is impossible, 436 — Political training in local government inadequate, 436 — Argument for a bolder advance at this stage, 437 — Danger of rejecting dyarchy as a principle, 438 — Objections to novel expedients disproved by experience, 439.

LETTER XII. Principles of representation, 439 — Principles only can be settled at this stage, 439 — Framing of the rolls. Need of a wide electorate, 440 — Delimitation of constituencies. Proportional representation as a remedy for communal representation, 440 — Its mischievous effects, 441 — Slavery in America. Plea for a time-limit, 441 — Franchises must depend on the powers transferred in each province, 442 — The fundamental principle of enfranchisement, 442 — Which commissioners must be left to apply, 443.

LETTER XIII. The question of an Upper House, 443 — Upper House desired by land-holders, 443 — Reasons against conceding this demand, 444 — A possible concession, 444.

LETTER XIV. Executive functions, 445 — Administrative and Legislative functions distinguished, 445 — Administrative functions classified for successive transfers, 445.

LETTER XV. Structure of the Executive, 447 — Procedure in creating the first ministries, 447 — The cabinet and executive council. Relations of Chief Commissioner and ministers, 447 — Chief Commissioner must not endorse illegal decisions. The Veto. Announcement of policy by ministers,

448 — Chief Commissioner's duties in sphere of reserved powers, 448 — Assumption of functions by ministers, 449 — The permanent civil service commission to supervise transfer of officers, 449 — Estrangement of British officials and Indian politicians. Transvaal experience, 450 — New opportunities for officials, 450 — Charge that I. C. S. will block the scheme controverted, 450.

LETTER XVI. Legislative powers, 451 — Acquisition of municipal powers in England by local legislation, 451 — This procedure and its advantages, 452 — Generalization of results by Government, 452 — Application of this method to social reform in India, 452 — Which requires legislation, 453 — Government opposition to reform of marriage law, 453 — Government attitude to social reform criticized, 454 — Enabling legislation promoted by social reformers the remedy, 456 — Utility of enabling bills in defining spheres of central and provincial governments, 457 — And in discovering new sources of revenue, 457 — Data thus obtainable for final constitution of India, 457.

LETTER XVII. Co-relation of provincial and state governments, 458 — Indian members on executive councils, 458 — Future governors from self-governing colonies, 458. Promotion of members of I. C. S. to self-governing colonies, 458 — Legislative procedure in sphere of reserved powers, 459 — Checks and controls over transferred powers deprecated, 460 — Friction can only be minimized, 460 — Police and schools, 460 — A method of conciliation, 460.

LETTER XVIII. Finance and control, 461 — Self-taxation essential, 461 — Argument for periodic settlements, 462 — Audit, 462 — Borrowing, 462 — Suspensory power, 463 — Periodic commissions of inquiry, 463 — Suspensory power favourable to progress, 464 — Transferred powers to be increased by periodic transfers and enabling Bills, 464.

LETTER XIX. Conclusion, 465 — Increase in political responsibility must accompany improved education, 465 — Freedom as the school of responsibility, 465 — Inspiring nature of England's task, 466.

IX

INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH EDITION OF 'LETTERS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA ON RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT' . . . 467-476

Origin of book explained, 467 — Reasons for outside inquiry, 468 — Methods adopted, 469 — Origin of joint address, 469 — Reason for English publication, 471 — The two alternative principles, 471 — Necessity for and difficulties of immediate action. Parliamentary congestion, 472 — Need for Parliamentary inquiry, 473 — And for hearing of Indian evidence, 474 — A formula for testing schemes suggested, 475 — Need for conceding responsibility even though it may be abused, 475 — And also for periodic inquiries, 476.

X

LETTER TO *THE TIMES* . . . 477-481

Attempts to invalidate the Pronouncement, 477 — Its origin, 477 — Its importance in Indian eyes, 478 — Its parliamentary authority, 478 — Its effect on our position at the Peace Conference, 476 — Pledges as to time, 479 — Importance of appointing committees on franchise and powers, 480 — Danger of violating pledges by mere inaction, 481.

XI

MEMORANDUM OF EVIDENCE BEFORE JOINT
SELECT COMMITTEE 482-552

Question 1, 482 — Importance of affirming authority of Parliament, 482 — Responsible government defined, 482 — Importance of delimiting functions, 482 — Motive governing evidence, 483 — Pronouncement should be incorporated in preamble of Bill, 483 — Date of granting full responsible government cannot be fixed, 485 — A test of India's fitness suggested, 485 — Anglo-Indian tendency to belittle Parliament, 485 — Importance of passing the Bill at once, 486 — My amendments urged subject to this consideration, 487.

Questions 2, 3, and 4, 487 — Dyarchy preferable to the Minto-Morley principle, 488 — Elected members should control transferred powers, but in reserved powers be advisory only, 488 — This principle violated in Bengal legislature, 488 — Complete responsible government in provinces premature, 489.

Questions 5, 6, and 7, 489 — Origin of Duke Memorandum, 489 — My letter to Mr. Basu, 490 — My Indian studies and criticisms thereon, 490 — The Joint Address, 491 — The question of areas used as basis of attack on Joint Address, 491 — Failure of Viceroy and Secretary of State to attempt revision of areas regretted, 492 — That question cannot be reconsidered now, 492 — Except in cases of Sind, Orissa, 493, Assam, 496, and the frontier strip, 497.

Question 8 (i), 498 — Proposal to make ministers individually responsible to their constituents only criticized, 499 — Confusion of ideas underlying proposal to put salaries of ministers on the estimates, 500 — Ministers must stand or fall together, 501 — Minister's salaries should be fixed by legislature, 502 — They need not be whole-time men, 502 — Corporate responsibility, 503 — Dyarchy in self-governing federations, 504 — Objections to dyarchy, 504 — Answered in Joint Report, 505 — But the report runs away from its own argument, 506 — Executive councillors and ministers cannot pose as a single government, 507 — There must be two executives and unity in each, 508 — Safer to emphasize the dualism than to mask it, 509 — The education controversy in Ontario, 509 — Difficulties of demarkation, 509 — Orders issued by Executive Council and by ministers should be clearly distinguished by marks, 510 — Avoid masking dualism, 510 — Legislature when dealing with reserved powers should be clearly distinguished from legislature when dealing with transferred powers, 511 — Corporate responsibility of ministers should be instituted at once, 511 — Dualism or multipleism inside ministries unworkable, 512 — In practice ministers must act in unity, 512 — Ordinary procedure should be followed in forming ministries, 513.

Question 8 (ii) — Powers of ministers should be absolute subject to suspension, 514 — Importance of clearly defined responsibility, 514 — Ministers should accept consequences if their measures lead to disorder, 514 — Weakness of our government in India and need of strengthening it, 515 — Safeguards to suspensory power, 515 — Governors should be recalled for failing trade powers as well as for abusing them, 515 — Transfer of higher education approved, 516 — Suspensory power as an aid to progress, 516 — Mr. Montagu's view of powers as irrevocably transferred deprecated, 516.

Question 8 (iii), 516 — Composition of executive councils, 516.

Question 8 (iv), 517. Power of dissolution, 517.

Question 9, 517 — Influence and control distinguished, 517 — Powers must be commensurate to duties, 518 — Responsibility of executive councils for reserved powers must be final 518 — Joint Report speaks with two voices, 519 — Its argument in favour of clear responsibility to Parliament, 519 — This argument ignored in the scheme for grand-committees, 522 — Joint Report contrasted with Durham's Report, 524 — A plea for giving adequate powers to the Governor-in-Council, 525 — Evidence of Mr. Banerjea, 525 — And of Mr. Sastri, 526 — Lord Carmichael's opinion, 526 — Mr. Aiyar's evidence in favour of giving governors power to legislate, 527 — Cornwall Lewis on the danger of mock parliaments, 529 — The word ordinance used as a bogey, 530 — Mischievous results of official vote, 531 — How to reconcile legislative power of governor with advisory function of elected councils, 531 — This system at present applied to supply, 531 — Governor, not Executive Council, should have final legislative power, 532 — Advantages of method above described, 532 — Governors from outside the services, 532 — Assimilation of provinces in status, 532 — Governors must be chosen on their merits, 533 — And be open to the Dominions, 533 — Dominion governorships should be opened to I. C. S., 533 — Legislative council should be called 'Assembly' when dealing with transferred subjects, and elect its own speaker, 533 — President of legislative council, 533 — Distinctive legislative formulæ, 534 — The joint or separate purse, 534 — Reasons for avoiding concurrent jurisdiction in finance, 534 — The provincial settlements, 535 — Equally strong reasons for settlements between Executive Council and ministers, 535 — Dangers of joint purse, 536 — Possibility of separating revenues, 536 — Abandonment of land revenue by Government of India, 537 — No legislative authority for these remissions, 538 — Inadequate treatment of subject by Montagu-Chelmsford report, 539 — Question of the permanent settlement, 539 — Land-revenue reductions should be discussed in legislative councils, 540 — Funds for education derivable from land-revenue, 541 — The separate purse essential to induce self-taxation, 541 — The point illustrated from the history of local government in the Transvaal, 541 — The joint purse an attempt to reintroduce Congress League scheme, 542 — Mr. Feetham's compromise recommended, 542 — Constitutional changes should be recommended by advisers independent of Government of India, 543 — Recommendations as to separate purse summarized, 543.

Questions 11, 12, 13, and 14, 543 — Dyarchy must begin in provincial not in central government, 544 — Council of state criticized, 544 — Dependence on official vote prevents adequate enlargement of Indian legislature, 544 — Direct election advised, 545 — Council of state not even popular, 545 — Likely to be reactionary, 546.

Question 15, 546 — Viceroy should cease to be bound by his Executive Council, 546.

Question 16, 546 — Not answered, 546.

Question 17, 546 — Fresh transfer of powers should be made only by Parliament on report of the decennial commission, 547.

Question 18, 547 — Need for Parliamentary resolutions on matters of policy not definable in the Bill, 547.

Question 19, 547 — Views on reports of Southborough Committees, 547 — Committee on Home Administration, 548 — I. C. S. and India Office staff should be interchangeable, 548 — Fiscal policy, 548 — Cost of India Office, 548 — Schedule of recommendations, 549.

APPENDIX A. Report of the Joint Select Committee, 553.

APPENDIX B. Government of India Act, 1919, 573.

INDEX

- Aaland Islands, xxviii.
 Abdur Rahim, Hon., 355.
 Abdur Rahman, 354.
 Abrahams, Sir Lionel, xx.
 Acharya, Rajah S. K.; Bahadur
 of Mymensingh, 355.
 Addy, Amulya Dhone, 354.
 Adhya, Gobardhan, 354.
 Agra, 11, 44, 175, 202, 216, 278, 279,
 292, 323.
 Ahmadul, Hoqq, Abu Musa, 355.
 Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, Nawabjada
 Sayed Ashrafuddin, 355.
 Ahmed, Sir Syed, 174.
 Aiyar, Mr., 503, 527.
 Ajmer, Merwara, 203.
 Akbar, Emperor, 224, 242, 257, 287,
 288.
 Alabama, 403.
 Alexander the Great, 241.
 Ali, Arshed, 355.
 Aligarh, 151.
 Allahabad, 58, 62, 69, 216, 218, 278,
 279, 298, 362.
 Ally, S. Mahboob, 354.
 Alwar, 217.
 Alwar, The Maharaja of, xl.
 Ambala, 217.
 Ambat, Moses, 355.
 America (*see* United States of).
 Amphill, Lord, xxvii, xxviii, xxix.
 Andaman Islands, 203.
 Anderson, Herbert, xxxvii, 353.
 Andrews, Mr., li, 143.
 Arabia, 51, 57.
 Arden Wood, W. H., 353.
 Argentine, 365.
 Ariff, G. H. C., 355.
 Ariff, Yaccob C., 355.
 Aristotle, 199.
 Arizona, 403.
 Asia, 399, 403, 497.
 Assam, 11, 55, 203, 239, 249, 268,
 400, 493, 496, 497.
 Athens, 239.
 Australia, 58, 59, 76, 85, 92, 99, 102,
 103, 203, 207, 328, 373, 377,
 404, 444, 504, 528.
 Austria, 322.
 Baden-Powell, B. H., 241.
 Bagchi Kishori Mohan, 355.
 Bagchi, Ramprosad, 355.
 Bagchi, Sudhendu Mohan, 355.
 Bajpai, R. S., 354.
 Balfour, The Right Hon. A. J.,
 373.
 Bandopadhyaya, Saroda Kant, 355.
 Banerjee, Mr., 525, 528.
 Banerjee, S. N., 355.
 Bareilly, 175, 312, 323, 325.
 Barton, Sir Edmund, 48.
 Barwell, Richard, 9.
 Basu, Hon. Babu Bhupendra
 Nath, xxxi, 96, 97, 125, 158, 186,
 291, 438, 490, 491, 512.
 Beadel, C. F., 354.
 Begum Sumroo, 242.
 Belgium, 59.
 Bell, Captain E., 171.
 Benares, 175, 216, 306, 336, 408.
 Bengal, xxi, xxx, xxxvii, 1, 91, 108,
 158, 174, 202, 239, 322, 328, 337,
 346, 371, 396, 400, 469, 488, 490,
 532, 539.
 Bennett, Mr., 526, 528.
 Besant, Mrs. Annie, li, 183, 480,
 516, 542, 546.
 Beyers, General, 40.
 Bhutan, 498.
 Bihar, 6, 91, 160, 202, 217, 247,
 249, 323, 328, 329, 406, 408, 494.
 Bijanagar, 241.
 Bikaner, xl, 86, 87, 143.
 Bipin Chandra Pal, 175.
 Birkmyre, 356.
 Birmingham, 451.
 Birrell, Mr., 500.
 Blomfield, Christopher, 354.
 Bombay, xl, 9, 49, 51, 71, 91, 108,
 202, 268, 322, 328, 329, 396, 493,
 496, 532.
 Bonnerjee, R. C., 354.
 Bose, H. D., 354.
 Bose, H. M., 355.
 Bose, J. N., 355.
 Bose, S. M., 354.
 Botha, General, 39, 40, 117.
 Braddon, H. Y., 48.

- Bradlaugh, Charles, 75.
 Bray, 356.
 Bright, John, 75, 107.
 British Baluchistan, 203.
 Brock, Robert W., 353.
 Broughton, J., 354.
 Bryce, Lord, 198, 520.
 Bulgaria, 405.
 Bundelkhand, 278, 279, 322, 337.
 Burdwan, Bijoy, Chand, Mahtab,
 Maharajath-Niraja Bahadur of,
 354.
 Burke, Edmund, 98, 196.
 Burma, 11, 106, 202, 203, 268, 329,
 398.
 Calcutta, xxxiii, xxxix, 6, 15, 55,
 58, 69, 71, 143, 151, 158, 160, 165,
 202, 205, 253, 318, 356, 364, 369,
 371, 398, 471, 494, 541.
 California, 402, 403.
 Cambridge, 151, 253.
 Campbell, T. V., 242, 354.
 Canada, 58, 59, 76, 85, 98, 120, 203,
 207, 287, 306, 328, 383, 384, 407,
 504, 518, 521.
 Cape Colony, 40.
 Cardew, Sir Alexander, 484.
 Carmichael, Lord, 55, 483, 526.
 Carson, Sir Edward, 363.
 Cavour, Ivii.
 Cawnpore, 208, 299.
 Ceylon, 329.
 Chakravarti, Giris Chandra, 355.
 Chamberlain, Mr., 363, 387, 388,
 478.
 Chancellor, H. St. V., 354.
 Chandavakar, Sir Narayan, 152.
 Chandhuri, S. C. Roy, 354.
 Chandhury, Jitendra Kishore
 Acharya, 355.
 Chandhury, Rajah Monmatha Nath
 Roy, of Santosh, 355.
 Chaplin, A. W. C., 353.
 Chatterjee, Bantain Chanda, 254.
 Chatterjee, Bijoy, xxxvii, 354.
 Chatterjee, Rajendra Chandra, 355.
 Chatterjee, Surendra Chandra, 355.
 Chattopadhyaya, Hara Lal, 355.
 Chelmsford, Lord, xxvi, xxvii, xl,
 50, 55, 480, 490.
 China, 102, 330, 391, 405.
 Chintamani, Hon. M. C. Y., 63.
 Chirol, Sir Valentine, xxxiii, 50, 51,
 62, 63.
 Chota Nagpur, 406.
 Choudhure, Lakshmpate, 355.
 Clark, Rev. H. E., 354.
 Clavering, Sir John, 9.
 Clive, Lord, 217, 243, 283.
 Collier, Rev. A. E., 354.
 Collier, Mr. Price, 391.
 Colvin, 450.
 Coorg, 203.
 Coriolanus, 443-4.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 247, 248, 252, 526.
 Crawford, Malcolm M., 354.
 Crewe, Lord, xxvi.
 Cromer, Lord, lv, 35, 48, 274, 282,
 538.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 436.
 Cumberland, 193.
 Curzon, Lord, 283, 363, 399.
 Dacca, 106.
 Dadabhoy, Hon. Mr. M. B., 455.
 Dalhousie, Marquis of, 170, 530.
 Darjeeling, xxxvii, xxxviii, 498.
 Das, Amar Charan, 355.
 Das, C. R., 356.
 Das, Tarini Charan, 355.
 Dass, S. R., xxxvii, 354.
 Delhi, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvii, xli, 55,
 160, 164, 175, 202, 239, 320, 433,
 478.
 Dey, Srikanto Kumar, 355.
 Dhopi, Nemai Charan, 355.
 Didsbury, F. Nelson, 354.
 Digby, William, 283.
 Divatia, Mr. H. U., M.A., LL.B., 454.
 Doab, 336, 408.
 Donald, Rev. Chas. D., 354.
 Dublin, lvi.
 Dufferin, Lord, 520.
 Duke, Sir William, xx, xxiv.
 Dum Dum, 217.
 Durham, Lord, 103, 361, 383, 407,
 524.
 Dutt, K. B., 354.
 Dutt, P. N., 355.
 Dutt, R. C., 282.
 Dutta, Nivaran Chandra, 355.
 Eastwell, H. B., 353.
 Egerton, P., 55, 170.
 Egypt, xxviii, lii, lv, 35, 79.
 Elgin, Lord, 524.
 Ellis, R. W., 354.
 Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 171, 450.
 Europe, 323, 329, 330, 399, 497.

Evans, Rev. B., 354.
 Eyre, Governor, 385.

Faridie, Aminuddin Hyder,
 M.R.A.G.S., F.R.H.S. (London),
 355.

Faridpur, 249, 254.

Farrukhabad, 175.

Feetham, R., xliii, 318, 542.

Finland, 329, 398, 493.

Fisher, H. A. L., 55, 274.

Flanders, 364.

Florida, 403.

Fort William, 323.

Fowler, J. H., 354.

France, 322, 330, 364, 391, 402, 403,
 406.

Francis, Sir Philip, 9.

Fraser, C. D., 354.

Fraser, Lovat, 468.

Frere, Sir Bartle, 533.

Galetti, Mr., 269.

Gall, R. L. B., 353.

Ganges, 224.

Garibaldi, lviii.

Gebner, C. R., 353.

George, Henry, 245, 246.

Germany, lii, 98, 274, 331, 383,
 479.

Ghandi, Mr., 143.

Ghatak, N., 355.

Ghose, C. G., 354.

Ghose, D. C., 355.

Ghose, Jugal Kishore, 354.

Ghose, Ramendra Krishna, 355.

Ghose, T. P., 354.

Gibraltar, 387, 400.

Gladstone, Mr., 519.

Gleig, G. R., 170.

Gneist, Professor, 133.

Goenka, Rai Hariram, Bahadur,
 C.I.E., 355.

Gokhale, Mr., lviii, 132, 135, 275,
 287, 296, 375, 383, 392.

Goode, Miss E., 354.

Goswami, A., 354.

Goswami, Rajah Kisori Lal, 354.

Gourlay, Mr., 55.

Grant, Charles, liv.

Grant, J., 243.

Gray, A. P., 353.

Gregson, C. B., 353.

Grice, W. T., 353.

Grierson, Sir George, 323, 324.

Gupta, Sir K. G., xxxvii, 31, 354.
 Gupta, N., 354.

Hailey, W. M., xxxiii.

Hamilton, Sir Robert, 171.

Hardinge, Lord, 144, 392.

Harford, H. D. B., 354.

Harrison Moore, W., 48.

Hastings, Warren, liv, 9, 247.

Hennessy, G., 353.

Henry VII., 382.

Herodotus, 216.

Hewson, Colonel, 388.

Hicks, Geo. E., 353.

Hill, C., 51.

Hindle, Wm., 354.

Hobhouse, Lord, 252.

Hobhouse, Prof. T., 172.

Hogg, Rev. A. G., 354.

Holland, Rev. W. E. S., 354.

Homer, 197.

Hosking, J. H., 48.

Hungary, 322.

Hunter, Sir William, 216.

Hyderabad, 331, 405.

Ilbert, Sir Courtenay, 427, 428.

Inge, Dean, lix.

Ireland, xxviii, 54, 60, 156, 250, 306,
 381, 382, 398, 401, 500.

Ironside, W. A., 353.

Ishwar Saran, 63.

Islam, Nawab Serajul, 354.

Islington, Lord, 396, 525.

Italy, lvii, 269-73, 281, 322, 391,
 402, 406.

Iyer, Sir Subramani, 287.

Jack, J. C., 249, 254, 256, 269.

Jacobi, J. N., 354.

Jains, 59.

Jai Singhs, 287.

Jamaica, 384, 385.

Japan, 143, 174, 246, 269, 281, 302,
 391, 397, 413.

Jogendra Singh, Indar, 355.

Johnson, Dr., 217.

Johnston, A. B., 354.

Kali, Siva Kumar, 355.

Kallon, Alphai, 355.

Kantimatinathan, T: Sriman, 355.

Kashmir, 101, 141.

Kay, G. H., 354.

Kerr, Philip, 41.

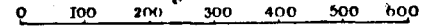
- Kipling, lii.
 Knibbs, G. H., 48.
 Konatalapalli, 270, 284.
 Korea, 365.
 Kumaon, 278, 279, 337, 498.
 Kushalpal Sing, The Hon. Rajah,
 355.
 Lahore, 55.
 Lala Lajpat Rai, 247.
 Laurier, Sir Wilfred, 510.
 Lawrence, Sir Henry, 171.
 Lewis, Sir George Cornwall, 529.
 Lincoln, Abraham, xxviii, 59.
 Lloyd George, The Rt. Hon. David,
 lvi, 246, 362.
 London, 329, 349, 350, 361, 383,
 440, 474, 502.
 Lovett, Patt, 353.
 Lovett, Sir Verney, 486.
 Low, Gen. Sir John, 171.
 Lowell, A. Lawrence, Professor, 383,
 524.
 Lucas, Bernard, 354.
 Lucknow, xxxi, xxxix, 55, 216, 218,
 231, 312, 359.
 Lyall, Sir Alfred, 216, 533.
 Lyon, James, 354.
 Macaulay, Lord, 10, 253, 300.
 MacCallum, W. M., 48.
 Macdonald, Mr. Ramsay, li.
 Macdonnell, Sir Anthony, 533.
 Madhav-Rao, Mr., 494.
 Madras, I, 6, 31, 71, 91, 106, 186,
 202, 239, 257, 268, 302, 328, 396,
 406, 494, 496, 512, 532, 537.
 Mahdes, J., 354.
 Maine, 403.
 Maitra, Surendra Mohan, 355.
 Majumdar, H. C., 354.
 Malcolm, Sir John, liv, 170, 171,
 240, 241.
 Mallik, Priya Nath, 355.
 Malta, 387, 400, 521.
 Mamoojee, Mahomedali, 355.
 Manchester, 274, 451.
 Marris, Sir William, 39.
 Massachusetts, 382.
 Mayo, Lord, 210, 519.
 Mazzini, lviii.
 Meerut, 336, 408.
 Mehruddin, 355.
 Mehta, R. D., 354.
 Mehta, Sir Pheroze Shah, 287.
 Melbourne, Lord, 395.
 Meston, Sir James, now Lord
 Meston, xxxv, 39, 141, 311, 325,
 502, 542.
 Metcalfe, Lord, 171.
 Mexico, 76, 329, 391, 403.
 Meyer, Sir William, xxxii, 530, 542.
 Middleton, Lord, 528.
 Milner, Lord, 117, 362, 363.
 Minto, Lord, 167, 237.
 Mirzapur, 337.
 Mitter, B. C., xxxvii, 354.
 Mitter, B. L., 354.
 Mitter, Jotish Chandra, 355.
 Mitter, Provash Chunder, xxxvii,
 354.
 Mitter, R. N., 355.
 Monson, George, 9.
 Montagu, Rt. Hon. E., xxvii, xxxv,
 xxxvii, xl, lx, 183, 186, 356, 363,
 469, 477.
 Morley, Lord, xliii, xlix, liii, 6, 82,
 232, 237, 324, 325, 359, 361, 368,
 428, 476.
 Morocco, 365.
 Mughal Empire, 104, 263, 281, 287,
 330.
 Mukerji, Protap Chandra, Rai
 Saheb, 355.
 Mullick, H., 354.
 Monro, 450.
 Munro, Sir Thomas, liv, 170, 243,
 257, 268, 537.
 Murray, A. R., 353.
 Muthrodan, Elias, 355.
 Mysore, 55, 141, 331.
 Nahar, Rai Bahadur Manilal, 355.
 Naini Tal, 97, 216, 218.
 Nair, Dr., 480.
 Nair, Sir Sankaran, 528, 541.
 Napoleon, liv.
 Natal, 40.
 Nawanagar, The Jam of, xl.
 Nepal, 399, 494, 498.
 New Brunswick, 403.
 Newcastle, 451.
 Newfoundland, xxviii, 403.
 New Mexico, 403.
 New South Wales, 404.
 Newton, A. M., 354.
 Newton, H. Martyn, 354.
 New York, 322, 402, 405, 509.
 New Zealand, 42, 43, 58, 59, 76, 291,
 345, 533.

- Nicholl, E. P. W., 354.
 North America, 84, 403.
- O'Dwyer, Sir Michael, 55, 131, 132, 287.
- Oman, Professor, xxxii.
- Omond, J. D., 354.
- Ontario, 207, 330, 361, 403, 407, 509.
- Oosman, Joonas, 355.
- Orange Free State, 39, 103.
- Orange River Colony, 40, 361, 371.
- Orissa, 6, 160, 202, 217, 247, 249, 328, 329, 407, 493, 494.
- Ottawa, 105, 203.
- Oudh, 11, 202, 216, 278, 279, 292, 336, 408.
- Oxford, xxiv, 253, 396.
- Palestine, lii.
- Pandit Rama Shanka, 311.
- Patel, Mr., 483, 484.
- Paranjpye, Hon. M., 311.
- Paris, 494.
- Patiala, The Maharaja of, xl.
- Patna, 106.
- Paul, K. T., xxxvii, 355.
- Pearson, 143.
- Peel, Sir Robert, 385.
- Persia, 391.
- Phelps, W. H., 353.
- Philippines, 76.
- Pickford, A. D., xxxvii, 353.
- Piedmont, 391.
- Pigott, Mr. Justice, 311.
- Pitt, William, 196, 381.
- Pradhan, Mr., 54.
- Pratt, T. R., 353.
- Prince Edward Island, 417.
- Prussia, 322, 331, 425, 493, 495.
- Pugh, Colonel A. J., xxxviii, 353, 355, 356.
- Pugh, Colonel, 518.
- Punjab, Ivi, lx, 11, 91, 106, 202, 203, 224, 260, 283, 285, 320, 396, 399, 483, 493, 532.
- Pusa, 300.
- Quebec, 105, 207, 330, 338, 361, 403, 407.
- Queensland, 404.
- Quetta, 141.
- Rae, W. R., 353.
- Raikes, C., 170, 171.
- Rait, Professor, 55.
- Rajputana, 305, 323, 493.
- Rampur, 216.
- Rangoon, 143, 398.
- Rawal Pindi, 498.
- Reed, Sir Stanley, 51, 185, 542.
- Rees, Sir John, 503.
- Rhode Island, 417.
- Ripon, Lord, 257, 292, 415, 465.
- Roberts, Charles, 498.
- Roberts, Lord, 78.
- Rome, 239.
- Ross, N. M., 354.
- Roumania, 405.
- Roy, Bhubendra Chunder, 354.
- Roy, James, E., 353.
- Roy, Kshaunish Chandra, Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia, 354.
- Roy, Raja Gopal Lall of Tajhat, 355.
- Roy, Shib-Shikareswar, 354.
- Roy, Surendra Nath, 354.
- Russel, Sir Henry, 171.
- Russell, Mr., 170.
- Russia, 329, 369, 370, 391, 398, 400, 435, 436.
- Rustomjee, R. H. M., 354.
- Ryburn, Rev. Josiah, A., 354.
- Sadler, Dr., 371.
- Samarth, Mr., 526.
- Sapru, Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur, 62.
- Saran, Ishwar, 63.
- Sarkel, Lal Mohan, 355.
- Sastri, Mr., 496, 526.
- Scotland, 156, 379, 381.
- Seeley, Sir I. R., 52.
- Selborne, Lord, xxv, xlv, xlv, lv, 117.
- Serbia, 405.
- Seton, C. B. Malcolm, 55.
- Shore, F. J., 171, 248.
- Sialkot, 498.
- Sikim, 498.
- Silesia, 495.
- Simla, 160, 164, 202, 204, 208, 239, 320, 433.
- Sind, 329, 406, 493.
- Singh, Hon. Raja, 229.
- Sinha, Aroon, 355.
- Sinha, Lord, xxxvii, 86, 87, 143, 503, 528, 542.
- Sircar, N. N., 355.
- Sly, Sir Frank, 542.
- Smuts, General, 155, 196.

- Socrates, 407.
 South Africa, 39, 75, 203, 207, 291,
 306, 328, 439.
 Southborough, Lord, xliii, 542.
 South Carolina, 59.
 Spain, 330, 381.
 Stenhouse, W., 354.
 Stephen, Sir Harry, 517.
 Stevenson, F. R., 354.
 Stewart, Ian H. B., 354.
 Stracey, Sir Richard, 535.
 Strachey, Sir John, 49, 172.
 Subba Ran, N., 95.
 Suhrawardy, A., xxxvii, 354.
 Sumerville, D., 354.
 Switzerland, 403, 504.
 Sydenham, Lord, 480.
 Sydney, 404.
- Tagore, Maharaja, Sir Prodyat
 Kumar, 354.
 Tandy, Major E. A., 410.
 Tasmania, 338.
 Tehri, 216.
 Teignmouth, Lord, liv.
 Texas, 403.
 Tibet, 399, 497.
 Tilak, Mr., 480.
 Toronto, 45, 105.
 Torre San Patrizio, 270.
 Transvaal, 39, 42, 103, 117, 361,
 371, 383, 450, 509, 541.
 Tremearne, T. F., 353.
 Turkey, 390.
 Tweeddale, 381.
- Ulster, xxviii, lv.
 United States of America, 98, 197,
 329, 381, 400, 441, 505.
- Victoria, 404, 509.
 Victoria, Queen, 143.
 Vidyaranya, 241.
 Virginia, 406.
- Wales, 99, 156, 379, 416.
 Washington, 402.
 Washington, George, 382, 421.
 Watson, J. C., 48.
 Wedderburn, Sir W. W., 31.
 Welby, Mr., 500.
 West Indies, 84, 384.
 Westmacott, C., 354.
 Wheeler, Messrs A. H. & Co., 96, 125.
 Whitehorn, Roy D., 354.
 Wilkins, Gordon S., 354.
 William, The Conqueror, 242.
 William III, 381.
 Willis, E. d'a, 353.
 Wilson, Woodrow, xxix.
 Wilson, J. T., 48.
 Windsor, Lord, 384.
 Winnipeg, 105, 403.
 Wood, Arden, xxxvii.
 Wood, Sir Charles, 257.
 Wyndham, George, 500.
 Wyness, J., 353.
- Yate, Colonel, xxvii.
 Young, Rev. P. N. F., 354.
 Younghusband, Sir Francis, 494.
 Yulé, A., 354.

INDIA

English Miles



Native States Shaded

