

National Liberal Club,

LONDON, S.W.

15th February, 1896.

DEAR LORD WELBY,

I now request your favour of laying before the Commission this letter of my views on the second part of the Reference, viz., "The apportionment of charge between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of India for purposes in which both are interested."

The word England, or Britain, is always used by me as embracing the United Kingdom.

I do not know whether there is any portion of the Indian charge (either in this country or in India) in which Britain is not interested. The one chief object of the whole expenditure of government is to govern India in a way to secure internal law and order and external protection. Now in both internal law and order and external protection, the interests of Britain are as great or rather greater than those of India. That India is protected from lawlessness and disorder is unquestionably a great boon and benefit to it. But orderly or disorderly India shall always remain and exist where it is, and will shape its own destiny somehow, well or badly. But without law and order British rule will not be able to keep its existence in India. British rule in India is not even like Russian rule in Russia. However bad and oppressive the latter may be, whatever revolution or Nihilism, there may occur, whatever civil wars or secret disasters may take place, the Russians and their Rulers remain all the same in Russia; only that power changes from one hand into another, or from one form into another. Only a few days ago (18th January, 1896) the Russian Tsar, styling himself "Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias," issued a Manifesto for his Coronation as follows:—

"By the grace of God we, Nicholas II, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, etc., make known to all our faithful subjects that, with the help of the Almighty, we have resolved to place upon ourselves the Crown, in May next, in the Ancient Capital of Moscow, after the example of the pious Monarchs our forefathers, and to receive the

Holy Sacrament according to established usage ; uniting with us in this Act our most beloved consort the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna.

“We call upon all our loyal subjects on the forthcoming solemn day of Coronation to share in our joy and to join us in offering up fervent prayers to the Giver of all good that He may pour out upon us the gifts of the Holy Spirit, that He may strengthen our Empire, and direct us to the footsteps of our parent of imperishable memory, whose life and labours for the welfare of our beloved fatherland will always remain a bright example.

“Given at St. Petersburg, this first day of January in the year of Our Lord 1896, and the second year of our reign.”

“NICHOLAS.”

—*The Times*, 20th January, 1896.

Now, blood is thicker than water. Notwithstanding all the autocratic oppression that the Russian people may have suffered for all past time, every soul will rise to the call, and rejoice in the joy of the occasion. And, whether the present system of government and power endures or vanishes, the Russian rule—whatever form it takes—will always be Russian, and for the Russians.

Take England itself. It beheaded one king, banished another, turned out its Parliament at the point of the bayonet, had civil wars of various durations, and disasters. Whatever was the change, it was English rule for Englishmen. But the British in India is quite a different thing. They are aliens, and any disaster to them there has entirely a different result. In the very first paper that was read before the East India Association of London (2/5/1867) I said :—

“No prophet is required to foretell the ultimate result of a struggle between a discontented two hundred millions and a hundred thousand foreign bayonets. A drop of water is insignificant, but an avalanche may sometimes carry everything before it. The race is not always to the swift. A disaffected nation may fall a hundred times, and may rise again ; but one or two reverses to a foreigner cannot but be fatal. Every failure of the natives, adding more burdens, will make them the more impatient to throw off the foreign yoke.”

Can the British Sovereign call upon the Indians as she can call upon the British people, or as the Russian Tsar can call upon the Russians, to share in her joy? Yes, on one condition. The people of India must feel that, though the English Sovereign and people are not kindred in birth and blood, they are kindred in sympathetic spirit, and just in dealing ; that, though they are the stepmother, they treat the step-children with all the affection of a mother—that the British rule is

their own rule. The affection of the Indian people is the only solid foundation upon which an alien rule can stand firm and durable, or it may some day vanish like a dream.

To Britain, all the law and order is the very breath of its nostrils in India. With law and order alone can it live in India. Let there arise disorder and violence to-morrow, and what will become of the small number of Europeans, official and non-official, without even any direct battles or military struggle?

If a thoroughly intelligent view of the position of Britain in India is taken, the interests of Britain are equally vital, if not far more vital, in the maintenance of good and satisfactory government, and of law and order, than those of India; and, in a just view, all the charge or cost in both countries of such good government and law and order in India, should be apportioned between the two countries, according to the importance of respective interests and to the proportion of the means or capacity of each partner in the benefit.

Certainly no fair and just-minded Englishman would say that Britain should have all the gain, glory, and every possible benefit of wealth, wisdom, and work of a mighty empire, and the price or cost of it should be all burdened on the shoulders of India.

The correct judgment upon our second part of the reference will depend upon the fundamental principle upon which the British Administration ought to stand.

1. Is British rule for the good of both India and Britain, and a rule of justice and righteousness? or,
2. Is the British rule solely for the benefit of Britain at the destruction of India—or, in other words, the ordinary rule of foreign despotism, “the heaviest of all yokes, the yoke of the stranger” (Macaulay)?

The first is the avowed and deliberate desire, and solemn promise and pledge, of the British people. The second is the performance by the servants of the British nation—the Indian authorities—in the system of the administration adopted and relentlessly pursued by them.

The present British-Indian system of administration would not take long to degenerate and run into the Russian system and troubles, but for the check and drag of the British public wish, opinion, and voice.

Now, my whole argument in this representation will be based on the first principle—viz., the good of both India and England, and justice and righteousness. I would, therefore, dispose of the second in a brief manner—that the second (England's

benefit and India's destruction) is not the desire of the British people.

It has been the faith of my life, and it is my faith still, that the British people will do justice to India.

But however, as unfortunately the system based on the second principle—the system which Lord Salisbury has described as of “bleeding” and “hypocrisy”—exists, it is desirable to remember the wise words of Lord Salisbury himself, uttered not long ago when he said (Lord Mayor's dinner on 9th November last). “‘The nature of things’ if you please, or ‘the providence of God’ if you please to put it so, has determined that persistent and constant misgovernment must lead the government which follows it to its doom. . . . that injustice will bring the highest on earth to ruin.” The Duke of Devonshire has pointed out that the result of the present system would be to make the Indians to come to the conclusion that the Indians shall never have any chance “except by their getting rid in the first instance of their European rulers.”

The question is, Do the British people desire such a system, to exercise only the right of brute force for their sole benefit? I, for one, and I can say without any hesitation, that all the educated and thinking Indians do not believe so. It is their deep faith and conviction that the conscience of the British people towards India is sound, and that if they once fully understood the true position they would sweep away the whole present unrighteous system. The very fact that this Commission is appointed for the first time for such a purpose, viz., to deal out fairly between the two countries an “apportionment of charge for purposes in which both are interested” is sufficient to show the awakening consciousness, and desire to do justice, and to share fairly the costs as well as the benefits. If further public indication was at all needed, the *Times* as I have quoted in my first representation has put it very clearly, “Great Britain is anxious to deal fairly with India. If it should appear that India has been saddled with charges which the British taxpayer should have borne, the British taxpayer will not hesitate to do his duty.” I would not therefore pursue any further the assumption of the second principle of selfishness and despotism, but continue to base my remarks upon the basis of the first principle of the desire and determination of the British people for justice and righteousness towards India.

I have stated above that the whole cost of administration is vital, to the very existence of the British rule in India,

and largely essential to the prosperity of the British people. Lord Roberts, with other thoughtful statesmen has correctly stated the true relation of the two countries more than once. Addressing the London Chamber of Commerce he said, "I rejoice to learn that you recognise how indissolubly the prosperity of the United Kingdom is bound up with the retention of that vast Eastern empire" (*Times*, 25/5/93). And again, at Glasgow, he said "that the retention of our Eastern empire is essential to the greatness and prosperity of the United Kingdom" (*Times*, 29/7/93). And further he also clearly points out upon what such essential retention ultimately depends. Does it depend upon tyranny, injustice, bleeding hypocrisy, "plundering," upon imposing the relations of master and slave, upon large, well equipped and efficient armies; on the unreliable props of brute force? No. He says, "But however efficient and well equipped the army of India may be, were it indeed absolute perfection, and were its numbers considerably more than they are at present, our greatest strength must ever rest on the firm base of a united and contented India." Sir William Harcourt said in his speech (House of Commons, 3/9/95), "As long as you have the people of India your friends, satisfied with the justice and policy of your rule, your Empire then will be safe."

Professor Wordsworth has said (*Bombay Gazette*, 3/3/83): "One of the greatest Englishmen of the last generation said that if ever we lost our Indian empire we should lose it like every other we had lost, or were about to lose, by alienating the affections of the people."

Am I not then justified in asking that it is right and just, in order to acquire and preserve the affections of the people, that the cost of that administration which is essential to your "greatness" and your "prosperity," by which your prosperity is indissolubly bound up with that of India, and upon the security and law and order of which depends your very existence in India and as a great empire, should be fairly shared by the United Kingdom?

Leaving this fair claim to the calm and fair consideration of this Commission and to the sense of justice of the British people, I take a less strict view of the duty of England. It is said that India should make all such payments as she would make for her government and her internal and external protection even if there were no British rule and only its own native rule. Now suppose this is admitted, what is the position?

Certainly in that case there will be no employment of Europeans. The present forced, inordinate, and arbitrary employment of Europeans in both the civil and military services in both countries is avowedly entirely and solely owing to British rule and *for British purposes and British interests*—to maintain British supremacy. If there were no British rule there would be no Europeans employed by the native rulers. India accordingly may pay for every Indian employed, but justice demands that the expenditure on Europeans in both countries required for the sole interests of British rule and for British purposes should be paid by the British exchequer. I am not going to discuss here whether even British rule itself needs all the present civil and military European agency. On the contrary, the civil element is their greatest weakness, and will be swept away in the time of trouble from discontent and disaffection; and the military element, without being either efficient or sufficient in such crises, is simply destructive to India, and leading to the very disaster which is intended to be averted or prevented by it. Be this as it may, this much is clear: that the whole European agency, both civil and military, in England and in India is distinctly avowed and admitted to be for the interests of England, *i.e.*, to protect and maintain her supremacy in India against internal or external dangers. Lord Kimberley has put this matter beyond all doubt or controversy, that the European services are emphatically for the purpose of maintaining British supremacy. He says (dinner to Lord Roberts by the Lord Mayor—*Times*, 13th June, 1893):—

“There is one point upon which I imagine, whatever may be our party politics in this country, we are all united: that we are resolutely determined to maintain our supremacy over our Indian empire. That I conceive is a matter about which we have only one opinion, and let me tell you that that supremacy rests upon three distinct bases. One of those bases, and a very important one, is the loyalty and good-will of the Native Princes and population over whom we rule. Next, and not less important, is the maintenance of our European Civil Service, upon which rests the foundation of our administration in India. . . . Last, not because it is the least, but because I wish to give it the greatest prominence, we rest also upon the magnificent European force which we maintain in that country, and the splendid army of native auxiliaries by which that force is supported. . . . Let us firmly and calmly maintain our position in that country; let us be thoroughly armed as to our frontier defences, and then I believe we may trust to the old vigour of the people of this country, come what may, to support our supremacy in that great empire.”

Now this is significant, while Lord Kimberley talks all these grand things, of resolute determination, etc., etc., to maintain British supremacy, and for all British purposes, he does not tell at whose cost. Is it at British cost, as it is for British purposes, or even any portion of that cost? He has not told the British public openly that it is for every farthing at the cost of the Indians, who are thus treated as mere slaves—all the gain, glory and empire “ours,” and all the burden for the Indian helots! Then, as I have already said, the second and third bases—the European civil and military service—are illusory, are only a burden and destruction to India, without being at all a sufficient security in the time of any internal and external trouble, and that especially the civil service is suicidal to the supremacy, and will be the greatest weakness. Then it may also be noticed in passing that Lord Kimberley gives no indication of the navy having anything important to do with, or make any demand on, India.

However, be all this as it may, one thing is made clear by Lord Kimberley, that as far as Britain is concerned, the only motive which actuates her in the matter of the second and third bases—the European civil and military services—is her own supremacy, and nothing else; that there can be no difference of opinion in Britain why European services in both countries are forced upon India, viz., solely and entirely for British purposes and British interests, for “the resolute determination to maintain *our* supremacy.”

I would be, therefore, asking nothing unreasonable, under the reference to this Commission, that what is entirely for British purposes must in justice be paid for by the British people, and the Indian people should not be asked to pay anything. I, however, still more modify this position. Notwithstanding that the European services, in their present extent and constitution, are India's greatest evil and cause of all its economic miseries and destruction, and the very badge of the slavery of a foreign domination and tyranny, that India may consider itself under a reasonable arrangement, to be indirectly benefited by a certain extent of European Agency, and that for such reasonable arrangement India may pay some fair share of the cost of such agency, employed in India. As to all the State charges incurred in this country for such agency, it must be remembered that, in addition to their being entirely for British purposes, they are all, every farthing, earned by Europeans, and spent, every farthing, in this country. It is a charge forced upon India by

sheer tyranny, without any voice or consent of India. No such charge is made upon the Colonies. The Colonial Office building and establishment is all a charge upon the British Exchequer. All charges, therefore, incurred in this country for the India Office and its establishment, and similar ones for State purposes, should under any circumstances be paid from the British Exchequer.

I shall put, briefly, this moderately just "apportionment of charge" in this way :—

India and England should pay all salaries which are to be paid to their own people, within their own limits, respectively—*i.e.*, England should pay for all Englishmen employed in England, and India should pay for all Indians employed in India; and as to those of one country who are employed in the other country *i.e.*,—Englishmen employed in India, and Indians employed in England—let there be some fair and reasonable apportionment between the two countries—taking, as much as possible, into consideration their respective benefits and capacity of means.

As to pensions, a reasonable salary being paid during service in India, no pensions to follow; so that, when Europeans retire from India, there should be no charge on England for pensions, the employees having made their own arrangements for their future from their salaries.

By this arrangement India will not only pay all that it would pay for a government by itself, supposing the English were not there, but also a share in the cost in India for what England regards as absolutely necessary for her own purpose of maintaining her empire in India.

I may say a few words with regard to the navy. On no ground whatever of justice can India be fairly charged any share for the navy, except so far as it falls within the principle stated above, of actual service in Indian harbours.

1. The whole navy as it exists, and as it is intended to be enlarged, is every inch of it required for the protection and safety of this country itself—even if Britain had no empire—for its own safety—for its very existence.

2. Every farthing spent on the navy is entirely earned by Englishmen; not the slightest share goes to India, in its gain, or glory, or employment, or in any way.

3. In the time of war between England and any European Powers, or the United States, the navy will not be able to protect British commerce itself.

4. There is no such thing, or very insignificant, as Indian

foreign commerce, or Indians' risk in what is called British Indian foreign commerce. The whole of what is called British India foreign trade is entirely first British risk and British capital. Every inch of the shipping or cargo on the seas is British risk of British East India banks, British marine insurance companies, and British merchants and shipowners and manufacturers. Any person who has any knowledge of how the whole of what is called British Indian foreign trade is carried on will easily understand what I mean.

5. No European Power will go to attack India from the sea, leaving British navy free to pursue it.

6. Suppose there was no English navy to pursue, Lord Roberts, united and contented, and therefore patriotic, India, will give such an irresistible Indian force at the command of Britain as to give a warm reception to the invader, and drive him back into the sea, if he ever succeeded in landing at all.

With regard to the absolute necessity to the United Kingdom itself for its *own safety*, of the whole navy as it exists and is intended to be increased, there is but one universal opinion, without any distinction of parties. It will be easy to quote expressions from every prominent politician. It is, in fact, the great subject of the day for which there is perfect unanimity. I would content myself, however, with a few words of the highest authority in the realm under the Sovereign, the Prime Minister, and also of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Salisbury said in his Brighton speech :—

“But dealing with such money as you possess . . . that the first claim is the naval defence of England. I am glad that you welcome that sentiment. . . . It is our business to be quite sure of the safety of this island home of ours whose inaccessibility is the source of our greatness, that no improvement of foreign fleets, and no combination of foreign alliances, should be able for a moment to threaten our safety at home. . . . We must make ourselves safe at sea whatever happens. . . . But after all, safety—safety from a foreign foe—comes first before every other earthly blessing, and we must take care in our responsibility to the many interests that depend upon us, in our responsibility to the generations that are to succeed us, we must take care that no neglect of ours shall suffer that safety to be compromised.”

Sir M. Hicks-Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so late as 28th January last (*The Times*, 29/1/96) said emphatically, and in a fighting mood: “We must be prepared. We must never lose the supremacy of the sea. Other nations had not got

it, and could afford to do without it; but supremacy of the sea was vital to our very existence."

With such necessity for England's own safety, whether she had India or not, any burden to be placed on India can only be done on the principle of the right of might over our helplessness, and by treating India as a helotdom, and not in justice and fairness. Yes; let India have complete share in the *whole* Imperial system, including the Government of this country, and then talk of asking her to contribute to Imperial expenses. Then will be the time to consider any such question as it is being considered in relations with Ireland, which enjoys, short of Home Rule which is vital to it, free and full share in the whole Imperial gain and glory—in the navy, army, and Civil Services of the Empire. Let all arrangements exist in India as they exist here for entrance into all the Imperial Services here and elsewhere, and it will be time and justice to talk of India's share in Imperial responsibilities. Certainly not on the unrighteous and tyrannical principle of all gain and glory, employment, etc., for England, and share of cost on India, without any share in such gain, glory, employment, etc.

As to the bugbear of Russian invasion. If India is in a contented state with England, India will not only give an account of Russia, but will supply an army in the most patriotic spirit, large enough to send Russia back to St. Petersburg, India will then fight for herself in fighting for Britain. In satisfied India Britain has an inexhaustible and irresistible store of fighting power, enough and more to fight Britain's battles all over the world, as it has been doing. Lord Beaconsfield saw this and showed it by bringing Indian troops to Malta. Only *pay honestly* for what you take, and not dishonourably or tyrannically throw burdens upon India for your own purposes and interests. *With* India Britain is great and invincible; without India Britain will be a small power. Make India feel satisfaction, patriotism, and prosperity under your supremacy, and you may sleep securely against the world. But with discontented India, whatever her own fate may be—may be subjected by Russia, or may repel Russia—England can or will have no safe position in India. Of course, as I have said before, I am arguing on the assumption that justice is to be dealt out by this Commission to both countries on the basis of the right of might. If that is not to be the case, and right of might is to be the deciding principle, if the eternal moral force is not to be the power, but the ephemeral brute force is to be

the predominant partner, then, of course, I have no argument. All argument, then, will be idle breath at present, till nature in time, as it always does, vindicates and revenges itself, and unrighteousness meets with its doom.

Our Commission has a great, holy, and patriotic task before it. I hope it will perform it, and tell the British people, the redress that is justly due to India. The very first and immediate justice that should be done by England is the abolition of the Exchange Compensation—which is neither legal nor moral—or pay it herself: inasmuch as every farthing paid will be received by English people and in England. It is a heartless, arbitrary and cruel exaction from the poverty of India, worse than Shylocky—not only the pound of flesh of the bond, but also the ounce of blood. As to the general question of apportionment, I have stated the principle above.

Now another important question in connection with “apportionment of charge” has to be considered, viz., of any expenses incurred outside the limits of India of 1858.

I shall take as an illustration the case of North-West frontier wars. Every war, large or small, that is carried on beyond the frontiers of 1858 is distinctly and clearly mainly for Britain's Imperial and European purposes. It is solely to keep her own power in India. If it were not for the maintenance of her own power in India and her position in Europe she would not care a straw whether the Russians or any other power invaded India or took it. The whole expenditure is for Imperial and European purposes. On 11th February, 1880, Mr. Fawcett moved the following Amendment to the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech (*Hansard*, vol. 250, p. 453):

“But humbly desire to express our regret that in view of the declarations that have been made by your Majesty's ministers that the war in Afghanistan was undertaken for Imperial purposes, no assurance has been given that the cost incurred in consequence of the renewal of hostilities in that country will not be wholly defrayed out of the revenues of India.”

Mr. Fawcett then said (*Hansard*, vol. 250, p. 454):

“And, fourthly, the most important question, as far as he was able to judge, of who was to pay the expenses of the war. . . . It seemed to be quite clear that the expenses of the war should not be borne by India, and he wished to explain that so far as India was concerned this was not to be regarded as a matter of generosity but of justice and legality. . . . The matter must be decided on grounds of strict justice and legality. . . . (P. 457) It was a remarkable thing that

every speech made in that House or out of it by ministers or their supporters on the subject showed that the war was a great Imperial enterprise, those who opposed the war having always been taunted as being "parochial" politicians who could not appreciate the magnitude and importance of great Imperial enterprises. . . . (P. 458) He would refer to the speeches of the Viceroy of India, the Prime Minister, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs upon the subject. . . . In December, 1878, the noble earl¹ warned the Peers that they must extend their range of vision, and told them that they were not to suppose that this was a war which simply concerned some small cantonments at Dakka and Jellalabad, but one undertaken to maintain the influence and character not of India, but of England in Europe. Now were they going to make India pay the entire bill for maintaining the influence and character of England in Europe. . . . His lordship² treated the war as indissolubly connected with the Eastern question. . . . Therefore it seemed to him (Mr. Fawcett) that it was absolutely impossible for the Government, unless they were prepared to cast to the winds their declarations, to come down to the House and regard the war as an Indian one. . . . All he desired was a declaration of principle, and he would be perfectly satisfied if some one representing the Government would get up and say that they had always considered this war as an Imperial one, for the expenses of which England and India were jointly liable."

Afterwards Mr. Fawcett said (p. 477) :

"He was entirely satisfied with the assurance which had been given on the part of the Government that the House should have an opportunity of discussing the question before the Budget was introduced, and would therefore beg leave to withdraw his amendment."

In the House of Lords, Lord Beaconsfield emphasised the objects to be for British Imperial purposes (25/2/80—*Hansard*, vol. 250, p. 1,094) :—

"That the real question at issue was whether England should possess the gates of her own great Empire in India. . . . We resolved that the time has come when this country should acquire the complete command and possession of the gates of the Indian Empire. Let me at least believe that the Peers of England are still determined to uphold not only the Empire, but the honour of this country."

So it is clear that the object of all the frontier wars, large or small, was that "*England* should possess the gates of *her own* great Empire," that "*this country* should acquire the complete command and possession of the gates of the Indian Empire," and uphold not only the Empire, but also "the honour of this

¹ The Prime Minister.

² The Marquis of Salisbury.

country." Can anything be more clear than the Imperial character of the frontier wars?

Mr. Fawcett, again, on 12/3/80, moved (*Hansard*, vol. 251, p. 922):—

"That in view of the declarations which have been officially made that the Afghan war was undertaken in the joint interests of England and India, this House is of opinion that it is unjust to defray out of the revenues of India the whole of the expenditure incurred in the renewal of hostilities with Afghanistan."

Speaking to this motion, Mr. Fawcett, after referring to the past declarations of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, quoted from the speech of the Viceroy soon after his arrival (p. 923):—

"I came to India, and just before leaving England for India I had frequent interviews with Lord Salisbury, the then Indian Secretary, and I came out specially instructed to treat the Indian frontier question as an indivisible part of a great Imperial question mainly depending for its solution upon the general policy of Her Majesty's Government. . . ."

And further on Mr. Fawcett said (p. 926):—

"What was our policy towards self-governed Colonies and towards India not self-governed? In the self-governed Colony of the Cape we had a war for which we were not responsible. Who was to pay for it? It would cost the English people something like £5,000,000. In India there was a war for which the Indian people were not responsible—a war which grew out of our own policy and actions in Europe—and we are going to make the Indian people, who were not self-governed and were not represented, pay every sixpence of the cost."

And so Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy had cleared up the whole position—"to treat the Indian frontier question as an indivisible part of a great Imperial question, mainly depending for its solution upon the general policy of Her Majesty's Government," and the Indian people having no voice or choice in it.

Mr. Gladstone, following Mr. Fawcett, said (p. 930):—

"It appears to me that, to make such a statement as that the judgment of the Viceroy is a sufficient expression of that of the people of India, is an expression of paradox really surprising, and such as is rarely heard among us. . . . (P. 932) In my opinion my hon. friend the member for Hackney has made good his case. . . . Still, I think it fair and right to say that, in my opinion, my hon. friend the member for Hackney has completely made good his case. His case, as I understand it, has not received one shred of answer. . . . (P. 933) In

the speech of the Prime Minister, the speech of Lord Salisbury, and the speech of the Viceroy of India, and, I think my hon. friend said, in a speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, this Afghan war has been distinctively recognised as partaking of the character of an Imperial war. . . . But I think not merely a small sum like that, but what my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would call a solid and substantial sum, ought to be borne by this country, at the very least. . . . (P. 935) As regards the substance of the motion, I cordially embrace the doctrine of my hon. friend the member for Hackney. There is not a constituency in the country before which I would not be prepared to stand, if it were the poorest and most distressed in the land, if it were composed of a body of men to all of whom every addition of a farthing for taxes was a sensible burden, and before them I would be glad to stand and plead that, when we have made in India a war which our own Government have described as in part an Imperial war, we ought not for a moment to shrink from the responsibility of assuming at least a portion of the cost of that war, in correspondence with that declaration, instead of making use of the law and argument of force which is the only law and the only argument which we possess or apply to place the whole of this burden on the shoulders of the people of India."

The upshot of the whole was that England contributed £5,000,000 out of £21,000,000 spent on this war, when one would have naturally expected a "far more solid and substantial" sum from rich England, whose interest was double, both Imperial and European. But the extent of that contribution is not the present question with me. It is the principle that "the Indian frontier question is one indivisible part of a great Imperial question, mainly depending for its solution upon the general policy of Her Majesty's Government," and that, therefore, a fair apportionment must be made of all the charge or cost of all frontier wars, according to the extent of the interest and of the means of each country.

Coming down to later times, the action of Mr. Gladstone on 27th April, 1885, to come to the House of Commons to ask for £11,000,000—and the House accepting his proposal—on the occasion of the Penjdeh incident, is again a most significant proof of the Imperial character of these frontier wars. He said (*Hansard*, vol. 297, p. 859):—

"I have heard with great satisfaction the assurance of hon. gentlemen opposite that they are disposed to forward in every way the grant of funds to us to be used as we best think for the maintenance of what I have upon former occasions described as a National and Imperial policy. Certainly, an adequate sense of our obligations to our Indian Empire has never yet been claimed by any party in this

country as its exclusive inheritance. In my opinion he will be guilty of a moral offence and gross political folly who should endeavour to claim on behalf of his own party any superiority in that respect over those to whom he is habitually opposed. It is an Imperial policy in which we are engaged."

Lastly, last year (15/8/95) the present leader of the House of Commons (Mr. Balfour) in his speech, referred to "a serious blow to *our* prestige;" "that there are two and *only two* great powers they (the tribesmen) have to consider," "*to us*, and *to us* alone, must they look as a suzerain power." "To depend upon the British throne." (The italics are mine). So it is all "*ours*" and "*us*" for all gain and glory and Imperial possessions, and European position—except that India must be forced to pay the bill. Is this the sense and conscience of *English justice* to make India pay the whole cost of the Chitral war or any frontier war?

Though the real and principal guiding motive for the British Government for these frontier wars is only Imperial and European for "its resolute determination" of keeping its possession of India and position in Europe, still India does not want to ignore its indirect and incidental benefit of being saved from falling into Russia's hands, coupled with the hope that when British conscience is fully informed and aroused to a true sense of the great evils of the present system of administration, these evils will be removed. India, therefore, accepts that these frontier wars, as far as they may be absolutely necessary, involves Indian interests also, and would be willing to pay a fair share according to her means.

India, therefore, demands and looks to the present Commission hopefully to apportion a fair division for the cost of all frontier wars in which India and England have and had purposes of common interest. This whole argument will apply to all wars, on *all* the frontiers of India—East, West, North, or South. With reference to all wars outside *all* the frontiers of India and in which India has no interest, Britain should honestly pay India fully for all the services of men or materials which she has taken and may take from India—not, as in the Abyssinian War, shirk any portion. Sir Henry Fowler, in his speech in the House of Commons (22/7/93), said:—"I say on behalf of the English people, they want to deal with Ireland, not shabbily but generously." I believe that the English people wish to deal with India also justly and generously. But do their servants, the Indian authorities, act in that way? Has

not India greater claims than even Ireland, on the justice and generosity of the English people. Inasmuch as the Irish people have the voice of their own direct representatives in Parliament on their own and Imperial affairs, while India is helpless and entirely at the mercy of England, with no direct vote of her own, not only in Parliament, but even in the Legislative Councils in India, on any expenditure out of her own revenues. Ireland not only has such voice, but has a free and complete share in all the gain and glory of the British Empire. An Irishman can occupy any place in the United Kingdom or India. Can an Indian occupy any such position, even in his own country, let alone in the United Kingdom? Not only that, but that these authorities, not only do not act justly or generously, but they treat India even "shabbily."

Let us take an illustration or two. What is it, if not shabby to throw the expenses of Prince Nassarulla's visit upon the Indian people! There is the mutiny of 1857. The causes were the mistakes and mismanagement of your own authorities; the people had not only no share in it, but actually were ready at your call, to rise and support you. Punjab sent forth its best blood, and your supremacy was triumphantly maintained, and what was the reward of the people? You inflicted upon the people the whole payment to the last farthing of the cost of that deplorable event, of your own servants' making. Not only then was India unjustly treated, but even "shabbily." Let Lord Northbrook speak: *House of Lords (15/5/93—Debates, vol. xii, p. 874)*:

"The whole of the ordinary expenses in the Abyssinian expedition were paid by India.¹ Only the extraordinary expenses being paid by the Home Government, the argument used being that India would have to pay her troops in the ordinary way, and she ought not to seek to make a profit out of the affair. But how did the Home Government treat the Indian Government when troops were sent out during the mutiny? Did they say, 'we don't want to make any profit out of this?' Not a bit of it. Every single man sent out was paid for by India during the whole time, though only temporary use was made of them, including the cost of their drilling and training as recruits until they were sent out."

Can anything be more "shabby" not to use a stronger word. Here you send troops for your own very existence. The people help you as best they can, and you not only not pay even any portion of the expenditure but reward the people for their

¹ With it India had nothing to do, and yet Britain did not pay all expenses.

loyalty with the infliction of not only the whole expense and additional burdens but even as shabbily as Lord Northbrook discloses. Is this the way by dealing unjustly and shabbily with the people that you teach them and expect them to stand by you in the time of trouble! And still more, since then, you have in a marked way been treating the people with distrust, and inflicting upon them unnecessarily and selfishly a larger and more expensive army to be paid for as wholly and as shabbily as the army of the Mutiny—viz., including the cost or a portion of the cost of their drilling and training as recruits until they are sent out, though all the troops are in this country and they form an integral part of the British army. And the whole expenditure of the frontier wars including Chitral is imposed upon the Indian people, though avowedly incurred for Imperial and European purposes, excepting that for very shame, a fourth of the cost of the last Afghan War was paid from the British Exchequer! thanks to Mr. Fawcett. In fact the whole European army is an integral part of the British army, India being considered and treated as a fine training ground for the British army, at any expense for English gain, glory, and prestige, and as a hunting ground for “our boys,” and as a point of protection for British Imperial and European position, leaving the Indians the helotry or the proud privilege of paying for everything to the last farthing, without having the slightest voice in the matter! The worst of the whole thing is that having other and helpless, people’s money to spend, without any check from the British taxpayer, there is no check to any unnecessary and extravagant expenditure.

Now even all these unjust inflictions for the Mutiny, and all past tyranny were considered somewhat, if not fully compensated by that great, noble, and sacred with invocation of Almighty God, proclamation of 1858, by which it was proclaimed to India and to the world that the Indian subjects were raised to an equality with the British subjects in their citizenship and British rights. And is that solemn pledge kept? Not a bit of it. On the contrary all such pledges are pronounced by Lord Salisbury as “hypocrisy,” by Lord Lytton as “cheating” by “deliberate and transparent subterfuges,” and “by breaking to the heart the word of promise they had uttered to the ear,” by a Committee of the Council of the India Office itself as “keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope,” and by the Duke of Argyll as “we have not fulfilled our promises.”

Can it be expected that by such methods of financial

injustice and violation of pledges can be acquired the affection of the people upon which mainly and ultimately depends, as many a statesman has said, the stability of the British supremacy.

At Glasgow on November 14, 1895, Mr. Balfour said, "you all remember that the British army—and in the British army I include those native soldiers, fellow subjects of ours, who on that day did great work for the Empire of which they are all citizens."—This is the romance. Had Mr. Balfour spoken the reality, he would have said, "Include those native soldiers, the drudges of ours, who on that day did great work for the Empire of which they are kept-down subjects." For does not Mr. Balfour know, that far from being treated as "fellow subjects" and "citizens of the Empire," the Indians have not only to shed their blood for the Empire, but even to *pay every farthing* of the cost of these wars for "our Empire" and "our European position," that no pledges however solemn and binding to treat Indians as "fellow subjects" or British citizens have been faithfully kept either in letter or spirit, that however much these Indians may be brave and shed their blood for Imperial purposes or be made to pay "cruel and crushing tribute" they are not allowed any vote in the Imperial Parliament nor a vote in the Indian Legislative Councils on their own financial expenditure, that their employment in the officering of the army beyond a few inferior positions of Subadar Major or Jamadar Major, etc., is not at all allowed, that they are distrusted and disarmed—are not allowed to become volunteers, that every possible obstacle is thrown and "subterfuge" resorted to, against the advancement of the Indians in the higher positions of all the Civil Services, and that the simple justice of allowing Indians an equality to be simultaneously examined in their own country, for *Indian* services, decided by Act and resolution of Parliament and solemnly pledged by the great Proclamation, is resisted by every device and subterfuge possible unworthy of the English character. Is it not a mockery and an insult to call the Indians "fellow subjects and citizens of the Empire" when in reality they are treated as under-heel subjects.

Here are Rs.128,574,590, or nearly Rs.129,000,000, spent from April, 1882, to March, 1891 (Parl. Return, 91 of 1895), beyond "the West and North-west frontiers of India," after the disastrous expenditure of £21,000,000 in the last Afghan War (of which only a quarter was paid by the British Exchequer). Every pie of this nearly Rs.129,000,000 is exacted out of the poverty-stricken Indians, and all for distinctly avowed Imperial

and European British purposes. I do not know whether the Rs.129,000,000 includes the ordinary pay of all the soldiers and officers employed in the Frontier Service, or whether it is only the extraordinary military expenditure that is included. If the ordinary pay is not included, then the amount will be larger than Rs.129,000,000. And these are "our fellow subjects" and "our Imperial citizens!" To shed blood for Imperial purposes and to pay the whole cost also!

Lord George Hamilton said at Chiswick (*Times*, 22/1/96) : "He hoped that the result of the present Government's tenure of office would be to make the British Empire not merely a figure of speech, but a living reality." Now is not this as much romance as that of Mr. Balfour's instead of being a "living reality." All the questions I have asked for, Mr. Balfour's expressions apply as forcibly to the words of the present Secretary of State of India, who ought to know the real despotically subjected position of the people of British India, forming two-thirds of the empire. Yes, the British Empire can be made a "living reality" of union and devoted attachment, but not under the present system of British Indian administration. It can be, when in that system, justice, generosity, fair apportionment of charges, and honour, and "courage of keeping the word" shall prevail over injustice, and dishonour of open violation of the most solemn of honour.

Mr. Chamberlain, at Birmingham (*Times*, 27/1/96), said, in reference to the African Republic :—

I have never denied that there is just cause for discontent in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. The majority of the population there pay the taxes of the country, and have no share whatever in the government of the country. That is an anomaly which does not exist in a civilised community, and it is an anomaly which wise and prudent statesmanship would remove. I believe it can be removed by the grant of the independence of the Republic, and I believe that you have no permanent guarantee against future reverses."

These words apply with ten times force to the case of the Orange Free State that wise and prudent statesmanship which is required to be practised in connection with the maintenance of the British Empire? I venture to use Mr. Chamberlain's words :—

(the anomaly) can be removed without danger to the British power, or, rather, with devoted and patriotic

attachment to the British connection; and I believe that until it is removed you have no permanent guarantee against future internal disturbances."

The *Times* (1/2/96), in a leader on Lord Salisbury's speech before the Nonconformist Unionist Association, in a sentence about the Outlanders, expresses what is peculiarly applicable to the present position of India. It says:—

"The Outlanders in the Transvaal—not a minority, but a large majority—are deprived of all share of political power and of the most elementary privileges of citizenship, because the dominant class, differing from them in race and feeling, as Lord Salisbury says, 'have the government and have the rifles.'"

The Indians must provide every farthing for the supremacy of the minority of "the dominant class," and should not have the slightest voice in the spending of that every farthing, and find every solemn pledge given for equality of British citizenship flagrantly broken to the heart in letter and in spirit. And why? Is it because, as Lord Salisbury says, "they have the Government and have the rifles;" or as Mr. Gladstone said about India itself, "the law and argument of force, which is the only law and argument which we possess or apply." This Commission has the duty, at least so far as a fair apportionment of charge is concerned, to redress this great wrong.

Do the British Indian authorities really think that the Indians are only like African savages, or mere children, that, ever since thousands of years of civilisation, when the Britons were barbarians; after the education they have received at the British hands, producing, as Lord Dufferin said, "nations of men of great attainments and intelligence" (Jubilee *Indian* they do not see and understand these deplorable circumstances and of their true position of degradation and economic distress? Or do these authorities not care, even if the Indians stand, as long as they can mislead the British people into the belief that all is right and beneficent in British India in reality really not the case?

But the faith of the Indians in the conscience of the British people is unbounded and unshakeable, and the British Government, since 1857, has bright spots keep up that faith, such as the "Indian" after the burdening the Indian people with the cost of the Afghan War mission, and—even though inadequate and partial—(Exchequer). of one-fourth of the cost of the last Afghan War. The British Government has acted out of the acts of justice that consolidate the British rule and have saved Imperial its stability.

I believe now, as I have always believed, that the English people wish and want to deal with India justly and generously. When I say that I believe in the British character of fair play and justice, it is not a sentiment of to-day or yesterday. In the very first political speech of my life, made as far back as 1853, at the formation of the Bombay Association, on the occasion of the Parliamentary Inquiry on Indian Affairs for the renewal of the Company's Charter, I said :—

“When we see that our Government is often ready to assist us in everything calculated to benefit us, we had better, than merely complain and grumble, point out in a becoming manner what our real wants are. . . . If an Association like this be always in readiness to ascertain by strict inquiries the probably good or bad effects of any proposed measure, and whenever necessary to memorialise Government on behalf of the people with respect to them, our kind Government will not refuse to listen to such memorials.”

And under that belief the Bombay Association, the British Indian Association of Bengal, and the Madras Association, memorialised the then Select Committee on Indian affairs—for redress of grievances.

Now, after not very short of nearly half a century of hopes and disappointments, these are still my sentiments to-day—that with correct and full knowledge the British people and Parliament will do what is right and just.

I may here take the opportunity of making a remark or two about the wide extent of the scope of the inquiry of this Commission in the first part of the Reference.

Lord Cranbourne, soon after having been Secretary of State for India, said (24/5/67) in reference to the powers of the Council of the Secretary of State for India :

“It possesses by Act of Parliament an absolute and conclusive veto upon the Acts of the Government of India with reference to nine-tenths, I might almost say ninety-nine hundredths, of the questions that arise with respect to that Government. Parliament has provided that the Council may veto any despatch which directs the appropriation of public money. Everyone knows that almost every question connected with Government raises in some way or other the question of expenditure.”

The first part of the Reference to this Commission thus embraces “almost every question connected with Government.” “Ninety-nine hundredths of the questions that arise with respect to that Government.”

(24)

This view is fully confirmed by the inquiry by the Select Committee of 1871-4. The Reference to it was "to inquire into the Finance and Financial Administration of India," and our first Reference is fully of the same scope and character. Now what was the extent of the subjects of the inquiry made by that Committee? The index of the proceedings of the four years (1871-4) has a table of contents headed; "Alphabetical and Classified List of the principal headings in the following Index, with the pages at which they will be found." And what is the number of these headings? It is about 420. In fact, there is hardly a subject of Government which is not inquired into.

Yours truly,

DADABHAI NAQROJI.