

## LORD HAILEY

Lord Hailey, P.C., O.M., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., died on 1st June, 1969, aged 97. He is well remembered for his influence upon the decolonization and post-colonial development of Africa. Here we shall rather recall his Indian administration. Though less well-known it was no less remarkable, and it brought to maturity the wisdom and judgement that were to be characteristic of his magisterial second career.

Born on 15th February, 1872, the son of a general medical practitioner, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Corpus Christi, Oxford, where he took a double first, Hailey stood third in the I.C.S. examination of 1894. He was posted to the Punjab, where in 1901 he became a Colonization Officer, responsible for settling peasants in the newly irrigated Lyallpur area. In 1907 he was transferred to the provincial secretariat and, soon afterwards, to the Deputy Secretaryship of the Finance Department of the Government of India. He was thus launched, by the age of 35, upon a career in which responsible appointments in the central government would alternate with senior provincial postings, until his unique experience, added to his native brilliance, would make him Britain's foremost authority on Indian affairs.

In provincial administration he became the first Chief Commissioner of Delhi (1912–18), Governor of the Punjab (1924–28), and Governor of the United Provinces (1928–30, 1931–34). The interstices were filled by an attachment to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Committee (1918–19), appointments to the Viceroy's executive, first as Finance Member (1919–22) and later as Home Member (1922–24), and a secondment as official consultant to the first Round Table Conference (1930–31).

Indian nationalists commonly suspected Hailey of wanting to retard their cause. As Home Member, he had felt compelled to correct their belief that the Montagu declaration (1917) had promised India the full status of a self-governing dominion. What the nationalists never knew was that Hailey drafted the key passage in the Irwin declaration (1929), which unequivocally promised Dominion Status. He also fortified Irwin and the Labour Government with irrefutable advice to persist when the Simon Commission, Reading, Lloyd George, and the entire Conservative Shadow Cabinet, save Baldwin, formed in hostile combination to prevent the declaration being made.

Hailey's counsel again prevailed at the first Round Table Conference, where his opinion was in constant demand among the British delegations. He weakened the Conservative and Liberal adherence to the Simon Report by revealing that its promised "strong centre" was a delusion. He pressed the leading Opposition party delegates, Reading and Hoare, to accept the claim of the Indian States' and British Indian delegates for the devolution of central responsibility upon an all-India federation. It is now apparent that he, like others concerned with the demission of imperial power, placed too much faith in federations. Yet the plan for an all-India federation did induce Conservative and Liberal statesmen to accept the need for central responsibility and to avow the objective of Indian dominionhood, both of which had been repugnant to them in the context of British India's constitutional development.

Hailey outlived the senior statesmen who could have told of his part in defining and effectuating Britain's ultimate purpose in India. However, their papers show that while in public he preserved the anonymity of the civil servant, in private his advice was, at critical moments, decisive. Recruited to serve in the high noon of empire he became a proconsul; but he foresaw the setting of the sun and taught Britain to face it, first in India, then in Africa, with the vision of a multi-racial commonwealth.

R. J. MOORE.