

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 43482

A Disciple of Karl Marx.

WITH the death of Mr. H. M. HYNDMAN there disappears the first and the last audible exponent of KARL MARX in England. That there should have been no other to attain his degree of popularity in the preaching of a gospel which has permeated so much of the Socialistic thought of the Continent, and can now even claim the glories of a revolution of its own, is perhaps a tribute to the political stolidity of the British working man, or perhaps only reflects Mr. HYNDMAN's limitations as a prophet. Fire, ferocity, and faith were his, but the power to kindle these qualities in others was apparently lacking. There is no one to-day to carry the flaming torch whose light, indeed, has been already sadly dimmed in Mr. HYNDMAN's later years. The very name of the Social Democratic Federation, once the outlet for only the most advanced reformer's zeal, the whispered synonym for political out-lawry among sober-minded citizens, is now but a curiosity of party labels. If Marxian philosophy can be said to have a serious hold in England to-day, it is hardly the product of Mr. HYNDMAN's preaching so much as of the industrial and social ferment. In that it is true to MARX's teaching. But Mr. HYNDMAN was a friend of many good causes, though we may not number revolutionary Socialism among them, and in spite of his political and oratorical violence had a warmth of heart which kept his judgment sound where others, possibly more intellectually gifted, went wrong.

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Nr. 12482

MR. H. M. HYNDMAN.

Mr. H. M. Hyndman died at his home in London yesterday morning. He had been ill with pneumonia for ten days.

Henry Mayers Hyndman was born in London in 1842, the son of a very wealthy barrister. He was educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and for some years after leaving the University played cricket in the Sussex County eleven. He became a journalist, acting as war correspondent for the "Pall Mall Gazette" in the Italian War of Liberation, and travelling in 1869-71 in Australia, the Pacific, and the United States. It was not till 1880, or later, that he took up Socialism. It came to him through the writings of Marx, whose importance he was one of the first Englishmen to surmise; and his first Socialist manifesto was "England for All" (1881), in which almost all the leading ideas were borrowed from Marx, with an imperfection of understanding and a scantiness of acknowledgment of which the latter complained bitterly in correspondence at the time. In 1881 Mr. Hyndman had taken a leading part in forming the Democratic Federation. In 1884 (having in the interval written several Socialist books and lectured much on his subject) he changed this into the Social Democratic Federation—the first Socialist political organisation in England. To this body most of the English Socialists in the 'eighties at one time belonged—William Morris, John Burns, and many other leaders included,—but nearly all of any eminence left it and formed or helped to form other Socialist bodies, of which the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour party have survived.

After the earliest stages he never stinted acknowledgments to Marx (who died in 1883, two years after Mr. Hyndman's conversion); rather it became his gospel that there is one Marx and Hyndman his prophet. With torrential energy, very inadequate intellectual grasp, and a reckless ferocity of language which made him and his Social Democratic Federation quite a peculiar phenomenon in English public life, he set up as Marx's interpreter to the English people. Unfortunately he lacked many qualifications for the task. He was never schooled in economics, and the niceties of his author were beyond him; nor does he ever appear to have grasped, what no capable student of Marx can now miss, the historical evolution of Marx himself, the processes of growth and change which his thought exhibits at successive periods. The result was that a very crude dogmatism, for which the disciple was more responsible than the master, usurped in England the name of Marxism, and effectually prevented Marx's ideas from receiving among serious thinkers

in this country the attention which was given to them on the Continent.

As a politician Mr. Hyndman reached his zenith in 1886-7, when he was fanning the unemployed agitation that led to the "Bloody Sunday" and Trafalgar Square episodes. For his participation in these he was put on trial at the Old Bailey, but acquitted. After the conclusion of the great dock strike in 1889 his importance waned. Trade union leaders, quickened partly by the "new unionism," were taking the first steps towards organising the English proletariat by methods more natural and English than his. During the nineties the growth of the Independent Labour party, and during the new century that of the Labour party, left his organisation very much on one side. But its policy was unaltered; it continued to bark at the Liberals and Conservatives and to bite the rival Socialists. Mr. Hyndman, who had relinquished much of its control to the strong hands of the late Harry Quelch, pursued a less fixed course. As a rule, he helped in trying to trip up the Labour party, but there were also times when he unsuccessfully urged his followers to affiliate to it. At one period during the zenith of Chamberlainism he proclaimed that he definitely despaired of the British workers and would retire from public life; but his retirement ended as soon as a more favourable current set in. In 1895 he had unsuccessfully contested Burnley as a Social Democrat, and in 1906 he tried there again. His failure, together with those of his organisation elsewhere, contrasted with the successes of the Labour party, and for a while he drew near to the latter. But as soon as it got into difficulties he resumed the more congenial task of fishing in its troubled waters. His love of intriguing against fellow-Socialists seldom had more scope than in 1908.

That year, however, saw him defeated in a new direction. For half a generation after he had ceased to count in the real British Labour movement he had succeeded in figuring before the Continent as the leading British Socialist. From 1900 he had been one of the two British representatives on the International Socialist Bureau. But in 1908, on the motion of Kautsky, opposed by Hyndman, the Bureau recognised the British Labour party. While this was the beginning of a real participation by British Labour in the Socialist politics of Europe, it was the end of the "Hyndman legend." In 1910 he lost his seat on the Bureau; and in the same year his perennial attempt to capture the Parliamentary seat at Burnley was repulsed at both the general elections. He partially retired from politics, and in 1911 and 1912 published two successive volumes of "Reminiscences."

But the war of 1914 stirred him again to action. The furniture of his mind had always been predominantly French, deriving most (as his "Reminiscences" show) from the Parisian culture of the Third Empire. Conversely, despite Marx, he was anti-German. It was, therefore, a great grief to him when his own little Socialist con-

venticle (by this time called the Social Democratic party) showed a strong tendency to pacifism. He fought it, but he was weakened by Harry Quelch's death, and it won; the Social Democratic party split up, and in 1916 the faithful minority were reorganised by Hyndman and his friends as the "National Socialist party." Later, by a happy inspiration, they revived the old name of the Social Democratic Federation. The party's old paper "Justice" remained in their hands.

The day of his platform speaking was getting past, but Hyndman remained an assiduous writer. On the morrow of victory in 1918 he published a eulogistic biography of M. Clemenceau, whom he had known for about thirty years. Next year came another book, "The Awakening of Asia." In 1918-19, too, he was an active member of the Consumers' Council set up by the Food Ministry. Such was the sunset of a vigorous life.

He was twice married—in 1876 to Matilda Ware, who died in 1913; and in 1914 to Rosalind Caroline Travers, a gifted lady who did much to help and supplement the activities of his last period. In public life, as a speaker and writer, he was distinguished by fluency and violence; hardly any insinuation was too scurrilous for him to make against an opponent; but there was too little light and shade in his vituperation for it to tell like that of such masters as Junius or Cobbett. In private life he surprised by his affability, and though his conversation lacked intellectual depth it was made interesting by his copious if inaccurate stories about the many eminent persons with whom his long and singularly varied career had brought him into contact. In person he was of middle height, with a rather low forehead and an immense beard which lent him a half-clerical cast. He had several special interests outside Socialism—notably India; but here as elsewhere he was too indiscriminating to acquire influence, and often, as in his frenzied attacks on Lord Morley's Indian Secretaryship, touched the absurd. He was also, in the 'eighties, a member of the Irish Land League.

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DEATH OF MR. H. M.
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VETERAN SOCIALIST'S
CAREER.

A PICTURESQUE
PERSONALITY.

The death of Henry Mayers Hyndman, the veteran Socialist, announced on another page, removes not only a picturesque figure from public life, but also a man of cultivation, of real ability, and of powers of independent thought. Long before the war he foresaw the German menace.

When Mr. Hyndman published, in 1911, "The Record of an Adventurous Life" it came as something of a surprise to those who had only heard him, or heard of him, as a Socialist platform speaker, denouncing Liberals, Conservatives, Capitalists, and the upper classes with pleasant impartiality, and to those who had read his books and pamphlets, written for the most part in fierce condemnation of British trade and British policy, domestic, foreign, colonial, and, above all, Indian. For, though readers found a certain amount of this in the Reminiscences, they found also that Hyndman was a man of means, the son of a father who had given £150,000 for the building of East-end churches (the Hyndman Trust), that he had taken his degree at Trinity, Cambridge, and had been called to the Bar, and even that he had played in the Sussex eleven and bowled against W. G. Grace.

It is true that these things were no surprise to certain circles in London where Hyndman was for many years a welcome guest, for they had found in him a man who could talk well and agreeably about other things than Socialism, who had travelled much and used his eyes, and who had been on familiar terms not only with Socialist leaders like Morris, Liebknecht, and Marx, but with Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Clemenceau. Hyndman, however, did not allow the charms of society to turn him aside from his beliefs or to hinder his public profession of them on suitable occasions. From the moment when he took up Socialism he remained a consistent advocate and believer, though, as might be expected, his foes were often to be found in his own camp.

Born in London on March 7, 1842, the eldest son of John Beckles Hyndman, he was educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge. It was one of the disappointments of his young days that he did not get a place in the Cambridge Eleven in 1864. A very good batsman that year, he had strong claims, but room could not be found for him. Cambridge were rich in run-getters in 1864, but very short of bowlers. Mr. Hyndman kept up his cricket for several years, playing a good deal for Sussex and the Gentlemen of Sussex. At Brighton in August, 1864, he made 58 against Hampshire and 62 against Middlesex, these being his best scores in big matches. Thanks to his batting, Sussex beat Middlesex after a keen fight by three wickets.

In his early days he was "an out-and-out Radical." Hyndman was moved in 1866 to follow Garibaldi. In those days, as he put it in a conversation not many months ago, nearly every active young Englishman was an Italianissimo, and he went as a special correspondent of the newly-founded Ball

frequently as I conversed with him. Mazzini's ideas were those of the emancipation and the progress and the brotherhood of man, not exactly on an economic basis—it was more ethical than economic. I gradually became more and more convinced that the economic forces were those that had to be considered and studied, but I had not then the full clue to the matter, nor did I obtain it until I had studied the Chartist movement and was then brought into contact with Marx's works."

It was the study of Marx's works, which were not then translated, that led him to the conclusion that the only possible solution of the difficulties of our present society was that of a collective organization on a cooperative basis. This was in the seventies. Mr. Hyndman recalled in the conversation referred to the various stages of the movement which led in 1881 to the holding of a conference to organize the Democratic Federation, and, when the Irish question arose, the connexion between the Socialists and the Land League, and their connexion also with the unemployment agitation which led to the trial and acquittal at the Old Bailey in 1886 of himself, Mr. John Burns, Jack Williams, and Champion on a charge arising out of the "West End riots." "As happens with movements of this character, several less advanced parties arose, like the Independent Labour Party, a half-way house, and the Labour Party, which was a house, but not even on the way. In 1900 we were chiefly instrumental, I think, in establishing what was called the new International. I proposed that the centre of it should be in Brussels, and this was agreed to. I served on the International Socialist Bureau for 10 years, and did a great deal of work, and then I was kicked out at Copenhagen in 1910 because I would persist in saying, in *The Times* and elsewhere, that Germany was preparing for war against this country and against France, which she undoubtedly was—everybody knows it now."

In 1869 Hyndman went in a sailing vessel to Australia and round the world. He wrote leaders in support of free education in the *Melbourne Argus*, explored Polynesia, and spent a little time in the United States, returning to England in February, 1871, when the Franco-German war was ending and the insurrection of the Commune was close at hand. By this time he had adopted most of the Socialist creed, but England was not ready for the new gospel. About 1881, when Ireland had once more become a burning question, and when Egypt was giving trouble, Hyndman and his friends saw their opportunity, since they professed to hate coercion and annexation with an equal hatred. So the Social Democratic Federation was born, and the newspaper *Justice* was founded; "unemployed" demonstrations began to be organized; Hyndman had a public discussion in St. James's Hall with Bradlaugh on "Socialism or Individualism"; the West-end riots of 1886 took place, and Hyndman was tried at the Old Bailey for his part in them, but, luckier than Mr. Burns had been a few years earlier, was acquitted. This was typical of his whole career. He seemed to aim at martyrdom, but he never achieved it; and the worst punishment that ever befell him for his attacks on the established order was expulsion from one of his clubs. People, in fact, could not help liking him, though he attacked everybody—quarrelled with Karl Marx, declared that Liebknecht "did us great mischief," thought poorly of John Burns (as was amusingly illustrated in Joseph Burgess's study of Burns, for which he wrote a preface), poured contempt upon the "Fair Traders," and loved nothing better than holding up Radical M.P.'s to the execration of a Socialist mob. He contested Burnley altogether four times, but always without success.

We have seen how clearly Hyndman realized the German menace (for example, in a letter to *The Times* in 1905); and it should also be recorded to his honour that he was always in favour of a strong Navy and a policy of "two keels for one"; in letters to *The Times* and by other means he advocated a hundred million naval loan. This wise anticipation of England's greatest danger may be set against his angry opposition to the South African War.

During the war Hyndman took, as was natural, a definitely patriotic line. He was a member of the National Workers' Committee (War Emergency) from 1914 to 1919, and helped to found the National Socialist

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frequently as I conversed with him. Mazzini's ideas were those of the emancipation and the progress and the brotherhood of man, not exactly on an economic basis—it was more ethical than economic. I gradually became more and more convinced that the economic forces were those that had to be considered and studied, but I had not then the full clue to the matter, nor did I obtain it until I had studied the Chartist movement and was then brought into contact with Marx's works."

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During the war Hyndman took, as was natural, a definitely patriotic line. He was a member of the National Workers' Committee (War Emergency) from 1914 to 1919, and helped to found the National Socialist Party against the anti-national Socialist groups. He was also a member of the Food Consumers' Council, on which he did, quite unknown to the public, work of real value.

Mention must be made of Hyndman's other books. In "Further Reminiscences" (1913) he ran amok among his political enemies with all his old vigour. "The Awakening of Asia" (1919) was held up by the Censor for two years. In it his final conclusion seemed

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to be that, while European domination and influence must once more vanish from Asia, they are bound to be replaced by the hegemony of Japan. In "The Evolution of Revolution" (1920) he endeavoured to apply a modified Marxian formula to the whole course of human history, with results equally fatal to Pizarro and Cromwell, Luther and Melancthon. He also wrote more than one book on India; "Socialism and Slavery," a reply to Herbert Spencer; and "Clemenceau: The Man and his Time" (1919).

Mr. Hyndman was twice married; first, in 1876, to Miss Matilda Ware, an active worker in the Socialist movement, who died in 1913; and secondly, in 1914, to Rosalind Caroline, daughter of Major Travers, of Tortington House, Arundel, and granddaughter of Bishop Ellicott. Mrs. Hyndman has published volumes of poems and a book on Finland.

Mr. Hyndman hat das Wort

Notizen über die indische Wirtschaft gestern und heute

Wien, 30. Oktober

Mr. Hyndman ist uns nicht zum erstenmal begegnet. Dieser englische Sozialist, der den Sozialismus freilich mit seinen eigenen Augen sah, weit mehr aus dem nationalen als aus dem internationalen Gesichtswinkel, ist trotzdem im Grund als Außenpolitiker interessanter als durch seine innerpolitischen Ansichten. Er durchreiste die Welt als aktiver Journalist, war schon im Kriegsjahr Sechszundsechzig, und zwar auf italienischer Seite, als Berichterstatter tätig, hatte jahrelang in Indien gelebt und schrieb als fast Achtzigjähriger sein Standardwerk über die asiatischen Entwicklungen, dem er den Titel gab „The Awakening of Asia“. Das Buch hatte großen Erfolg, als es zu Ende des ersten Weltkrieges erschien. Vielleicht hätte es freilich noch nachhaltigeren Erfolg verdient. Die Zensur, so erklärte der Verfasser in seinem Vorwort, hatte es mehr als zwei Jahre zurückgehalten. Sie wollte wohl den Pessimismus, der der Zukunft der englischen Asienpolitik galt, von den Ohren des politischen Publikums Großbritannien fernhalten. Im Kolonialamt wie im Foreign Office wußten sie allerdings sehr gut, daß dieser Pessimismus im Urteil von einem Mann kam, der alles eher war als ein Erstbesten. Sie wußten dort wie da über Henry Mayor Hyndman Bescheid, über seine Fachkenntnis in den ostasiatischen, vor allem aber in den indischen Fragen.

Im Augenblick, da eine neue, eben erschienene, mit den jüngsten Daten belegte Publikation die alten Bilder bestätigt, die sich aus der Statistik für das wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Leben Indiens ergeben, fühlt man sich dazu verführt, in den Schritten dieses ausgezeichneten Kenners der asiatischen Verhältnisse zu blättern und ihm vor der Öffentlichkeit von heute neuerdings das Wort zu erteilen. Was er über Indien aus älterer, eigener Anschauung und aus einem reifen Urteil, das auch noch die ersten Erfahrungen der Weltkriegsperiode zu verwerten vermochte, über die indischen Verhältnisse zu berichten hat, ist heute mehr denn je wert, gelesen zu werden. Es bietet überdies die beste Vergleichsgrundlage, um aus dem Wissen über das Gestrern und dem neuen Wissen über das Heute Material zu einem Urteil über die weitere Zukunft der indischen Entwicklung zusammenzutragen.

Hyndman ist der Enkel eines großen Geschäftsmachers gewesen, der den Seinen ein Millionenvermögen hinterließ. Unter seinen Vorfahren, die mit Indien zu tun hatten, waren jedoch auch Offiziere, die den Nachkommen ein Stück traditionellen Interesses für das dortige Problem des menschlichen Verhältnisses zwischen Engländern und Indern vermachten. Rückblickend auf die Tage, da ein Oberst Hyndman am Hof von Heiderabad eine politische Rolle spielte, aber auch die geschäftlichen Taktiken seiner Landsleute bestens kennenzulernen vermochte, bezeichnet unser Autor die Art der Geschäftsführung durch die seinerzeitige indische Handelskompanie, die ein

zivilisiertes 100-Millionen-Reich gewissermaßen nebenbei in Besitz nahm und große Kriege führte, um gewaltige Dividenden an die in England sitzenden Anteilhaber zu bezahlen, als einzig dastehend in der Geschichte der Menschheit. „Nicht eine Geschäftsführung mit Samtpfötchen“, schreibt er, „zahlte diese staunenerregenden Dividenden und brachte so gewaltige Zinsen. Wie hoch der Gesamtbetrag an Gütern gewesen sein muß, der aus Indien herausgezogen und nach England geschafft wurde, ohne daß irgend ein Wertersatz geleistet worden wäre, wird voraussichtlich niemals bekannt werden. Er muß ganz gewaltig gewesen sein (wir zitieren immer noch Mr. Hyndman) und tatsächlich den Wertabfluß von Amerika nach Europa, der nach den Entdeckungen des Kolumbus und seiner Nachfolger einsetzte, übertroffen haben. Das Indien entzogene Vermögen befähigte Großbritannien, die Führung in Gewerbe und Handel zu übernehmen, die ihm im folgenden Jahrhundert die Kontrolle der Märkte sicherte.“

Hyndman schildert die Wirkungen der Londoner Textilpolitik auf die indische Wirtschaft und auf die betroffenen Kreise einer ohnedies armseligen einheimischen Arbeiterschaft. Bekanntlich verbot man im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert die Einfuhr indischer Baumwollwaren nach England, um die eigene Industrie nicht zu schädigen. In Indien aber gab es keinen Schutzzoll. „Die unglücklichen Hersteller indischer Erzeugnisse sahen als Folge des unbehinderten Wettbewerbes, der von London wohlweislich gepredigt wurde, ihren Lebensunterhalt durch einen Vorgang untergraben, den sie nicht verstehen und dem sie nicht widerstehen konnten. Zehntausende über Zehntausende von ihnen starben Hungers. Die fremde Regierung jedoch machte nicht den geringsten Versuch, diesen verhängnisvollen freien Handelswettbewerb zu regeln. Die Lage in der Landwirtschaft war nicht besser. Während die zusätzlichen Einnahmen durch die Heimarbeit der Weber schließlich ganz wegfiel, steigerten sich die Schulden der kleinen Landwirte und Pächter. Aber auch dort, wo die Engländer Reformen einzuführen versuchten, schon um wirtschaftlich selbst besser zu fahren, begegneten sie den Widerständen der indischen Bevölkerung, die nichts von ihnen wissen wollte. Hyndman beruft sich auf das Urteil eines älteren Indienfachmannes, der noch in der Kompanie Dienste geleistet hatte, des Sir William Sleemann. Das Volk, hatte dieser erklärt, will im allgemeinen oder wenigstens in seinem größeren Teil lieber die Übel auf sich nehmen, denen es unter der Eingeborenenherrschaft ausgesetzt war, als die Ungewißheit unserer Gesetze, die Förmlichkeiten unserer Gerichtshöfe, den Stolz und die Gleichgültigkeit unserer Richter und die Verderbtheit und Anmaßung unserer Gerichtsvollzieher. Neunundneunzig von hundert würden gegen uns stimmen, wenn man sie fragen wollte.“

Einer der schwersten Vorwürfe, die Hyndman gegen seine eigenen Landsleute erhebt — und dieser Vorwurf gilt genau so noch heute —, ist der Vorwurf der Uninteressiertheit an den in-

dischen Menschen und ihren wirklichen Bedürfnissen. Er stellt selbst fest, daß dies zu seiner Zeit nicht anders gewesen sei als früher, und als Beweis führt er gleichfalls wieder einen Beamten der Kompanie an, der schon damals es als eine traurige Wahrheit bezeichnet hatte, „daß die Engländer in Indien dem Volk, unter dem sie lebten, gänzlich fremd gegenüberstehen. Dies ist nicht nur auf die Verschiedenheit der Sprache und der Sitten zurückzuführen, sondern auch darauf, daß wir uns nicht entschließen wollen, eine weniger verächtliche Haltung gegen die Inder anzunehmen. Wir haben versäumt, eine Pflicht zu erfüllen, die uns durch die Art unserer Stellung in Indien auferlegt ist, die Pflicht, uns darum zu bemühen, die Eingeborenen zu verstehen.“ Diese Verachtung rühre in der Hauptsache von Unwissenheit, die, wie so oft, von englischer Prahlerei begleitet wird. Überdies sei die Neigung des Beiseitestehens noch im Wachsen begriffen, und das sei ein großes Unglück.

Interessant sind die Ziffern, die Hyndman vor einem Vierteljahrhundert über die wirtschaftliche Situation und über die sozialen Zustände vorbringt. Vor allem habe man, sagt er — auch diese Dinge gelten noch heute kaum verändert —, Indien in Unwissenheit gehalten. „Von der gesamten in Britisch-Indien erhobenen Steuer-summe geben wir nur ein Penny auf den Kopf der Bevölkerung für Erziehung aus. Nur 1,9 v. H. der Bevölkerung geht zur Schule. Die Verbesserungen der letzten zehn Jahre stehen bloß auf dem Papier. Die Saumseligkeit der britischen Herrschaft in dieser Richtung wird besonders befeuert durch die Tatsache, daß in dem Eingeborenstaat Baroda im Jahre 1900 mehr als 8,6 v. H. der Gesamtbevölkerung die Schule besuchte und daß dort 100 v. H. der Knaben Unterricht empfingen gegen 21,5 v. H. in den britisch verwalteten Gebieten, und 81,6 v. H. der Mädchen gegenüber 4 v. H. Lord Salisbury hat, so zitiert Hyndman, bei der Betrachtung der wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse das Wort gebraucht, daß Indien bluten müsse. Er drückte sein Bedauern darüber aus, aber das änderte nichts an der Tatsache. Ein anderer Zuständiger, Lord Curzon, schätzte das Durchschnittseinkommen des Inders auf etwa zwei Pfund im Jahr. Der Durchschnittswert des Ertragnisses eines indischen Bauern wurde von Mr. William Digby, den Hyndman gleichfalls als Fachmann anführt, mit nicht mehr als 12 Shilling 6 Pence pro Kopf angenommen. Dieses ärmste Land der Welt aber mußte Millionen und aber Millionen von Pfund an das reiche England abgeben, um, wie Hyndman mit Recht sagte, dadurch für den Weltbau des Empire und seiner Hegemonie die Grundlagen zu schaffen, des Empire, das auf diese Weise in stande blieb, Indien über immer neue Generationen hin unter seiner Herrschaft zu halten.“

Seit den Erfahrungen des berühmten englischen Experten ist mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert verstrichen, und seit er sie niederschrieb, ein gutes Vierteljahrhundert. Die englische Politik ist in dieser Zeit nicht klüger geworden und sie steht heute vollends am Ende ihrer indischen Weisheit.