

# CALENDAR FOR 1918.

## January.

Su.....	...	6	13	20	27	...
M.....	...	7	14	21	28	...
Tu.....	1	8	15	22	29	...
W.....	2	9	16	23	30	...
Th.....	3	10	17	24	31	...
F.....	4	11	18	25	...	...
S.....	5	12	19	26	...	...

## July.

Su.....	...	7	14	21	28	...
M.....	1	8	15	22	29	...
Tu.....	2	9	16	23	30	...
W.....	3	10	17	24	31	...
Th.....	4	11	18	25	...	...
F.....	5	12	19	26	...	...
S.....	6	13	20	27	...	...

## February.

Su.....	...	3	10	17	24	...
M.....	...	4	11	18	25	...
Tu.....	...	5	12	19	26	...
W.....	...	6	13	20	27	...
Th.....	...	7	14	21	28	...
F.....	1	8	15	22	...	...
S.....	2	9	16	23	...	...

## August.

Su.....	...	4	11	18	25	...
M.....	...	5	12	19	26	...
Tu.....	...	6	13	20	27	...
W.....	...	7	14	21	28	...
Th.....	1	8	15	22	29	...
F.....	2	9	16	23	30	...
S.....	3	10	17	24	31	...

## March.

Su.....	...	3	10	17	24	31
M.....	...	4	11	18	25	...
Tu.....	...	5	12	19	26	...
W.....	...	6	13	20	27	...
Th.....	...	7	14	21	28	...
F.....	1	8	15	22	29	...
S.....	2	9	16	23	30	...

## September.

Su.....	1	8	15	22	29	...
M.....	2	9	16	23	30	...
Tu.....	3	10	17	24	...	...
W.....	4	11	18	25	...	...
Th.....	5	12	19	26	...	...
F.....	6	13	20	27	...	...
S.....	7	14	21	28	...	...

## April.

Su.....	...	7	14	21	28	...
M.....	1	8	15	22	29	...
Tu.....	2	9	16	23	30	...
W.....	3	10	17	24	...	...
Th.....	4	11	18	25	...	...
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## October.

Su.....	...	6	13	20	27	...
M.....	...	7	14	21	28	...
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W.....	2	9	16	23	30	...
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## May.

Su.....	...	5	12	19	26	...
M.....	...	6	13	20	27	...
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## November.

Su.....	...	3	10	17	24	...
M.....	...	4	11	18	25	...
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## June.

Su.....	...	2	9	16	23	30
M.....	...	3	10	17	24	...
Tu.....	...	4	11	18	25	...
W.....	...	5	12	19	26	...
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## December.

Su.....	1	8	15	22	29	...
M.....	2	9	16	23	30	...
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To  
My Countrymen.

**THE INDIAN  
ANNUAL REGISTER  
1919.**

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## FOREWORD.

In this compilation an attempt has been made to supply the need, now growingly felt in the country, of a small but comprehensive annual digest of all Public activities—political, social, industrial, educational, etc., in and concerning India. A good deal of Indian affairs is discussed and decided outside India, in England in the Houses of Parliament, for instance, of which the average Indian hears little and perhaps knows even less. Times are moving fast and even in India people are getting less leisured, and those who have the inclination to read and know more about India and her progress in any direction have rarely the time or the means to go through the bulky original Reports, Bulletins, Proceedings, etc., issued by Government or by Public bodies and associations. It is increasingly felt, also, alike by those who are already in public life as by those who are gradually coming into it, that parochial interests so long cultivated must now give place to a wider outlook, and that facts and events of the immediate past are too valuable to be speedily forgotten and instead may be made to yield a much wider experience and better equipment than heretofore; a handy volume of the nature of an annual Progress Report would eminently serve this purpose. Also, with the recent hightide in Indian aspirations has come a general desire to know more of India as a whole. The different Provinces and States of India want to know more of each other; and the long and rapid strides taken by such States as Mysore and Baroda in administrative matters have given an edge to the

all round spirit of enquiry now so perceptible in the country. Any enquirer who wants to know the political, social, or other conditions of India, say, five years back, or say, who wants to trace the ontogeny of a particular movement, must first give most of his time to the collection of rare papers, gazettes, journals, reports, etc., and then proceed to piece together the small fragments of information that he secures after an enormous loss of energy and time.

The Indian Annual Register is started to obviate to some extent at least some of these difficulties. In this, its first issue, it is feared that nothing more than a remote approximation to the standard set forth above has been reached, and it is hoped that it will receive from the generous public the indulgence that is its due. Suggestions and correspondence are most gladly invited and will, it is assured, receive the closest attention.

Sibpur, Calcutta.  
The Annual Register Office.  
July, 1919.

Editor.



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# PART I—DIRECTORY.

# Chronicle of Events 1918.

## January.

**1st.** New Year Honours list.—Nizam becomes "His Exalted Highness" as hereditary distinction. Increased salutes to 15 Princes, 6 K.C.S.I; 8 C.S.I; 4 K.C.I.E, 28 C.I.E, 8 KTS, etc.

Viceroy and Sec. of State receives at Bombay deputations from C. P and Berar for the Reforms.

**2nd.** Maharaja Mysore opens Mysore-Arsikere Railway connecting Mysore in direct line with Bombay.

**3rd.** Viceroy replies to the Premier's Telegram thanking him for the inspiring message it conveyed.

**4th.** Conference of Chiefs and Princes at Patiala to discuss establishment of a Chiefs Council.

All India Conference of Librarians met at Lahore under Mr. Sharp.

**6th.** First Sunday in the year—Divine services of all denominations throughout India on the initiative of the King-Emperor.

**7th.** Railway Conference of the Agents of all Indian Railways met at Simla under Sir R. Highet to discuss War requirements.

Bengal Co-operative Society Conference opened.

**8th.** Servants of India Society under Swami Sri Sankaracharya organise an Indian Academy on the lines of the French academy.

**9th.** Indian Science Congress sessions opened at Delhi by the Lieut. Governor, and presided over by Dr. Gilbert Walker.

**10th.** Food Riots and Hat looting for several days at various places in Bengal and else where.

**11th.** Sir Rabindranath protests against arrest of his Pupil by C.I.D.

**12th.** Mr. Montagu's Mission of Receiving Deputation of Indian Reforms closed. Altogether some 110 deputations and 930 individuals have been received and heard.

**15th.** Governor of Bombay presides over a big meeting of City representatives to discuss on high house rents and food price.

**16th.** Deputation of Calcutta Municipal Corporation to Bombay to study municipal system.

**17th.** Madras Govt. communique on advancement of Mahomedan education.

**18th.** Bengal Light Horse, an Indian unit, scheme sanctioned.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

19th. Behari Provincial Brahmin Conference at Moradpur under the Raja of Tahirpur as president.

20th. Death of Sir Chandramadhab Ghosh, late officiating Chief Justice Bengal, at Calcutta.

24th.<sup>o</sup> Conference at Delhi of Provincial Governors with Mr. Montagu on Constitutional Reforms

26th. Great Shop-looting Panic at Bombay following high prices.

Death of Sir William Wedderburn, the "father" of the Indian Congress, in England.

29th. Malaria Conference under the Governor at Calcutta.

Annual Meeting of Calcutta Trades assocn. under Mr. Wiggett dealing with current political problems.

31st. Report of P. W. D. Reorganisation Committee published. B and O. Legislative Council met at Patna, L. G. presiding.

### February 1918

6th. Imperial Council—Viceroy's opening Speech. Income-Tax Amendment Bill, cinematographs Bill and forest Act Amendment Bill introduced. Hon'ble B. N. Sarma's resolution, on redistribution of the Provincial areas on language basis as preliminary to Reforms, rejected.

Punjab Provn. Muslim League met to request Viceroy to withhold his sanction from "The Habitual offenders Movement Bill."

8th. Royal Proclamation in Delhi establishing branch of Royal Mint at Bombay for Gold currency.

10th. All India Hindu Conference met at Allahabad under Jagatgura Sri Shankaracharya of Puri.

12th. Fifth Session of All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammilan at Mayo Hall, Allahabad.

13th. Government of Bombay appoints Controller of prices.

15th. Sir James Meston makes over charge of L. G. of U. P. to Sir Harcourt Butler.

18th. Mr. Manuk's petition to the Patna High Court questioning the legality of special tribunals in the Saharanpur Bakrid Riot Case.

19th. Imperial Council, Delhi.—Usury Bill, Coinage Act Amendment Bill, Indigo cess Bill, introduced.

Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta.—Allies disqualification Bill, Hackney Carriage Bill, and Bengal Settled Estate Act introduced.

20th. Bombay Government Bill to restrict increase of house rent published for opinion.

Indian Railway administration report 1917-18 published at Delhi.

**21st. Mysore Legislative Council, Bangalore**—suggestion made to introduce Minto-morley scheme.

**24th.** Bengal Provincial Conference Reception committee met at Chinsura under the chairmanship of Hon. Mohendra Ch. Mitra. Sir R. N. Tagore unanimously elected president of the Conference to be held on 29th and 30th March.

**25th.** Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla becomes member, Executive Council, Bombay.

**26th.** Annual meeting of Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Sir H. Bray presiding.

**27th. Imp. Council, Delhi**—Forest Act Amend. Bill passed. Non-official resolutions. Questions and Resolutions on Exchange compensation claim, Recruitment of Engineers, appointments for Indians and Re-extension of High-court Jurisdiction.

Travancore Popular assembly met at Trivandrum.

**28th.** Imp. Council.—Non-official Resolutions.

### March 1918

**1st. Imp. Council Delhi**—The Financial Statement of the year. Estimate for 1917—18 shows surplus of £8 million. Estimate of 1918—19 shows surplus of £2·3 millions.

Calcutta University Annual convocation opened by the Governor.

**5th.** The Great Internment Meeting at Town Hall, Calcutta, under Mr. B. Chakravarty.

**Imp. Council, Delhi**—Army Act Amend. Bill introduced. Coinage Act Amendment bill passed. Cinematographs Bill passed. Non official resolutions.

**7th.** C. P. Legislative Council. Government withdraws Local Self Government and Village Sanitation Bills.

**8th.** Imp. Council—Budget Debate.

**9th. Imp. Council—Budget Debate.**

**10th.** Public meeting at Gokhale Hall, Madras, to condemn certain speeches of the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Rajagopalachariar in the local legislative council.

**12th** Imp. Council—Budget Debate.

Civil Rights committee public meeting at Madras against repressive measures of Government.

**13th Bombay Legislative Council**—Financial statement presented.

Madras Legislative Council—Financial Statement presented.

Punjab Legislative Council—Simla House Act 1918 amendment Bill introduced and passed ; Financial Statement presented.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

**14th.** Enthusiastic reception to Chandernagore Volunteers returned from the front.

Bengal legislative Council—Financial Statement presented.

Imp. Council—Income tax Amend. Bill passed.

**15th** Bombay Council—Rent bill referred to select Committee.

**16th.** Bengal Legislative Council.

Hearty send-off to Home-rule delegates at Bombay proceeding to England.

**17th.** Bombay National Union meeting held at Bombay under Prof. Telang.

**18th.** B. & O. Government Communique repudiating Swami Satyadeva's speeches after the Bakrid riots as inflammatory and prejudicial to public order.

Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel returned to Imp. Council in place of Sir E. Rahimtoola.

Imp. Council—I. D. F. Bill introduced.

**19th.** Imp. Legislative Council—Soldier's Litigation Bill passed. B. C. Pal leaves Calcutta for Bombay to join the Home rule deputation to England.

**21st.** Bombay Council—Bombay Medical Act Amend.' introduced and referred to select Committee.

Swami Satyadev sends representation to B. and O. Government denying charges against him.

**22nd.** Kaira Ryots Passive Resistance started by Mr. Gandhi.

Bombay Council—Non official resolutions

Imp. Council—Usuary Bill passed—Council adjourned *Sine Die*. Viceroy unveiled bust of Mr. Gokhale in Council Chamber.

**23rd.** Death of Sir John Anderson, Governor of Ceylon, in Colombo.

**24th.** Bombay Council—Rent Bill passed.

**25th.** Bombay Chamber of Commerce—Annual meeting under Mr. Hogg as president.

**26th.** The second Home Rule league conference at Bombay under Hon Mr. M. D. Ramji.

**27th.** Hearty send off to second Home-rule league deputation headed by Mr. Tilak at Bombay proceeding to England.

**29th.** Annual meeting of Bengal Provincial congress committee at the Indian Association hall under Mr. B. Chackerburty.

**30th.** Bengal Provincial Conference at Chinsura under the Hon. A. C. Dutt—Presidential address.

Public meeting at Gokhale Hall, Madras to protest against the unjust action of Burma Government prohibiting A. B. Patrika, The Hindu and New India coming into Burma.

**31st.** Bengal Provincial Conference—Resolutions passed—the Bengal Scheme.

**April 1918.**

**2nd.** Premier's message to Viceroy on imminent German Menace to India and asking India to prepare.

**3rd.** Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose memorial meeting at Calcutta under H. E. the Governor.

**4th.** Hon. Sir W. Meyer opens Tata Industrial Bank, Bombay. Indian Home-rule deputation passport cancelled by order of British Government War Cabinet.

Bengal Legislative Council—Sir. S. P. Sinha introduced village Self-Government Bill.

**5th.** Viceroy's message to the premier assuring India's help.

**8th.** Inaugural celebration of the National educational week at the Arya Samaj Hall Calcutta under Sir A. Choudhuri.

**10th.** Big public meeting at the Dalhousie Inst. Calcutta under Mr. B. Chuckerburty to consider the Premier's message to India.

H. E. the Governor opened the Calcutta branch of the Tata Industrial Bank Ltd.

H. E. The Governor inspected Cal : University infantry; Belghoria Camp, Calcutta.

**17th.** Sir Michael O'Dwyer announced the grant of commissions to nine Punjabis at a recruiting meeting at Amritsar

Mrs. Besant delivered a lecture on War Cabinet's decision cancelling passports to Home Rule Deputations at Beadon Square, Calcutta.

Big Moslem meeting at Agra on the Arrah riot case under Mr. H. S. Hossin.

**18th.** Mrs. Besant delivered lecture on "the Present Political Situation and our duty" at Bankipore.

**19th.** First Bombay Co-operative Conference opened under Hon. Lallubhai Samaldas.

**21st.** Mr. Tilak delivered a lecture on the Delhi Conference at Madras—Mrs. Besant presiding.

**22nd** Second Session of Mysore Representative assembly, interesting reforms introduced

**26th** Bombay Millowner's Association—Annual meeting under Sir D. Wacha.

**27th Imperial War Conference** at Delhi—Viceroy's opening speech—Man power and Resources Committee appointed.

Public meetings all over the country to express dissatisfaction at the composition of the Delhi War Conference.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

- 28th** War Conference sub-committee meetings.  
 Celebration of third anniversary of Indian Home-rule league at Bombay and Belgaum.  
 Mr. Gandhi opened Swadeshi Co-operative stores at Delhi.
- 29th War Conference**—Resolutions passed—Khaparde's resolution vetoed out of order.  
 Mr. Gandhis letter to the Viceroy.
- 30th** Lord Willingdon laid foundation stone of New Seamen's Institute in Bombay.

### May 1918.

- 2nd.** Bengal war Conference, Calcutta, under the Governor H. E. Lord Ronaldshay.  
 Govt. of India issues *communique* saying that 5,00,000 recruits are required.
- 3rd.** All India Congress Committee met at Bombay under Mrs. Besant. Labour party invited to send delegates to the next Congress at Delhi.
- 4th.** Provincial War Conferences—At Madras, U. P. Punjab, C. P.  
 Bengal Humanitarian Asscn. Exhibition at the Town Hall, Howrah.
- 6th.** Bombay Provincial Conference at Bijapur. Mr. Gandhi urged abolition of indenture system of labour recruitment.
- 9th.** Madras Provincial Conference at Conjeeveram, expressed disappointment to the Delhi conference.
- 10th.** Govt. of India notification of establishment of several boards in pursuance of recommendations of the Delhi War Conference.
- 11th.** Conference at Shillong under Chief Commissioner to give effect to Delhi conference resolutions.
- 14th.** Maharaja of Burdwan assumes charge of the Bengal Executive Council.
- 24th.** Govt. of India resolution on local Self-Government issued.
- 25th.** Sitting of the Bharat Itihas Sanshopak mandal at Poona under Mr. V. S. Khare.
- 29th.** Bengal Government Resolution on the report of the administration of the Jail department 1917 published at Darjeeling.

### June, 1918.

- 2nd.** Birthday Honours list issued at Simla.  
 Second Indian War Loan opened.

**3rd.** Sir Subramaniya's letter to President Wilson referred to and interpellated in H. of Commons.

Second Indian War Loan Meeting at Calcutta under H. E. the Governor.

Big Home Rule league meeting at Hyderabad (Sind)

**4th.** Inaugural meeting of the Central Publicity Board at Simla under Sir William Vincent.

**7th.** Home Rule manifesto issued at Calcutta on Montagu Report.

**10th. Bombay War Conference**—Fiasco with Home Rulers.

**13th.** Bombay War Loan Meeting at Town Hall.

Maharaja Bikanir, Lord Sinha, Sir, J. Meston, nominated India's representative ; warmly welcomed at the Imperial War Conference.

**16th.** Home Rule anniversary meeting at Chittagong.

**17th.** Sitting of Bengal Internment advisory Committee

**18th. The Subramania letter to Wilson**—hotly discussed in House of Lords.

**19th.** First onset of the Influenza Epidemic at Bombay.

**21st.** Government of India announces grant of Army Commission to Indians.

**22nd.** First Gold Coin issued from Bombay Mint.

**25th.** Big Public Meeting at Calcutta under Mr. H. N. Dutt to pass a vote of confidence on Sir Subramaniya.

**28th.** Bombay Government resolution reviewing progress of Co-operative credit movement in Bombay during 1917—18.

**30th.** Home Rule league meeting at Bombay under Mrs. Naidu.

### July 1918.

**3rd.** Bengal Legislative Council Session begins at Calcutta.

H. E. The Governor Presides a recruiting meeting at Surat.

**4th.** Bengal Provincial agricultural association met under H. E. The Governor.

**8th. The Montagu—Chelmsford Reforms** Report issued.

**10th.** Conference at the Indian Association convened by Mr. S. N. Banerjee who declared the Reform Scheme as acceptable.

**14th.** Extraordinary Session of Bengal Provincial conference under Hon. Mr. Chanda, to consider Reforms.

**19th. The Rowlatt Committee's Report** on Sedition issued.

Bombay National union refuse to accept the reform Scheme.

**20th.** Punjab Provincial muslim league met at Lahore to discuss Reform Scheme.



**22nd.** Terms of Army Commissions to Indians announced by Secretary of State in House of Commons.

**23rd.** Bombay Legislative Council—Bombay Municipal Act passed.

**24th.** Imperial War Conference at London—Resolution urging removal of Colour bar in Dominions and Reciprocity—Sir S. P. Sinha's speech.

**25th.** Moderate Manifesto accepting the Montford Reforms. Special Congress Session Reception committee meeting at Bombay under Mr. Patel. Old moderates keep away.

**27th.** Mr. Montagu's Cambridge Speech on Indian Reforms. Punjab Provincial conference at Amritsar under Mr. Duni Chand. Special Congress Session Executive Meeting at Bombay.

**28th.** Special Punjab provincial conference to consider the Reforms.

Tanjore Special District conference under Mr. V. P. Madhaba Rao to discuss the reforms.

Chittoor special District conference under Mr. C. Duraiswamy Iyengar to discuss the Reforms.

**29th.** Meeting of Lady's branch, Home Rule League at Ahmedabad.

Bombay Council, at Poona—Budget statement.

District Conference at yeotmal under Mr. Alekar to discuss Reform Scheme.

Meeting of All India Moslem League council at Lucknow under Raja of Mahmudabad.

**30th.** Bombay Legislative Council—Poona, Rent bill referred.

**31st.** Sir S. P. Sinha made K. C.

Mr. B. N. Basu gets an audience with H. M. The King.

Debate in the Mahajan Sabha Hall at Madras under Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer Mrs. Besant dwells on the Montagu Report.

Madras Presidency association condemns Reform Proposals.

Bombay Council—Protest Resolution against Government Hill exodus ; hotly discussed and defeated.

### August 1918.

**1st.** Bombay Legislative Council—Nonofficial Resolutions.

**2nd.** Bombay Legislative Council.

Mr. Tilak served with a notice under the Defence of India Act not to deliver any speech without permission by the District Magistrate at Poona.

**3rd.** Madras Provincial Conference under Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar.

**4th. War Anniversary**—celebrated by divine prayers at all places of worship.

Amraoti special District Conference disapproved Montford Scheme.

Special Session of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League at Calcutta under Mr. Fazlul Huq to consider Reform proposals.—disapproval of the reforms.

**5th.** Congress Reception Committee at Bombay—Sir D. Petit elected chairman.

Special Session of the Behar Provincial Conference at Bankipur under Mr. Mazarhul Haq.

**6th. Indian Budget Debate** in the House of Commons.

Debate on Indian Reforms in the House of Lords.

**8th.** Mr. Hasan Imam elected President of Special Congress.

Mr. Gandhi addresses a Home-rule league meeting at Surat.

**9th.** Meeting of Bengal Provincial Congress committee at Calcutta to discuss Reform Scheme.

**10th.** Manifesto of all India Moderate party supporting Montford Reforms.

Sindh special Provincial Conference.

Monster Meeting at Burdwan condemning Reform Scheme Mr. B. Chukervarty's address.

**11th.** U. P Provincial Conference under Mr. P. N. Banerjee at Lucknow.

Central Province Special Provincial Conference at Akola under Mr. B. G. Horniman.

**12th.** Madras Provincial Congress Committee elects Mr. Tilak as President of Congress at Delhi.

United Province Legislative Council meets to discuss Reform Proposals.

**15th.** Conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies at Simla.

**16th.** Meeting of the Moderates at the Indian Association to justify abstention from the Congress.

Burma Provincial Congress committee met at Rangoon.

**18th.** Raja of Bilaspur attached to 41 Dogras as Hon. Captain.

C. P. Provincial Congress Committee elects Mr. Tilak, President of Congress at Delhi.

**19th.** Conference of Directors of Civil Supplies under Sir Claude Hill at Nagpur.

Bengal Legislative Council met at Dacca under H. E. Governor.

**21st.** Moderates under Mr. Bannerji meet at Bombay—Sir D. Wacha elected Chairman of Reception Committee of All India moderate Conference.

H. E. The Governor holds a Durbar at Dacca.

**22nd.** Council of Servant of India Society decides to abstain from Special Congress.

**24th.** Judgment delivered in Mr. Vaidyas Case; 18 months rigorous imprisonment.

Stirring address of Mrs. Besant at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay on the special congress.

**25th.** Mr. F. Noyce appointed Cloth Controller.

**26th.** Public meeting at the Indian Association on the cloth problem. Government appealed.

**27th.** Public meeting at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay under Mr. C. R. Das.

**28th.** Madras Tramway Strike.

**29th.** Indian National Congress—Special Session at Bombay under Mr. Hasan Imam.

**30th.** Special Congress resolutions passed.

Childrens Party at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

Hon'ble S. Bey appointed Chief-Justice, Hyderabad.

**31st.** Moslem League—Extraordinary Session at Bombay under Mahmudabad.

Bombay Provincial congress Committee elects Mr. Tilak, President of the Delhi Congress.

### September 1918.

**1st.** Moslem League Resolutions.

Special Congress resolution on Reforms, moved by Malaviya and passed.

**3rd.** Government of India Circular on Elementary Education.

Conference at British Indian association to consider the high price of Cotton goods.

Bengal Legislative council—Hackney carriage Bill, Food Adulteration Bill, Juvenile Smoking Bill Etc.

**4th.** Imperial Council Autumn Session; Viceroy's Speech on Reforms. Collection of taxes Bill, Paper Currency Bill, Non-ferrous Metal Bill, Insolvency Bill, Cheap Cotton cloth Bill introduced.

The Jain Community met at Calcutta to protest against the removal of khandagiri images by the Behar Government.

**5th.** Imperial Legislative council—Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill introduced. Khaparde on the Sedition Committee report.

- 6th.** Imperial Council—Reforms debate. Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjes Resolution supporting Montford Scheme.
- 7th.** Imperial Council—Debate on Bannerjis Resolution which is passed.  
Death of Sir Ratan Tata of Bombay in London.
- 9th.** Imperial Council—Finance Member (W. Meyer) moves for India bearing further Military cost.
- 10th.** Imperial Council—Finance Members motion adopted.  
Food Riots at various part of Madras Presidency.
- 11th.** Imperial Council—  
H. M. the king received the Indian Labour Corps.
- 13th.** Mr Bannerjes manifesto on moderate conference.
- 14th.** Bengal Presidency Moslem meeting at Calcutta under Mr. Fazlul Haq to protest against the Government order prohibiting moslem meetings.
- 16th.** Chandavarkar, Beachcroft internment advisory Committee report out.  
Mahomedan Deputation to Governor of Bengal about their prohibited meeting prior to the great Bakrid Riot in Calcutta.
- 18th.** Imperial Council, Simla—Taxes Bill. Metal Bills, Indian army Bill passed—I. D. F. amendment Bill. Bronze Coin Bill introduced.
- 19th.** Imperial Council—Non-official resolutions
- 20th.** "India Day" in London. to raise £50,000 for Indian troops.
- 22nd.** Bombay Legislative council—Government explains measures taken on shortage of food grains—District police Act, Municipal Act passed.
- 23rd.** Imperial Council—Debate on Rowlatt Report.
- 24th.** Bombay Legislative Council—Rent Bill discussed.  
**Imp. Council**—Non-official Resolution on Rowlatt Report defeated.
- 25th.** H. M. The Kings message to Viceroy on Recruiting.  
Bombay Legislative Council—Rent Bill passed.  
Imperial Council—Hon. Shafis resolution conveying thanks to War Council passed.
- 26th.** Imperial Council—Viceroys speech—Companys Bill, I. D. F. Bill, Bronze Coin Bill, Industrial Bill passed.  
Mr. Hasan Imam, Presid. Nat. Congress, interviews Viceroy at Simla *re* Congress Deputation to England—Passport not granted.
- 27th.** Franchise and Function committees appointed with Lord Southborough as president.
- 30th.** All India Mahomed. Educational Conference met.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

October 1918

**1st.** Bombay Parsi community views on Reform Scheme discussed.

**2nd.** Home-Rule League meeting under Mr. P. K. Telang at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay. Mr. J. Dwarkadas lectures on the present Political Situation.

Bengal Chamber of Commerce met at Calcutta, Hon. Mr. Ironside presiding. The Chamber opined that the Montford Scheme was premature and disastrous to the people and the Indian Empire.

**4th.** Special Session of the Travancore Mahajan Sabha with Dewan Bahadur A. Govinda Pillai in the chair to discuss Montford Scheme in its bearing on the Native States.

**5th.** U. P. Provincial conference at Aligarh. Sir Harcourt Butler the Lieutenant Governor sends message wishing success to the conference.

**6th.** Hindu, Mahomedan Conference at the Bangiya Jana Sabha office. Mr. B. Chuckerburty presides.

**7th.** All India Public Holiday and Victory celebrations for allied Victory.

**11th.** Opening of the Mysore Exhibition by H. H. The Maharaja.

**16th.** H. E. H. The Nizam received new title from the king Emperor.

**17th.** Sir P. D. Pattani of India Council granted leave to Visit India.

**18th.** Arrival of Indian Journalists in London.

**19th.** First Convocation of Mysore University opened by the Maharaja. Address delivered by Sir Ashutosh mukherjee specially invited.

Indian Editors received by the King and Queen at Buckingham palace, London,

**21st.** Retirement of Justice Beaman from Bombay High Court.

**22nd.** Baroda Legislative assembly. Dewan announced 10 lakhs of Rupees granted by Maharaja to help the poor.

Madras Legislative Council special meeting. H. E. The Governor presiding. Montford report resolutions discussed.

Meeting of the Bombay Medical association to consider the Influenza Epidemic.

**25th.** First urban Co-operative conference in Rangoon.

**28th.** Special Session of Travancore Legislative council on municipal bill.

U-P-Legislative Council met at Lucknow.

**30th.** National thanksgiving and prayer at Benares at the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal.

Mr. Tilak and his Home Rule party reach London.

Report of Indian Industrial Commission issued.

**31st.** Viceroy visits Kashmir ; State Banquet at Srinagar.

November 1918

**1st.** First all India Moderates conference at Bombay Hon. Mr. S. Bannerje president, Hon. Sir D. Wacha, Chairman Reception committee—warm reception of Reform Scheme subject to certain changes suggested.

Lord Southborough and members of the reform committee arrived at Bombay.

**2nd.** Reception of Indian Editors in England by Empire Press Union. Mr. Iyengar of "Hindu" and Mr. Ghose of "Basumati" plead Indian disabilities.

**3rd.** Sir S. P. Sinha returns from War conference to Calcutta and takes charge of office as member, executive council, Bengal.

**4th.** Big Public meeting in Gokhale Hall, Madras on current situation.

Travancore Legislative council—closing speech of Dewan reviewing the position of local-self Government in the State.

All India Moslem league meeting at Calcutta. Government urged to enquire into the Calcutta riots.

**5th.** Sir James Meston succeeds Sir W. Meyer as Finance member, Government of India.

Strike of Railway employees in Lucknow.

**6th.** Honble Mr. Bhurjri of Bombay wants full responsible Government at once in Bombay in his minute to the Report of Non-official member of Bombay Council.

Bombay Legislative Council—cotton control Bill discussed.

Second meeting of the Press Representatives in Mysore.

**7th.** Bombay Council.—Hon. Desai's resolution to enable women to become municipal commissioners carried by majority.

War Cabinets tribute to India for her services in the war.

Bengal Government's order re Rice control issued.

**8th.** Bombay Council,—non-official resolutions.

**11th.** Premier announces cessation of hostilities on all fronts. Armistice signed.

**13th.** Sir S. P. Sinha and Maharaja Bikaner selected to represent India in the Peace Conference.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

**14th.** Bengal Legislative Council. H. E. Governor presides. Reform Scheme debate.

**15th.** H. E. Governor of Bengal delivers inaugural lecture at the Indian Museum Lecture Hall on "the effect of the war in developing industries in Bengal."

**16th.** **Maharaja of Burdwan** took charge of office as member, executive council, Bengal in place of Sir S. P. Sinha.

The Second Gujrat political conference met at Nadiad. Hon. Mr. Patel presides. Defects of Reform scheme shown.

**18th.** Hon. Pundit Malaviya accepts presidentship of Delhi Congress during next X'mas.

**20th.** Punjab Legislative Council, Reform scheme discussed. All India Cow Conference at Delhi.

Indian Editors received at the India office.

**21st.** Madras University Convocation—Sir Thomas Holland's address to the Graduates.

**22nd.** Cancellation of restrictions of political work on Mr. Tilak in England.

Bombay National union protest against Government selection of India's delegates at the Peace Conference.

**23rd.** Great cricket match in Bombay between English team under Lord Willingdon and All India team under Patiala in aid of famine relief fund ended in a draw.

Provisions of proposed Excess profits tax published.

Honble Mr. Gillman, member, Reform Committee, died at Simla.

First Sitting of the Non-official commission at Calcutta to investigate into the Causes of the Calcutta disturbances.

**24th.** Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Congress Committee to elect representatives to the All India Congress Committee.

C. P. Provincial Congress Committee met at the Gokhale Memorial Hall and urges self-determination for India.

**25th.** Maharaja Bikanir and Sir S. P. Sinha leaves Bombay for England.

**27th.** **Armistice celebrations throughout India.**

Bengal Legislative council. Order of suppression of the Municipalities of Burdwan and Hoogly-Chinsura questioned.

Big Home-Rule meeting at the Monmohan theatre, Calcutta. speech of Mrs. Besant.

**28th.** Investiture by Viceroy of Maharaja Bharatpur with full powers.

H. E. The Governor opens the Sanitary Board special Conference at the Council Chamber, Calcutta. Dr. Chas. A. Bentley lectures on Hookworm Disease.

B. and O. Provincial legislative Council met at Bankipore.

**29th. Victory-day Celebrations throughout India.**

Big Relief meeting at the Town Hall, Bombay, H. E. The Governor presiding.

**30th. First Convocation of the Patna University at Bankipore.**

First Anniversary meeting of the Bose (Sir J. C.) Institute at Calcutta. H. E. The Governor Presides.

### December 1918

**2nd.** Public meeting at the Gokhale Hall, Madras. Hon. B. N. Sarma presides ; several resolutions including the request to allow Congress deputation to attend Peace Conference passed.

Death of Sir Gurudas Bannerjee, Ex-Judge, Bengal.

Bengal Provincial Congress committee met and passed resolutions requesting the Viceroy to send Congress delegates to the Peace Conference.

**4th.** Sri. Banga Dharmamandal met to protest against Patels Inter-Caste Marriage Bill. Raja Peary Mohan Muckerjee presides.

The Nattuko Tai Nagarthars association held a meeting at Madras to protest against the excess profits tax.

**6th.** All India Urdu Press Conference met at Delhi.

**7th.** C. P. Legislative council. Council adjourned Sine die.

**9th.** Bombay Legislative Council—Cotton control Bill debate.

**10th.** H. E. The Viceroy with party arrives at Calcutta. Closing of the Railway Conference Session at Delhi.

**First Aeroplane from England**—landed at Karachi—a Hadley-Page Biplane commanded by Gen. Salmond.

**11th.** Willingdon Memorial meeting at Bombay broken up in a scandalous fiasco.

**12th. Fourth meeting of the Bombay Engineering Congress at Bombay.**

**14th. Convocation of the Calcutta University.**



**15th.** Behar and Orissa Provincial Congress committee met at Patna under Mr. S. Sinha.

**16th.** Sir George Lloyd, Governor-designate of Bombay lands at Bombay and takes charge of Office.

Calcutta University Convocation met under H. E. Viceroy the Chancellor, the Calcutta University Infantry Corps furnishing Guard of Honour. Chancellor's address.

**19th.** Bengal Council, Bengal Tenancy Bill, Juvenile Smoking Act.

**24th.** Annual meeting of the Gurukul academy.

**26th. The Indian National Congress—33rd Session,** at Delhi. President. Address of Pandit Malaviya—Presidential procession not allowed by Government. Sir Sankaran Nair, member Government of India Council attends.

All India Medical Conference met at Delhi, Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar presiding.

Theosophical Convocation—Lecture by Mrs. Annie Besant on Problems of Political Reconstruction.

**27th.** Congress Subject Committees deliberations at Delhi.

Fifth all India Hindu Conference at Delhi, Raja Rampal Singh President.

**Mahomed. Educational Conference at Surat—32nd Sessions** under Sir E. Rahimtoolah. Governor of Bombay sends message of sympathy.

**28th.** 3rd Session of the All India common language Conference at Delhi.

Ind. Nat. Congress—2nd Day, usual resolutions passed.

**29th.** Ind. Nat. Congress—Resolutions on Reform passed, full autonomy demanded—Mr. Shastry's amendments rejected.

**30th. All India Moslem League at Delhi,** Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq, president, delivered Presidential address; strong speech of Dr Ansari, Chairman Recep. Committee.

Industrial Conference at Delhi,—Presidential address of Mr. J. B. Petit—strong criticism of Industrial com.'s Report.

Economic Conference at Bombay under Principal Austey.

# Chronicle of Events 1919.

*January 1919.*

**1st.** All India Ladies Conference held at Delhi under Mrs Besant.

**Proclamation Parade at Calcutta** in presence of H. E. the Viceroy, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and H. E. the Governor of Bengal.

Death of Revd. G. A. Lefroy D. D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India and Ceylon at Calcutta.

**2nd.** Viceroy visits Tata Steel Works at Sakchi.

H. M. the King sends message to H. E. the Commander-in-Chief appreciating the assurances of loyalty and devotion of the Indian Army.

**3rd.** The C. U. infantry sports on the Ellenborough Course, Calcutta—Lady Sanderson distributed prizes.

The fourth and last meeting of the Engineers Conference in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—Sir T. Holland presides—resolutions to form an Indian Society passed—Rs. 24,000 subscribed on spot.

**6th.** The Indian Press Deputation arrived at Colombo by the S. S. Somali.

**8th.** Fanatical Moplah outbreak at Calicut—Several persons murdered and some Moplahs shot.

Keshab Chandra Sen Anniversary meeting at the University Institute Hall, Calcutta—H. E. the Governor presides.

**9th.** Big Mill strike in Bombay—100,000 men go out—nearly 75 out of 85 mills had to suspend work.

H. E. Lady Chelmsford left Delhi for England *enroute* Bombay.

First Session of the Baroda Representative Assembly presided over by the Dewan.

**10th.** Second Conference of the Indian Mathematical Society at Bombay opened by H. E. Sir George Lloyd.

**11th.** Calcutta University Senate meeting on the "Leakage Committee"—Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee's movement that the Report of the Second Leakage Committee be confirmed, is accepted after a heated discussion.

**13th.** Conference of Governors, Lt. Governors, and Chief Commissioners at Delhi to discuss the Reform Scheme.

**17th. First Convocation of the Hindu University held at Benares**—H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, the Chancellor of the University presides.

The Indian Science Congress sittings in the Institute of Science, Bombay.

**18th.** Deputation of the Bombay Mill strikers waited on the Governor—His Excellency listened very sympathetically to their grievances and promised to secure redress.

The Council of the C. U. Post-Graduate Teaching met in the Science College Hall to appreciate the honour of knighthood conferred on Dr. P. C. Roy by the Government.

Death of Prince John, the youngest son of H. M. the King.

**20th.** Mysore students presented address to Sir Rabindranath. H. E. the Viceroy opens the **Chiefs Conference** at Delhi.

**Elevation to peerage of Sir S. P. Sinha**, Under-Secretary of State for India, officially announced in London.

**21st.** Bombay Mill strike settled by concessions from millowners—other strikes continue.

Meeting of Bengal Legislative Council—Governor presides—resolutions of thanks for appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be Under-Secretary of state passed.

**23rd.** 13th. All India Sub-Assistant Surgeon's Conference at Campbell Hospital, Calcutta—also indigenous Drugs Exhibition opened by Lord Ronaldshay.

**24th.** Informal investiture at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi for K. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., Etc.

U. P. Legislative Council met at Allahabad—Sir Harcourt Butler presides—resolutions of sympathy on the Death of Prince John passed.

**25th.** H. E. the Viceroy and People of India wire to His Majesty expressing grief and sympathy on the death of Prince John.

5th. Chiefs Conference at Delhi presided over by Viceroy—presentation of sword to Maharaja of Patiala.

**26th.** Allahabad University Convocation under Sir Harcourt Butler.

Annual sessions of Aurvedic and Unani Conference at Delhi.

The Hon. Mr. S. N. Bannerji unveiled portrait of the Late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Bombay.

**30th.** Big Protest Meeting of citizens of Madras against proposed Rowlatt Bills—cable sent to Prime-Minister, Peace Conference and Lord Sinha.

**31st.** Public meeting at the Town Hall, Calcutta, thanking Prime-Minister for appointing Lord Sinha as Under Secretary—Sir K. G. Gupta presides.

Bombay Ladies meeting to settle constitution of the women Council.

Annual meeting of Bombay Trades Association.

**February 1919.**

**1st.** Protest meetings at Calcutta, Allahabad, Nagpur Etc on Rowlatt Bills.

**2nd.** Protest meeting at various places against the Rowlatt Bills.

Committee to reform India Office appointed under Lord Crewe.

57th. Birth Day Anniversary of Swami Vivekanand at the University Institute, Calcutta—Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy presides.

**3rd.** Protest meeting at various places against the Rowlatt Bills.

Huge gathering of nearly 12,000 people at the Town Hall, Calcutta to protest against the Rowlatt Bills—Mr. B. Chuckerburty presides.

Professor J. W. Gregory of the Calcutta University Commission delivers an interesting and illustrated lecture at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta—Sir H. Wheeler presides.

**5th.** Madras Legislative Council—Governor presides—the Hon. Sir A. Cardew presents the Draft Financial Statement for 1919—20 ; non-official Indian members protest against Rowlatt Bills.

Sir D. Wacha sends message of protest against Rowlatt Bills to Viceroy.

H. E. The Viceroy reviews Nepali Troops at Delhi—his speech appreciating their friendly services—investiture of Nepali Generals, Officers and rank of various honours.

Report of Indian Silk Industry published.

Annual Prize distribution of the Indian Sangit Sangha at Calcutta—H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore presides.

Madras Congress Committee meeting—representation at Peace Conference hotly discussed.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore visits Coimbatore—grand public reception and welcome.

**6th. Imperial Legislative Council**—first day ; opening speech by Viceroy—eulogistic reference to Baron Sinha—Rowlatt Bills moved by Sir W. Vincent.

**9th.** H. E. the Commander-in-Chief presides at the opening ceremony of the Canteen for Indian Soldiers in Queens Garden, Delhi

**10th. Imperial Legislative Council**—Viceroy presides—Rowlatt Bill introduced by Sir W. Vincent and after discussion referred to select Committee—Sir Sankaran Nair introduced Local Authorities Pension Bill.

Sixth session of the All India Muslim Ladies Conference in the Galstaun Park, Calcutta—Lady Khedev Jung Bahadur presides.

**11th.** Lord Sinha sworn in as Privy Councillor.

**12th.** The Secretary, European Association, Calcutta wires the Home Secretary, Government of India, Delhi protesting against the concession announced by Sir W. Vincent whereby the Emergency Powers Bill would be in force for three years only.

Madras Legislative Council—City Municipal Bill discussed.

**13th.** Death of Nawab Saiyad Muhammad at Royapetta, Madras.

Protest meeting at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta on Rowlatt Bills.

**14th.** The Secretary, European Association, Calcutta issues the association's statement regarding the Rowlatt Bills and Reforms.

Final Polo Tournament at Delhi between the 21st. Lancers and Patiala team—Patiala wins by 2 goals—H. E. the Viceroy presents the Cup.

Public meeting at Gokhale Hall, Madras under Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao to protest against the I. C. S. memorandum regarding Reform Report.

**15th.** Bengal Co-operative Conference, Calcutta—the Governor presides.

H. E. The Viceroy at Kapurthala—State Banquet.

**17th.** Travancore Assembly.—Industrial Exhibition opened by the Maharaja.

**19th.** Travancore Popular Assembly—sittings for this and the next 8 days.

**Imperial Legislative Council**—Sir James Meston introduced Excess Profits Bill which was referred to Select Committee: likewise Sir W. Vincent's Poisons Bill.

**20th.** Tata Industrial Bank—first meeting of Directors at Bombay presenting last years report.

Annual meeting of Burma Chamber of Commerce.

**21st.** All India Vedic and Unani Tibbi Conference at Karachi. Tilak V. Chirol Privy Council case finished—Judgment in favour of Chirol.

Lord and Lady Jellico leaves Portsmouth for India on board the S. S. Newzealand.

**23rd.** Big public protest meeting against Rowlatt Bills at Madras—Mr. B C Pal's address.

Bombay Presidency Association public meeting under Sir D. Petit protesting against Rowlatt Bills.

H. H. the Maharaja and Maharani of Cooch Behar leave Calcutta for London enroute Colombo.

Annual meeting of Bengal Landholders Assocn. at Calcutta—H. H. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy presides.

**24th.** Congratulatory meeting of Indian residents in London under Sir M. Bhawanagree at Westminster and banquet to Lord Sinhá for his elevation.

Rhodes Lecture by Sir J. D. Rees M. P. on Indian Institutions at University College, London—Lord Sinha presides.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal presides at the Annual Convocation of East Bengal Saraswat Samaj at Dacca.

**25th.** Big protest meeting against Rowlatt Bills at Madras—important speech by Mr. B. C. Pal.

**Lord Sinha takes his seat in the House of Lords.**

Annual meeting of the Bengal Automobile Association at Calcutta.

**26th. Imperial Legislative Council**—Hon. Mr. Patel's Electricity Bill and Neg. Instr. Act Amend Bill introduced; Local Authorities Bill passed.

Death of Sir Andrew Fraser, Ex-Lieut—Governor, Bengal (in England).

**27th.** Southborough Committee Report presented to Government of India—Lord Southborough and party leaves Delhi for England.

**28th.** Annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta.

**March 1919.**

**1st. Imperial Council**—Report of Select Committee Rowlatt Bill presented to Council by Sir W. Vincent; Hons. Malaviya, Patel, and Khaparde refused to sign the report, while Hons. Banerji, Shastri and Shafi sign with Note of Dissent saying that they are opposed to its principle—**Financial Statement of the year 1918-19** presented by Sir James Meston.

Raja of Muhammadabad resigns presidentship of Muslim League.

**3rd.** Mr. Vijayraghavachari took office as the New Dewan of Cochin State.

**4th. Lord Sinha's maiden speech in the House of Lords.** reprimend to Lord Sydenham.

**5th. Government of India's despatch on the Indian Constitutional reforms to the Sec. of State.**

**6th.** Mr. Gandhi invited and interviewed by Viceroy about his Passive Resistance—Gandhis firm attitude.

**7th. Imperial Council**—Annual meeting of the European Association, Calcutta under Mr. P. H. Buckland.

Punjab Council—Financial statement for 1919-20.

**8th.** Huge Public meeting in Madras protesting against Rowlatt Bills and taking Satyagraha vow—presided by Mr. V. Ramdas—Resolutions entering protest.

**11th.** Madras Council, first sitting presided by Governor (Lord Pentland). Debate in food control.

All India Landholders Deputation headed by Darbhanga presented Address to and received by the Viceroy, on its inauguration.

Mr. Tilak's representation to the Peace Conference, his letter to Georges Clemenceau the President of Peace Conference requesting him to place this representation before the Conference for favourable consideration.

**12th. Imperial Council**—The Rowlatt Bill debate—Viceroy's speech on same. Amendments and motion of Hons. Patel and Khaparde ruled out of order. Hon. Mr. Banerji's amend. for further reference and consideration hotly debated and defeated. Select Committee report on Excess profits tax presented.

**13th.** Punjab Council.

Burma Council—Budget presented.

**Imperial Council**—Rowlatt Bill discussed clause by clause, all amendments lost—strong non-official fight inch by inch.

**14th. Imperial Council**—Rowlatt Bill discussion continued Council sat whole day and night.

**16th.** Mysore Panchama Conference at Melkote, also Exhibition.

**17th.** Lord Willingdon entertained to a farewell reception by the Indian Social Club, London. His Lordships appeal for co-operation and trust.

**18th.** Imperial Council—

Lord Willingdon the Governor-elect of Madras left London for Madras via Paris.

**23rd.** Gandhis Message to Satyagrahis to observe 6th April as day of fast.

**27th.** Bengal Legislative Council—Governor presides, Hon. Mr. Surendranath Roy's Bengal Primary Education Bill passed.

**28th.** Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah resigns his membership of the Imperial Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Bill in his letter to H. E. the Viceroy.

**29th.** The fifth Punjab Brahmin Conference at Lyallpur. Pt. Thakur Dutt Sharma presides.

**30th. Observation of Satyagraha throughout India as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills** by fasting and closing shops. Unfortunate conflict of the people with the authorities in Delhi resulting in their calling in the military who fired at the mob with machine guns.

**April 1919.**

**1st.** H. E. Lord Ronaldshay unveiled the statues of Sir Rash Behary Ghose and late Sir Tarak Nath Palit, two very prominent benefactors of the Calcutta University at the University College of Science.

Launching of the first Sailing ship "Sanaton" at Chittagong.

**3rd.** Birth-day ceremony of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. Madras Legislative Council—Hon. Mr. Narasinha Iyer's resolution for the use of Vernacular by members in the Council lost.

**4th.** Dr. Varadarajalu Naidu acquitted by Madras H. C. of conviction for Sedition.

**6th.** All India National mourning and fast and suspension of business celebrated following Mr. Gandhis lead as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

Hon'ble Mr. B. D. Shukul resigns his membership of the Imperial Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills in his letter to H. E. the Viceroy.

National Education Week opened at Gokhale Hall, Madras by Dr. Subramania.

**7th.** Punjab Council—H. H. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's last Council speech denouncing Rowlatt agitation.

Madras Council—Budget Debate.

**8th.** Bengal Council—Village Self-Government Bill hotly discussed.

**9th.** Bengal Legislative Council, Village Self-Government Bill passed.

**Mr. Gandhi arrested at Palwal, Gurgaon District** on his way to Delhi by order of the Punjab Government and taken back home under escort.

Strike and mob demonstration at Ahmednagar due to Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

**10th.** H. E. Lord Willingdon assumes charge of the **Governorship of Madras Presidency.**

Punjab Engineering Congress at Lahore, H. H. Sir M. O'Dwyer presides.

Serious mob disturbance at Lahore and Amritsar caused by the deportation of Drs. S. Kitchlew and Satyapal and arrest of Mr. Gandhi, mob fired upon and dispersed, Bank burned down and Europeans murdered at Amritsar ; also at Ahmedabad where mills burnt down.

**11th.** Mr. Gandhi brought to Bombay and set free ; ordered not to leave Bombay Presidency ; in the evening he attends a huge meeting where he condemns the mob violence and disturbance.



Calcutta shops closed down and business suspended on Mr. Gandhis arrest.

**12th.** Retirement of Sir Basil Scott, Chief Justice, Bombay.  
Great Satyagraha demonstration in Calcutta, Police fired on mob.

Big meeting at Madras under Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyanger to protest against Government action in arresting Mr. Gandhi.

Remarkable letter of Sir Rabindranath to Mr. Gandhi eulogising latter's Satyagraha movement.

**13th.** H. E. The Governor of Bengal confers with the Marwari representatives at Calcutta regarding the passive resistance vow. protest against Governor's warning to desist.

**14th. Unrest and agitation throughout India Specially in Punjab and Ahmedabad** district for the passing of the Rowlatt Bill.

Government of India resolution regarding the agitation caused by the passing of the Rowlatt Act issued at Simla, repression as remedy Justified.

Government of India communique regarding rebellion in Punjab, Martial Law proclaimed.

Mr. Barron Chief Commissioner of Delhi convenes a meeting with the political leaders to consider steps to be taken to put a stop to the mob disturbances.

Big public meeting at Madras to consider the question of high prices.

Mr. Gandhis advice to the public to stop Hartal and to obey orders.

**15th. Martial Law ordinance issued at Simla.**

Mr. Gandhi condemns violence at a huge meeting in Ahmedabad.

**16th.** Meeting of the European and Indian citizens in Bombay on the invitation of Government, H. E. the Governor asks public co-operation to maintain law and order.

**17th.** Security of Rs. 5000 on the A. B. Patrica, Calcutta forfeited under Press Act, fresh deposit of Rs. 10,000 ordered.

**18th.** Mr. Gandhis telegram to suspend civil disobedience owing to the development of critical situation.

**20th.** Emergency meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay to discuss the situation caused by the Satyagraha movement. Pt. M. M. Malaviya presides.

**24th.** Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmednagar, Mr. J. Baptista presides.

**25th.** Annual meeting of the Millowners Association at Bombay, Mr. C. N. Wadia presides.

Death of Mr. A. Sankariah, Dewan of Cochin.

**26th.** Mr. Horniman, Editor, "Bombay Chronicle" deported to England by order of Bombay Government.

**27th.** Security of "Bombay Chronicle" forfeited under Press Act. Directors of "Bombay Chronicle" ordered to submit all matters to the Government before publication; Directors decide to suspend publication.

All India Moderate Conference Committee met at Calcutta. Mr. S. N. Banerji presides; resolutions condemning repressive measures passed.

**29th.** Congress deputation left for England to press Congress views on constitutional reforms.

#### May 1919.

**1st.** "At Home" gathering of Neo-Fabian Society at Madras to meet Mr. John Scurr; Mr. Scurr's useful and instructive sketch of the political situation in England.

**2nd. Armed hostility of Amir of Afghanistan to British Government,** manifesto at Khyber.

Meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha at Gokhale Hall to protest against the repressive policy of the Government; speeches of the Hon. Messrs T. Rangacharri. B. N. Sarma and others.

**Mysore Representative assembly,** closing speech of the Dewan, the new policy of the state defined.

**3rd.** Mr. Gandhi issues manifesto on nature of silent Satyagraha work done now.

Meeting of the Madras Labour Union; speech of Messrs B. P. Wadia, John Scurr and Mrs. Besant.

**5th.** Bengal Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Calcutta; various resolutions dealing with the unrest in Punjab passed.

**6th.** Mr. K. N. Roy, Editor "Tribune" placed before the Martial Law Tribunal for publishing seditious articles.

Mr. Tilak speaks on Indian demands at a meeting at Caxton Hall London, Commander Wedgwood M. P. presides.

Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Education Society at Adyar, Mr. G. S. Arundale nominated Chairman during absence of Mrs. Besant in England.

Meetings of the Madras Tramway Mens Union; address presented to Mr. B. P. Wadia.

Mr. Gandhis manifesto on the duty of a Satyagrahi.

**7th.** Farewell address to Mrs. Besant and Mr. Wadia at Madras

on the eve of their departure to England in connection with the Reforms scheme.

**8th.** Madras Provincial Educational Conference at St. Josephs College, Trichinopoly, Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyanger presides ; indictment of Lord Pentland's Government on the very slow progress of education made under his regime.

Mrs. Besant, Mr. Wadia and Mr. Scurr left Madras for Bombay *enroute* England, addresses presented to them by the National Home Rule League.

**9th.** Afghan War—enemy attempt to occupy British territory.

**10th.** H. E. the Viceroy's proclamation on the wanton aggression of the Amir of Afghanistan ; appeal for co-operation.

The second Annual session of the Majlis-ul-ulma conference at Tanjore, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim presides.

**11th.** Hartal in Bombay—shops closed—Gandhi supervises—no disturbance.

All India Home-Rule League meeting—Mrs. Besant resigned presidency—Jinnah elected.

Meeting of the Madras printer's Labour union at the Triplicane Beach ; Mr. G. H. Row presides.

**12th.** Mr. S. N. Bannerjee, President, Moderate Conference left Calcutta for England.

Mysore Legislative Council at Bangalore, Income Tax Bill adjourned.

**13th.** Maharaja Bikanir dwelt on the comradeship of India with the Dominions in a speech delivered at the Jubilee Dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute presided over by the Duke of Connaught.

**15th.** Imperial proclamation to the people of Afghanistan issued by H. E. the Viceroy ; a warning to Afghanistan.

**17th.** Post office Peons at Calcutta struck work.

**21st.** Sir Sankaran Nair resigned membership, Imperial Council, as a protest against Government action in Puujab.

**22nd.** Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons on Indian reforms ; Budget debate.

**23rd.** Sir Sankaran Nair opens the Conference of medical experts at Simla to discuss Indian Public Health.

**25th.** Government of India despatch on constitutional Reforms published at Simla.

**26th.** Sir Edward Maclagan assumes charge of office as L. G. Punjab.

#### June 1919.

**4th.** Big public meeting at the Gokhale Hall, Madras to

protest against the Press Act; Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava pillai presides.

**5th.** Second Reading of the Reforms Bill passed in the House of Commons without a division.

Annual Conference of the South Indian Missionary Association at Coonoor; the Lord Bishop of Madras presides.

**6th. Travancore Legislative Council at Trivandrum,** Dewan presides. The Revenue Recovery Regulation Amendment Bill, The Land Improvement and Agricultural Loans Bill and the Survey and Boundaries Bill passed into law.

**7th.** Mysore forest officers conference opened by Mr. A. R. Bannerji, the acting Dewan at Mysore.

National Home Rule League meeting at Bombay; Government of India despatch on the Reform scheme condemned.

**8th.** Public meeting of Ladies of Madras at the Soundarya Mahal to protest against the recommendations of the Franchise Committee and the Government of India to disqualify women for all purpose of representation under the Reform Bill.

**9th.** Birthday celebration of the Maharaja of Mysore.

H. H. Sir Edward Maclagan held a Durbar at Amritsar to distribute honours and rewards.

**10th.** Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Dewan of Mysore retires from service.

Mysore Economic Conference, Mr. A. R. Bannerjee the acting Dewan presides.

Annual meeting of the National Indian Association at London. Lord Carmichael presides. Mr. Bennett and Lord Sinha emphasise friendship and co-operation between Indians and British.

Mysore sanitary Conference opened at the Rangacharlu memorial Hall, Mysore; Mr. H. H. Sahab, the third Council member presides.

**11th.** Congress deputation interviews with Mr. Montague, Lord Sinha and others on the Indian Reforms. Resolutions of the Delhi Congress pressed for.

The national College at Trichinopoly opened with pujas and prayers amidst chanting of Veda hymas; the president Justice Seshagiri Iyer's speech in declaring the collegn open.

**12th.** Meeting of the Madras War Fund subscribers at the Government House, the president H. E. Lord Willingdon presents the statement of accounts.

Meeting of the Mysore Economic Conference; expansion of Primary Education discussed.

**13th.** Representative gathering of the Leading citizens in the

Council Chamber, Madras to consider the arrangements for peace celebrations ; H. E. the Governor presides.

**14th.** Inaugural meeting of the Mysore Civil Service Association at Mysore ; Mr A. R. Bannerjea the acting Dewan presides.

Annual senate meeting of the Indian Womens University at the Ferguson College, Poona ; Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the Chancellor, presides.

**18th.** H. M. Amir of Afghanistans reply to H. E. the Viceroy accepting armistice terms.

Madras Provincial Conference reception committee elects the Hon. Raja Rajiswar Setupati of Ramnad as president.

**19th.** Serious train collision near Ferozabad station on the East Indian Railway, nearly 300 men perished

**20th.** **Mysore Legislative Council** at Bangalore ; Mysore Legislative Council Amendment Regulation passed, Budget discussion.

Death of Dewan Bahadur C. Ramanujam Chettiar at Madras.

**22nd.** Willingdon College at Bombay opened by the Vice-Chancellor, Sir C. H. Setalvad.

**24th.** Annual meeting of the St. Johns Ambulance Association at Simla. H. E. The Viceroy presides.

**25th.** H. E. Lady Lloyd visits the Indian Womens University at Poona.

**29th.** Serious train collision at Kinana station on the North Western Railway ; 36 passengers killed and 46 injured.

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# India and her Rulers.

## The King Emperor.

**His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.**

The only surviving son of His late Majesty King Edward VII. and of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra.

*Born.*—At Marlborough House, June 3, 1865.

*Married.*—Her serene Highness Princess Victoria Mary Augusta Loise Olga Pauline Claudine Agnes of Teck, July 3, 1893.

*Succeeded.*—To the throne, May 6, 1910.

*Crowned.*—At Westminster Abbey, June 22, 1911.

*Issues :—*

1. H.R.H. **Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patric David, Prince of Wales** and Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall, High Steward of Windsor, K.G., G.M.M.G., G.M.B.E., M.C., R.N., *Born* June 23, 1894.

2. H. R. H. **Albert Fredrick Arthur George**, *Born*, December 14, 1895.

3. H. R. H. **Victoria Alexandra Alice Mary**, *Born* April 25, 1897.

4. H. R. H. **Henry William Fredrick Albert**, *Born* March 31, 1900.

5. H. R. H. **George Edward Alexander Edmund**, *Born* December 20, 1902.

6. H. R. H. **John Charles Francis**, *Born* July 12, 1905, *d.* January 18, 1919.

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# Ruling Chiefs of India.

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Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand Sq. Mile	Popula- tion in Thousand	Revenue in 1000 £	Tribute, etc.
21	His Exalted Highness The Nizam of— Hyderabad, Sir Usman Ali Khan	1911	82	13,374	3,000	
Guns	His Highness the Maharaja of— Mysore, Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar	1895	29	5,806	1,600	223,333
"	Baroda, Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar	1875	8.1	2,032	1,100	25,000
"	Gwalior, Sir Madhav Rao Scindia	1886	25	3,093	905	
19	Kashmir, Sir Pertab Singh	1885	84	3,558	750	
"	Travancore, Sir Balarania Varma	1885	7.1	3,448	761	54,133
"	Indore, Tukoji Rao Holkar	1903	9.4	1,004	40	
"	Kolhapore, Sir Sahu Chaterpati Maharaj	1884	3.2	833	382	
"	H. H. the Maharana of Mewar, Sir Fateh Singh	1884	12	1,293	176	13,333
"	H. H. the Begum of Bhopal, Sultan Jehan Begum.	1901	6.9	730	200	
"	H. H. the Khan of Kalat, Sir Mahamud Khan.	1893	71	470	51	
"	His Highness the Maharaja of— Bikaner, Sir Ganga Singhji	1887	23	700	220	
17	Bharatpur, Sir Vrijandra Sawai Kishen Singh	1900	1.9	558	210	
"	Jaipur, Sir Madho Singh	1880	15	2,636	533	26,667
"	Karauli, Sir Banwar Pal Deo	1886	1.2	146	40	
"	Jodhpur, Sir Sumer Singhji	—	34	2,057	440	6,533
"	Patiala, Sir Bupendra Singh	1900	5	1,407	488	
"	Rewa, Sir Venkal Raman Singhji	—	13	1,514	187	
"	H. H. the Nawab of Tonk, Sir Ibrahim Ali Khan	1867	2.5	303	130	
"	H. H. the Nawab of Bhawalpur, H. Sadiq. Md. Khan Bdr.	1907	15	780	182	
"	H. H. the Raja of Cochin, Sir Rama Varma	1914	1.3	918	254	13,333
"	H. H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi, Sir Raghubir Singh	1889	2.2	218	46	8,00
"	H. H. the Maharao of Cutch, Sir Khengarji Sawai Bah.	1876	7.6	513	167	
"	Kotah, Sir Umed Singji	1889	5.6	639	224	15,648

RULING CHIEFS OF INDIA.

Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand Sq. Mile	Popula- tion in- Thousand	Revenue in 1000 £	Tribute, etc.
15	His Highness the Maharaja of— Alwar, Sir Jay Singhji Sahab Bahadur	1892	3·1	791	232	
"	Datia, Lokendra Sir Govinda Singh	1907	·9	154	15	
"	Dewas, Sr., Sir Tukoji Rao Puar	1899	·4	74·1	25	
"	" Jr. Sir Malhar Rao Puar	1892	·4	63	25	
"	Dhar, Sir Udayji Rao Puar	1898	1·7	154	56	
"	Idar, Sir Dowlat Singhji	1911	1·6	202	44	
"	Kishangarh, Sir Madan Singhji	1900	·8	87	56	
"	Orchna, Sir Pratap Singh	1874	·2	330	50	
"	Sikkim, Tashi Nam Gyol	1914	2·8	87	15	
"	H. H. The Maharawal of Banswara, Sri Sambhu Singh	1913	1·6	165	15	
"	" Dungarpur, Sir Bijay Singhaji	1898	1·4	159	16	
"	" Jaicalmir, Sir Jawabar Singhaji	1914	1·6	202	44	
"	" Partabgarh, Sir Raghunath Singh	1890	·8	62	18	
"	H.H. The Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, Sir Uday Bhan Singh	1911	1·1	263	80	
"	H. H. The Mir of Khairpur, Sir Imam Bux Khan	1909	·6	223	100	
"	H. H. The Maharao of Shirohi, Sir Kaishree Singhji	1875	1·9	189	34	
13	His Highness the Maharaja of— Benaras, Sir Probbunarayan Singh	1889	·8	346	112	12,667
"	Bhavanagar, Sir Bhavasingji Taket Singhji	1896	2·8	441	287	
"	Cooch Behar, Sir Jitendranarayan Bhoop	1913	1·3	592	164	
"	Dhrangadra, Sir Ghanshyam Singhji	1911	1·1	79	40	
"	Jind, Sir Ranabir Singh	1887	1·2	271	87	
"	Kapurthala, Sir Jagatjit Singh	1877	·6	268	167	8,723
"	Nwanagar, Sir Ranjit Singhji.	1907	3·7	349	151	
"	Porbandar, Natwar Singhji Bhavasinghji	1908	·6	82	55	
"	H. H. The Raja of Rutlam, Sir Sajjan Singhji	1893	·6	75	60	
"	H.H. The Raja of Tippers, Sir Birendra Kishore Dev Manikya	1909	·4	229	112	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Rampur, Sir Mahommad Hamid Ali	1889	·9	531	240	
"	" " Junagar, Mahabat Khanji	1911	3·2	434	190	



Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand Sq. Mile	Popula- tion in Thousand	Revenue in 1000 £	Tribute, etc.
13	H. H. The Nawab of Jaora, Sir Mahamed Ifliqvar Alikhan	1895	5	75	50	
11	His Highness The Maharaja of— Ajaigarh, Sir Ranjor Singh Bahadur	1859	8	87	15	
"	Charakhari, Sri Ganga Singh Deo	1914	8	132	33	
"	Chatarpur, Sri Biswanath Singh	1867	1.1	166	30	
"	Manipur, Sri Caura Chand Singh	1891	8.4	346	30	3,333
"	Jhalawar, Sir Bhawani Singh	1899	8	96	32	
"	Nabha, Sri Ripudaman Singhji	1911	9	218	103	
"	Panna, Sri Jadabendra Singh	1902	2.5	228	33	
"	Sirmoor, Amar Prakash Bahadur	1913	1.1	138	57	
"	Bijawar, Sir Sawant Singh					
"	Jhabua, Sri Uday Singhji					
"	His Highness The Raja of-- Chamba, Sir Bhure Singh	1904	3	135	34	
"	Faridkot, Sri Brij Indar Singh	1906	6	130	74	
"	Mundi (Julunder), Sri Jogindor Sen	1913	1.2	181	39	
"	Pudukota, Sir Martanda Bhairab Tandiman	1886	1.2	411	101	
"	Rajgarh, Sir Bir Indra Singhji	1916	1.5	218	12	
"	Rajpipla, Sri Bijaysinhji Chattarsinhji	1915	1.5	161	67	
"	Sailana, Sir Jaswant Singhji	1895	3	27	26	
"	Tehri, Lt. Narendra Shah	1913	4	301	44	
"	H. H. The Thakur Shaheb of Gondal	1869	1	162	94	
"	H. H. The Thakur Shaheb of Marvi	1870	8	90	78	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Janjira	1879	3	89	33	
"	The Dewan of Palanpur	1877	1.7	226	35	
"	H.H. The Nawab of Baoni. H.H. The Nawab of Cambay, Jafar Ali Khan. H. H. The Nawab of Radhanpur,					
"	Jalaluddin Khanji. H. H. The Nawab of Malerkotla, Sir Muhammad Ahmed Ali Khan. H.H. The Raja					
"	of Narsingrah, Sir Arjun Singhji. H. H. The Raja of Suket, Sir Bhimsen. H.H. The Raja of Sitamau, Sir					
"	Ram Singhji. H.H. The Raja of Samthar, Sir Bir Singh Deo. H.H. The Raja of Kahur, Sri Bije Chand					
"	And 36 other Chiefs with 9 Guns.					

# Government of India.

## India Office List—1918.

### Salaries of Chief Officers.

The following are the tables of salaries sanctioned for the Chief Officers of the Administration of India. They are, however, liable to variation.

	Pay per Annum
	Ra.
Viceroy and Governor-General	2,50,800
Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal	1,20,000
Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India	1,00,000
Lieut. Governors of Behar, U.P., Punjab, and Burma...	1,00,000
Members (6) of the Governor-General's Council	80,000
Chief Justice of Bengal	72,000
Chief Justices of Madras, Bombay, and the North-western Provinces	60,000
President, Railway Board	60,000 or 72,000
Comptroller and Auditor-General	54,000
Member, Railway Board	48,000
Secretaries to the Government of India in the Finance, Foreign, Home, Revenue and Agriculture, Commerce and Industry and Education Departments	48,000
Puisne Judges of the High Courts of Calcutta (15), Madras (6), Bombay (6), and the North-Western Provinces (6)	48,000
Chief Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab	48,000
Chief Judge of the Chief Court, Burma	48,000
Political Residents, 1st class	48,000
Bishop of Calcutta	45,977
Judges of the Chief Court, Punjab (4), and Burma (4), except Chief Judges	42,000
1 Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs	42,000 to 48,000
Secretaries to the Government of India in the Army and Public works and Legislative Department	42,000
Controller of Currency	36,000 to 42,000
1 Chief Commissioner of Delhi	36,000
1 Director, Criminal Intelligence	36,000
1 Director-General, Indian Medical Service	36,000
Surveyor-General, Survey of India	36,000
Educational Commissioner	33,000 to 36,000
Superintendent of Port Blair	30,000 to 36,000
2 Accountants-General Class I	33,000

## SALARIES OF CHIEF OFFICERS

9 Political Residents, 2nd class	...	...	33,000
Inspector-General of Forests	...	...	31,800
3 Accountants-General, Class II	...	...	30,000
2 Postmasters General	...	...	30,000
Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India	24,000 to	30,000	
Political Officers on time scale	...	5,400 to	28,800
4 Accountants-General class III	...	...	27,000
2 Postmasters-General	...	...	27,000
Deputy Secretaries to the Government of India in the Finance and Foreign Departments	...	...	27,000
Controller of Stationery and Printing	...	18,000, to	27,000
Bishop of Madras	...	...	26,000
Bishop of Bombay	...	...	26,000
Private Secretary to Viceroy	...	...	27,000
3 Postmasters-General	...	...	24,000
1 Deputy Director, Criminal Intelligence	...	18,000 to	24,000
1 Chief Inspector of Mines in India	...	21,000 to	24,200
Administrator-General of Bengal	...	...	24,000
1 Director-General of Commercial Intelligence	...	...	24,000
1 Director, Geological Survey of India	...	...	24,000
1 Director-General of Archaeology in India	...	...	20,400
Military Secretary and Aid-de-Camp to Viceroy	...	...	18,000
Military Secretary to Commandar-in-Chief in India	...	...	18,000
Private Secretaries to Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal	...	...	18,000
Surgeon to Viceroy	...	...	14,400
Surgeon to Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal	...	...	12,000
Military Secretary and Aid-de-Camp to Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal	...	...	12,000
1 Commissioner of Northern India salt revenue	...	...	30,000
3 Postmasters General	...	...	24,000

## Provincial Salaries,

## Bengal.

Posts	No. of Indians.	Pay per Annum. Rs.
3 Members of Council	1	64,000
1 Member of the Board of Revenue	...	45,000
5 Commissioners of Divisions	2	35,000
1 Chief Secretary to Government	...	45,000
3 Secretaries to Government	...	33,000
3 Under Secretaries to Government	2	12,000
1 Excise Commissioner	...	21,600
1 Chairman of Corporation of Calcutta	...	30,000
1 Deputy ditto	...	12,000 to 18,000
1 Collector of Customs, Calcutta	...	24,600

Posts	No. of Indians.	Pay per Annum, Rs.
12 Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade	3	27,000
13 " " 2nd "	...	21,600
14 " " 3rd "	3	18,000
17 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, 1st grade	1	10,800
17 " " 2nd "	2	8,400
—Assistant Magistrates and Collectors	3	4,800 to 6,000
3 District and Sessions Judges, 1st grade	1	36,000
16 " " 2nd "	3	30,000
17 " " 3rd "	6	24,000
1 Chief Judge, Presidency Courts of Small Causes		24,000 to 30,000
6 Judges " " " " " 5		12,000 13,500 15,600 and 16,800
1 Advocate General	...	48,000
1 Solicitor to Government	...	60,000
1 Registrar, High Court	...	20,400
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	30,000 to 36,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	24,000 to 30,000
1 Private Secretary to H. E. The Governor	...	18,000
1 Director of Agriculture	...	18,000
1 Director of Land Records	...	18,000
1 Secretary of the Board of Revenue	...	18,000

Bihar and Orissa.

3 Members of the Executive Council	1	60,000
1 Member of the Board of Revenue	...	42,000
1 Chief Secretary to Government	...	36,000
2 Secretaries to Government	...	27,000
3 Under Secretaries to Government	...	12,000
5 Commissioners	...	35,000
10 Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade	2	27,000
11 " " 2nd "	1	21,600
12 " " 3rd "	2	18,000
11 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, 1st grade	1	10,800
10 " " 2nd "	1	8,400
Assistant Magistrates and Collectors	...	4,800 to 6,000
2 District and Sessions Judges, 1st grade	...	36,000
5 " " 2nd "	...	30,000
6 " " 3rd "	3	24,000
1 Commissioner of Excise and Salt	...	17,280
1 Director of Land Records and Surveys	...	21,600
1 Director of Agriculture	...	18,000
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	30,000 to 36,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	24,000
1 Chief Commissioner	...	57,600
2 Commissioners	...	33,000

## SALARIES OF CHIEF OFFICERS

		Assam.		Pay per Annum.
				Rs.
Posts		No. of Indians.		
2	Secretaries to Chief Commissioners	...	...	18,000 and 21,600
6	Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	...	...	27,000
7	" " 2nd "	...	...	21,600
7	" " 3rd "	...	...	18,000
4	Assistant " 1st "	...	...	10,800
4	" " 2nd "	...	...	8,400
	" " 3rd "	...	1	5,400 to 6,000
2	Under Secretaries to Chief Commissioner	...	...	12,000
1	District and Sessions Judge	...	...	30,000
1	Inspector-General of Police	...	...	27,000
1	Director of Public Instruction	...	...	15,000 to 18,000
1	Director of Land Records and Agriculture	...	...	18,000
1	Excise Commissioner	...	...	18,000
<b>United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.</b>				
1	Chief Secretary to Government	...	...	36,000
2	Members of the Board of Revenue	...	...	42,000
2	Secretaries to Government	...	...	20,000 and 22,000
1	Secretary to Board of Revenue	...	1	27,000
3	Under Secretaries to Government	...	...	12,000
9	Commissioners of Divisions	...	...	35,000
1	Commissioner for Kumaon	...	...	30,000
1	Opium Agent	...	...	30,000 to 36,000
19	Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade	...	...	27,000
17	" " 2nd "	...	2	22,000
4	Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	...	...	22,000
16	" " 2nd "	...	1	20,000
14	Joint Magistrates, 1st grade	...	1	12,000
8	Assistant Commissioners' 1st grade	...	1	9,600
21	Joint Magistrates and Assistant Commissioners, 2nd grade	...	...	8,400
—	Assistant " " Kumaon "	...	5	4,800 to 6,000
3	Deputy Commissioners for Kumaon	...	12,000, 12,000 and 18,000	
1	City Magistrate, Lucknow	...	...	12,000
1	Superintendent, Derha Dun	...	...	18,000
1	Judicial Commissioner	...	...	42,000
2	Additional Judicial Commissioners	...	1	40,000
2	District and Sessions Judges, 1st grade	...	1	36,000
7	" " 2nd "	...	...	30,000
7	" " 3rd "	...	...	27,000
10	" " 4th "	...	5	22,000
5	" " 5th "	...	1	20,000
1	Registrar, High Court	...	...	19,200
1	Inspector-General of Police	...	...	30,000 to 36,000
1	Director of Public Instruction	...	...	24,000

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Posts	No. of Indians	Pay per Annum. Rs.
<b>Punjab.</b>		
1 Chief Secretary to Government	...	36,000
3 Secretaries to Government	...	18,000 18,000 and 21,600
3 Under Secretaries to Government	...	9,600, 12,000 and 12,000
1 Under Secretary, Police Department, and Inspector-General of Police	...	33,600
1 Under Secretary, Educational Department	...	21,000
2 Financial Commissioners	...	42,000
2 Secretaries to Financial Commissioners	...	12,000 and 15,600
5 Commissioners	...	33,000
14 Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	...	27,000
14 " " 2nd "	4	21,600
14 " " 3rd "	2	18,000
14 Assistant Commissioners, 1st grade	1	10,800
14 " " 2nd "	...	8,400
16 " " 3rd "	1	6,000
2 District and Sessions Judges, 1st grad	...	33,000
4 " " 2nd "	2	30,000
7 " " 3rd "	...	27,000
10 " " 4th "	2	21,600
1 Sub-Judge and Judge, Small Cause Court, Simla	...	15,600
1 Registrar of the Chief Court	...	15,000
1 Legal Remembrancer	...	27,000
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	24,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	21,000
<b>Burma.</b>		
1 Chief Secretary to Government	...	36,000
2 Secretaries	...	27,600
3 Under Secretaries	...	6,000
2 Assistant Secretary	...	6,600 to 9,000
1 Financial Commissioner	...	42,000
1 Settlement Commissioner and Director of Land Records	...	33,000
1 Deputy Director of Land Records	...	19,200
1 Secretary to Financial Commissioner	...	18,000
1 Director of Agriculture	...	21,600
8 Commissioners of Division	...	33,000
18 Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	1	27,000
18 " " 2nd "	1	21,600
18 " " 3rd "	...	18,000
12 Assistant	2	12,000
13 " " 2nd "	...	8,400
10 " " 3rd "	...	7,200
1 Judicial Commissioner	...	42,000
2 Divisional Judge, 1st grade	...	33,000
1 " " 2nd "	...	30,000

## SALARIES OF CHIEF OFFICERS

Posts	No. of Indians.	Pay per Annum Rs.
2. Divisional Judge 3rd " ...	...	27,000
2 " " 4th " ...	...	21,600
8 District " ...	4	18,400
1 Registrar, Chief Court, Lower Burma ...	...	8,000
1 Government Advocate ...	...	18,000 to 21,600
<b>Central Provinces.</b>		
1 Chief Commissioner ...	...	62,000
1 Chief Secretary ...	...	32,400
3 Secretaries ...	19,800, 24,000 and 30,000	...
2 Secretaries ...	...	31,800
4 Under Secretaries ...	...	8,460, 10,400, 12,000
2 Assistant Secretaries ...	...	6,960, 11,760
1 Financial Commissioner ...	...	42,000
5 Commissioners of Divisions ...	...	33,000
11 *Deputy Commissioners, 1st Class ...	...	27,000
12 * " " 2nd " ...	...	21,600
14 * " " 3rd " ...	...	18,000
12 Assistant " 1st " ...	...	10,800
9 " " 2nd " ...	...	8,400
9 " " 3rd " ...	...	4,800 to 6,000
1 Judicial Commissioner ...	...	42,000
4 Additional Judicial Commissioners ...	...	36,000
12 District and Sessions Judges ...	...	21,600 and 33,000
1 Inspector-General of Police ...	...	27,000 to 33,000
1 Director of Public Instruction ...	...	18,000 to 24,000
<b>Madras</b>		
3 Members of Council ...	1	64,000
12 High Court Judge ...	...	48,000
1 First Member, Board of Revenue ...	...	45,000
1 Second Member " ...	...	42,000
1 Third Member " ...	...	36,000
1 Fourth Member " ...	...	36,000
1 Chief Secretary to Government ...	...	45,000
1 Revenue Secretary to Government ...	...	36,000
1 Secretary to Government ...	1	36,000
1 Private Secretary to Governor ...	...	18,000
3 Under Secretaries to Government ...	1	12,000
1 Secretary to Commissioners of Land Revenues ...	...	18,000 to 21,600
1 Secretary to the Commissioners of Salt, &c. ...	...	18,000 to 21,600
22 District and Sessions Judges ...	4	24,000 to 36,000
1 Registrar, High Court ...	...	18,000 to 21,600
1 Advocate General ...	1	21,600
1 Government Solicitor ...	...	13,200
1 Chief Judge, Small Cause Court ...	...	24,000
1 Commissioner of Coorg ...	...	21,600 to 24,000

\*Inclusive of 3 Secretaries.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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Posts.	No. of Indians.	Pay per Annum Rs.
1 Resident in Travancore and Cochin	...	33,600
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	30,000 to 36,000
9 Collectors, 1st grade	3	30,000
14 " 2nd "	2	27,000
1 President, Corporation of Madras	—	21,600
6 Collectors, 3rd grade	1	21,600
17 Sub-Collectors and Joint Magistrates, 1st grade	1	14,400
16 " " " 2nd "	3	10,800
16 " " " 3rd "	1	8,400
Assistant Collectors and Magistrate	—	4,800 to 6,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	=	24,000 to 30,000
<b>Bombay.</b>		
3 Members of Council	—	64,000
1 Chief Secretary to Government	—	45,000
1 Secretary to Government	—	37,500
4 " " "	—	30,000
1 Private Secretary, to Governor—	—	18,000
5 Under Secretaries to Government	...	15,000
1 Inspector-General of Prisons	...	21,600 to 24,000
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	30,000 to 36,000
4 Commissioner of Divisions	...	36,000 and 42,000
1 Commissioner in Sind	...	45,000
1 Municipal Commissioner, Bombay	...	30,000
13 Senior Collectors	1	27,900
15 Junior " " "	2	21,600
9 Assistant Collectors, 1st grade	1	14,400
17 " " 2nd "	1	10,800
18 " " 3rd "	2	8,400
1 Collector in Sind	...	21,600
1 Assistant Commissioner in Sind	...	13,200
1 Judicial Commissioner in Sind	...	42,000
1 Additional Judicial Commissioner in Sind	...	36,000
2 District and Sessions Judges—1st grade	...	30,000
6 " " 2nd "	1	27,900
11 " " 3rd "	2	21,600
1 Prothonotary and Registrar, High Court	...	20,400 to 24,000
1 Administrator General and Official Trustee	...	24,000 to 30,000
1 Registrar, High Court	...	20,400
1 Chief Judge, Small Cause Court	1	24,000
1 Remembrancer of Legal Affairs	...	30,000
1 Government Solicitor	...	30,000
1 Advocate General	...	24,000
1 Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar	...	36,000
1 Resident and Senior Political Agent	...	27,000
26 Political Officers on time scale of pay	5,400 to 10,200 &	11,400 to 23,400
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	24,000 to 30,000



# The Government of India.

## THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

Secretary of State.

The Right Hon. Edwin S. Montagu, M.P.

Under-Secretaries of State.

Sir Thomas W. Holderness, G.C.B., K.C.S.I.

The Right Hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur

Assistant Under-Secretaries of State.

Sir Lionel Abrahams, K.C.B.

Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B.

Council.

Sir William Duke, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.I.E.

Sir Charles Arnold White.

Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Sir Charles S. Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.S.O.

William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E.

Sir Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E.

General Sir E. G. Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,

Sir James Bennett Brunyate, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.

Sir Prabhashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E.

Bhupendranath Basu.

Frederick Cranford Goodenough.

*Clerk of the Council*, Sir Lionel Abrahams, K.C.B.

*Deputy Clerk of the Council*, James H. Seabrooke, C.I.E.

*Private Secretary to the Secretary of State*, C. H. Kisch.

*Assistant Private Secretaries*, A. L. R. Parsons, and Miss Freeth.

*Political A.-D.-C. to the Secretary of State*, Lieut.-Col. Sir J. R. Dunlop

Smith, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.

*Private Secretary to Sir T. W. Holderness*,—R. H. A. Carter.

*Private Secretary to Lord Sinha*,—W. R. Gourlay

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# Government of India.

## Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

His Excellency the Right Hon. **BARON CHELMSFORD, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.B.E.,** assumed charge of office, 5th April, 1916.

### Council.

- Sir G. S. Barnes, K.C.B. Took his seat, 6th April, 1916.  
 „ William Henry Hoare Vincent. Took his seat, 21st April, 1917.  
 „ James Scorgie Meston K.C.S.I.,  
 „ C. H. A. Hill, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.; Took his seat, 5th July, 1915.  
 „ C. Sankaran Nair. Took his seat, 2nd November, 1915. Resigned, July '19.  
 „ Khan Bh. Mian Muhammad Shafi (Vice Sir Sankaran Nair—July '19).  
 „ G. R. Lowndes, K.C.S.I., Took his seat, 20th December, 1915.

### Extraordinary Member—

H. E. Gen. Sir Charles Carmichael Monro, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India.

### Secretaries to the Government of India

<i>Dept. of Finance</i>	...	Hon. H. F. Howard, C.I.E. I.C.S.
<i>Military Finance Dept.</i>	...	„ G. B. H. Fell. C.S.I. C.I.E.
<i>Home Dept.</i>	...	„ Sir J. H. Duboulay, K.C.I.E.
<i>Revenue and Agricultural Dept.</i>	...	„ R. A. Mant. I.C.S.
<i>Foreign and Political Dept.</i>	...	„ Sir J. B. Wood, K.C.I.E. C.S.I., C.I.E. I.C.S. (Foreign); Hon. Sir A. H. Grant, K.C.I.E. C.S.I. I.O.S. (Political)
<i>Dept. of Commerce and Industry</i>	...	„ C. E. Low. C.I.E. I.O.S.
<i>Public Works Dept.</i>	...	„ C. E. Rose, M.I.C.E.
<i>Dept. of Education</i>	...	„ Sir E. D. Maclagan, K.C.I.E.
<i>Legislative Dept.</i>	...	„ A. P. Muddiman, C.I.E. I.O.S.
<i>Railway Dept.</i>	...	„ Sir Robert Gillan, K.C.S.I. I.C.S. (Presdt.) F. A. Hadow (Secy.)
<i>Indian Munitions Board</i>	...	Sir Thomas Holand, K.C.I.E. F.R.S. T. Ryan, C.I.E. (Secy.)

### Personal staff of His Excellency the Viceroy.

<i>Private secy.</i>	...	J. L. Maffey, C.I.E. I.C.S.
<i>Asst. pte. secy.</i>	...	Capt. W. Buchanan Riddell
<i>Mily. secy.</i>	...	Lt. col. R. Verney, Rifle Brigade
<i>Personl. asst.</i>	...	R. Parsona
<i>Comptlr. of the household.</i>	...	Maj. J. Mackenzie, C.I.E. 35th Sikhs

## Supreme Legislative Council

## A.—Elected members—27.

Name.	Electorate.
Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma (Garu)	Non-official Member, Madras.
Mr. Srinivasa Sastri	Do do
Mr. V. J. Patel	Do Bombay.
Sir. Dinsha Eduljee Wacha	Do do
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee	Do Bengal.
Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur	Do do
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru	Do U. P.
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya	Do do
Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia.	Do Punjab.
Maung Bah Too, C.I.E.	Do Burma.
Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay	Do Bihar and Orissa.
Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda	Do Assam.
Gonesh Shri Krishna Khaparde	District Councils and Municipal Committees, C. P.
Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar	Landholders, Madras.
Khan Bahadur Sayad Allahando Shah	Do Bombay. (Gujarat.)
Maharaja Sir Manindra Chanda Nandi	Landholders, Bengal.
Raja Sir Rampat Singh, K.C.I.E.	Do United Provinces. (Landholders of Agra.)
Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo	Do Bihar and Orissa.
Rai Bahadur Bishan Dutt Shukul	Do Central Provinces.
Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan	Muhammadan Community, Madras.
Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah	Do Bombay.
Mr. Abdur Rahim	Do Bengal.
Khan Bahadur Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhri	Do do
Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan, K.C.I.E., Khan Bahadur, of Mahammudabad.	Do United Provinces.
Mr. Mazharul Haque	Do Bihar and Orissa.
W. A. Ironside	Bengal Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. Malcom N. Hogg	Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

## B.—Nominated Members—33.

## (a) OFFICIAL MEMBERS.

Mr. A. R. Loftus-Tottenham	Madras.
Mr. F. J. Monahan	Bengal.
Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O.	Bombay.
Mr. E. H. C. Walsh	Bihar and Orissa.
Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.	The United Provinces.
Vacant	The Punjab.
Lt.-Col. S. L. Aplin, C.S.I.	Burma.
Mr. F. S. A. Slocock, C.I.E.	Central Provinces.
Mr. W. J. Reid, C.S.I.	Assam.

Sir. J. S. Donald, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	The N. W. F. Province.
Mr. C. H. Kesteven	Government of India.
Mr. H. Sharp, C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. R. E. Holland C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. S. R. Hignell C.I.E.	Do.
Sir. E. D. Maclagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	Do.
Mr. R. A. Mant.	Do.
Mr. F. C. Rose	Do.
Mr. A. P. Muddiman, C.I.E.	Do.
Surgeon-General W. R. Edwards	Do.
Mr. G. R. Clarke, O.B.E.	Do.
Sir R. W. Gillan, K.C.S.I.	Do.
Sir A. H. Grant, C.S.I. C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. G. B. H. Fell, C.I.E.	Do.
Major-General A. H. Bingley, C.B., C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. H. F. Howard, C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. J. P. Thompson	Do.
Sir J. H. Duboulay	Do.
Mr. C. E. Low	Do.

(b) Non-Official Members.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt., C.I.E.	Indian Commercial Community.
Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, C.I.E.	Muham. Com. Punjab.
Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan, C.S.I.	Landholders, Punjab.
Sub-Major and Hon. Capt. Ajabkhan, Sardar Bahadur, I.O.M.	
Sir G. M. Chitnavis, K.C.I.E.	

Present Constitution of the Council.

By the proviso to Regulation I for the Legislative Council of the Governor-General it is declared that it shall not be lawful for the Governor-General to nominate so many non-official persons that the majority of all the Members of the Council shall be non-officials.

Officials—

(a) Members of the Executive Council	...	...	7
(b) The Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner of the Province	...	...	1
(c) Nominated Members	...	...	27
		Total ...	35

Non-Officials—

(a) Elected Members	...	...	27
(b) Nominated Members	...	...	5
		Total ...	32

Official majority, exclusive of the Governor-General ... 3

# The Government of Bombay.

## Governor and President in Council.

His Excellency The Right Hon'ble Sir George Ambrose Lloyd, G. C. I. E.  
D. S. O. Took his seat 16th December 1918.

## Personal Staff.

*Private Sec.*—William Patrick Cowie, I. C. S. *Mily. Secretary*—Lt.-Col.  
J. G. Greig. *Aide-de-Camp*—Major Arkwright.

## Members of Council.

Mr. George Carmichael, C.S. I., I. C. S. Mr. G. S. Curtis, C. S. I., I. C. S.  
Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Kt. C. I. E.

## Additional Members of Council—Elected—21.

Mr. D. V. Belvi, B. A., LL. B.	Mr. Abdul Kadir <i>alias</i> Fakir Mohd.
Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, Bar-at-law.	Sardar Dulabawa Raisingji, Thakor of Kerwada.
Mr. Sidhanath Dhonddeo Garud.	Mr. Manmohandas Ramji Hora.
Sardar Syed All El Edroos.	Mr. Sidney Julius Gillum.
Mr. Chunilal V. Mehta, M. A. LL. B.	Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit, Bart.
Shaikh G. H. Hidayatallah, LL. B.	Mr. Harchandras, B.A., LL.B.
Sardar S. Cooposwami Mudaliar.	Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji.
Mr. M. D. Pomeroy Webb C.I.E., C.S.E.	Mr. Pandurang Anant Desai.
Mr. G. K. Parekh, B.A., LL.B.	Mr. Ebrahim Haroon Jaffar.
Rao saheb Harilal Desaibhai Desai.	Mr. Shridhar Balkrishna Upasani.
Mr. R. Purushottam Paranjpye.	

## Nominated—22.

The Advocate General ( <i>ex-officio</i> ).	Mr. G. F. Keatings.
Mr. C. N. Soddon, I. C. S.	Mr. Henry Stavely Lawrence,
Mr. S. R. Arthur.	Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas Mehta,
Mr. Salebhi Karimji Barodawala.	Rao Bahadur V. S. Naik.
Mr. P. R. Cadell.	Khan Bahadur Pir Bakhsh <i>walad</i> Mian Muhammad.
Mr. J. G. Covsrnton.	Mr. Frederick G. Pratt, I.C.S.
Dr. Cajetan Fernandes.	Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.
Dewan Bahadur Kashinath Ram- chandra Godbole.	Rao Bahadur G. K. Sathe.
Mr. Mahammad Haji Bhai.	Mr. Purushotamdas Thakurdas.
Mr. B. N. Kamat.	Surgeon-General R. W. S. Lyons.
Mr. J. D. Jenkins.	Rao Bhadur Tekchand Udhavdas.

## Secretaries to Government.

<i>Political, Special and Judicial.</i>	L. Robertson, I.C.S.
<i>Dy. Secretary. Judicial and</i>	James Crerar, C.I.E., I.C.S. <i>Acting,</i>
<i>Political Departments (Temporary).</i>	J. E. C. Jukes, I.C.S.

<i>Revenue, Financial and Separate.</i>	The Hon'ble Mr. Patrick Robert Candell ; C.I.E., I.C.S.
<i>General, Educational, Marine and Ecclesiastical.</i>	George Arthur Thomas, B.A., I.C.S.
<i>Legal Department and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs.</i>	George Douglas French B.A., I.C.S.
<i>Public works Department.</i>	Frederick St. John Gebbie (Ag.) and R. J. Kent. ( <i>Act. Joint Secretary</i> ).

## The Government of Madras.

### Governor and President-in-Council.

His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Lord Willingdon.

#### Personal Staff.

<i>Private Secy.,</i>	T. E. Moir, I.C.S.
<i>Military Secy.,</i>	Captain W. S. E. Money
<i>Aides-de-Camp.</i>	Capt. Lionel Meredith Peet,
	Capt. R. G. S. Hale.
	Commader A. S. Balfour.
<i>Extra Aide-de-Camp,</i>	Lt. John Caton Monins.
<i>Indian Aides-de-Camp.</i>	Risaldar Major Malik Sher Bahadur.
	Hon. Capt. V. S. Alexander,
	Sirdar Bahadur.
<i>Surgeon.</i>	Major Frederick Fenn Elwes, C.I.E.
	I.M.S.
<i>Commandant of Body Guard,</i>	Lt. D. E. Smith, I.A.B.O.

#### Members of Council.

Divan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar, C.I.E. Mr. Lionel Davidson, C.S.I., I.C.S. Sir A. G. Cardew, K. C.S.I., I.C.S.

#### Additional Members of Council—Elected—20.

Tiruvengana Ranga Achariyar.	Bhupatiraju Venkatapati Raju.
Rev. G. Pittendrigh.	K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar
A. Suryanarayana Rao Pantulu.	K. K. Raman Kavalappara Muppil Nayar.
M. Ramchandra Rao Pantulu.	Yaqub Hasan, Saheb Bahadur.
A. Subba Krishna Rao Pantulu.	Ahmed Tambi Ghulam Muhiuddin Marakkayar.
Pulamati Siva Rao.	J. H. Thonger.
A. Subbarayulu Reddiyar.	V. K. Ramanujchariyar.
B. V. Narasimha Aiyar.	Gordon Fraser.
K. Sadasiva Bhat	Sir E. F. Barber.
Krishnaswami Rama Aiyangar.	
B. Raja Rajeswara Setupathi, Raja of Ramnad.	

## Nominated—19.

J. M. Turing.	S. Srinivasa Ayyangar.
L. E. Buckley.	Sir Ghulam Muhamad Ali.
H. S. Duncan.	The Most Rev. John Aelen.
R. A. Graham.	T. Richmond.
N. E. Marjoribanks.	Sir F. J. E. Spring, K.C.I.E.
S. B. Murray.	Rao Bahadur S. C. Ramanathan
W. J. Howley.	Chettiyar Muthayya Chetti.
Diwan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao.	Chettiyar.
Surg. Gen. G. G. Giffard C.S.I., I.M.S.	Rao Bahadur K. R. Suryanarayana-
Arthur Rowland Knapp.	murti Nayudu Garu.
Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aiz-ud-	Sri Sobha Chandra Singh Deo.
din Hussain.	

## Secretaries to Government.

<i>Chief Secretary to Government,</i>	C. G. Todhunter, I.C.S., (on leave).
<i>Revenue: (Acting)</i>	Arthur Rowland Knapp.
<i>Local and Municipal, Education</i>	
<i>and Legislative,</i>	H. G. Stokes, C.I.E., I.C.S.
<i>Public works (General),</i>	S. B. Murray.
<i>Joint Secretary</i>	W. J. Howley.

## Board of Revenue.

<i>First Member,</i>	L. E. Buckley.
<i>Second Member,</i>	Khan Bahadur Mahomed Azizuddin
	Husain Saheb Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O.
<i>Third Member,</i>	R. A. Graham.
<i>Fourth Member,</i>	J. M. Turing.

# The Government of Bengal.

## GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.

His Excellency The Rt. Hon. Lawrence John Lumley Dundas, Earl of Ronaldshay, G. C. I. E. Took his seat, 26th March 1917.

## PERSONAL STAFF.

<i>Private Secretary.</i>	W. R. Gourlay, on special duty ;
<i>Officiating „</i>	H. R. of Wilkinson.
<i>Military Secretary,</i>	Capt. Henry George Vaux.
<i>Surgeon,</i>	Major J. D. Sandes, I.M.S.
<i>Aides-de-Camp,</i>	Capt. R. W. Hyde, Lt. D. Balfour.

*Honorary Aides-de-Camp,*

Col. C. M. Pearce, v.D.; Commander E. A. Constable, B.N.; Lt.-Col. R. Glen, v.D.; Lt.-Col. G. F. Stoddart; Lt.-Col. R. S. Hawkins, v.D.; Commander Duncan Frederick Vines, R. I. M.; Lt.-Col. D. A. Tyrie, Col. C. H. Shepherd.

*Extra Aide-de-Camp,  
Indian Aide-de-Camp,  
Commander of Body Guard,*

2nd Lt. C. B. Lyon.  
Risaldar Faiz Muhammad Khan.  
Capt. P. V. Douvetill, I.A.R.O.

**Members of Council.**

Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.I.B., C.S.I., L.C.S. Took his seat on 9th April 1917.  
Mr. John Ghest Cumming, C.S.I., C.I.B., I.C.S., 29th March 1918.  
Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt., 8th June 1917.  
Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.B., I.O.M., Maharajahdaraja Bahadur of Burdwan (Temporary.) 14th May 1918.

**Nominated Officials—12.**

Mr. James Donald.	Rai Priya Nath Mukharji Bahadur.
Mr. J. H. Kerr, C.I.B.	Mr. E. B. H. Panton.
Mr. C. H. Bompas.	Mr. C. F. Payne, I.C.S.
C. J. Stevenson Moore.	Surg.-General W. H. B. Robinson.
T. C. P. Gibbons.	Mr. W. C. Wordsworth.
L. S. S. O'Malley, L.C.S.	Mr. F. A. A. Cowley.

**Nominated Non-officials—8.**

Nawab Sir Asif Qudr Saiyid Wasif Ali Mirza Khan Bahadur, K.C.V.O. of Murshidabad.  
Sir Rajendra Nath Mukharji, K.C.I.B.  
Mr. James Mackenzie.  
Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar.  
Raja Hrishikesh Laha, C.I.B.  
Mr. J. W. H. Hutchinson.  
Mr. W. H. Heton Arden Wood, C.I.B.  
Mr. Aminur Rahman.

**Elected—27.**

Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter.	Maulvi Abdul Kasem.
Babu Sib Narayan Mukharji.	Maulvi Abdul Kasem Fazlul-Haq.
Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray.	Mr. Ashrafali Khan Choudhuri.
Babu Brajendra Kishor Ray Chudhuri.	Khan Sahib Aman Ali.
Babu Arun Chandra Singh.	Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray.
Dr. Sir Debaj Prosad Sarbadhikari,	Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra.
Rai Radhacharan Pal Bahadur.	Mr. Altaf Ali.
Mr. F. W. Carter, C.I.B.	Rai Sri Nath Ray.
Mr. Walker Erskine Cram, O.B.E.	Babu Akhil Chandra Datta.
Rai Debendra Chandra Ghosh Bahadur.	Babu Surendra Nath Ray.
Mr. Ernest Bruce Eden.	Babu Mohendra Nath Ray.
Mr. H. R. A. Irwin.	Babu Kshirod Bihari Datta.
Dr. Abdulla-al-Mamum, Suhrawardy.	Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri.
	Mr. Ambika Charan Marumdar.



## Secretariat

<i>Chief Secretary to Government,</i>	J. H. Kerr, C.I.E.
<i>Secretary, Revenue Department,</i>	L. Birley, C.I.E.
<i>Secretary, General Department,</i>	L. S. S. O'Malley.
<i>Secretary, Financial Department,</i>	J. Donald, C.I.E.
<i>Acting Secretary to the Council and</i>	
<i>Secretary Legislative Department,</i>	A. M. Hutchison.
<i>Secretary to Government, Public</i>	
<i>Works Department, and Chief</i>	
<i>Engineer,</i>	C. P. Walsh.
<i>Under Secretary to Government,</i>	
<i>Public Works Department (Civil</i>	
<i>Buildings Branch),</i>	G. A. Easson.

## Board of Revenue.

*Member, Charles James Stevenson-Moore.*

## The Government of U. P.

## Administration.

*Lieutenant-Governor, The Hon. Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler K.C.S.I.*  
C.I.E. Appointed 15th February 1918.  
*Private Secretary, T. Lister, I.C.S.*

## LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

*President, The Lieutenant-Governor.*  
*Vice-President, J. M. Holms, C.S.I.*

## Members—45.

Nawab Muhammad Musammil-Ullah Khan, of Bhikampur.	Henry Mayne Reid Hopkyns.
Kunwar Aditya N. Singh, of Benares.	Sidney Reginald Daniels, I.C.S.
Frederick James Pert.	Tara Dat Gairoall.
Raja Sir Mahammad Tasadduk Rasool Khan, K.C.S.I.	Pandit Jagat Narayan.
Nawab Mumtaz-ud-daula.	Lala Madhusudan Dayal.
Sir Muhammad F. Ali Khan, K.C.I.E.	Munshi N. P. Ashthana,
K.C.V.O., C.S.I., of Pahasu.	Moti Lal Nehru.
Mr. Ludovic Charles Porter, C.S.I., C.I.E.	Rai Sadanand Pande Bahadur.
S. H. Fremantle.	Maharaja Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh
Samuel Perry O'Donnell, I.C.S.	K.C.I.E. of Balrampur.
Atul Chandra Chatterji, I.C.S.	Raja Kushalpal Singh.
	Rai Ashthuja Prasad Bahadur.
	Saiyid Raza Ali.
	Rai Shankar Sahai Sahab.

Michael Keane, I.C.S.  
 George Gall Sim, I.C.S.  
 Herbert Morton Willmott.  
 Rai Janaki Prasad Bahadur.  
 Col. C. Mactaggart, C.I.E., I.M.S.  
 C. F. de la Fosse.  
 F. Mackinnon.  
 H. R. C. Hailey.  
 H. C. Ferard.  
 W. E. Crawshaw.  
 Rai Anand Sarup Bahadur.  
 James Rae Pearson, C.I.E.

Radha Kishan Das.  
 C. Y. Chintamani.  
 Gokaran Nath Misra.  
 Sukbir Singh.  
 Raja Chandra Chur Singh.  
 Raja Moti Chand.  
 Nawab Mubammad Abdul Majid.  
 A. W. Ward.  
 Thomas Smith.  
 Saiyid Al-i-Nabi Khan Bahadur.  
 Sayid Wazir Hasan.

Secretariat.

*Chief Secretary to Government,*  
*Financial Secretary to Government,*  
*Judicial Secretary to Government,*  
*Secretary to Government, Public*  
*Works Dept. (Buildings & Roads,*  
*& Railways),*  
*Secretary to Government, Public*  
*Works Dept. (Irrigation),*  
 Registrars,

A. C. Chatteji, I.C.S..  
 G. G. Sim, I.C.S.  
 M. Keane, I.C.S.

H. M. Willmott.

G. T. Barlow, C.I.E., (on leave); Officiating A.W.E., Standley.  
 F. E. Lowe, A. Grant, A. M. Jelly,  
 F. C. Richardson, C. St. L. Teyen  
 and F. L'E. Phipps.

Board of Revenue.

Members, J. M. Holms, C.S.I., J. S. Campbell. C.S.I., C.I.E.

## The Government of Punjab.

Administration.

*Lieutenant-Governor*, Sir Edward Maclagan.

Personal Staf.

*Private Secretary*, Lieut.-Col, E. C. Bayley C.I.E., I.A.  
*Honorary Aides-de-camp*, Lieut.-Col. W. T. Wright, Hony. Capt. Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Hon. Capt. Surja, and Hon. Capt. Bishan Singh.

Legislative Council.

*President*, The Lieutenant-Governor.

## Members.

## Nominated—15.

S J. Maynard, C.S.I., I.C.S.

Secy. Aikman.

Secy. Lumsden, I.C.S.

Acting Secy.

Secy. Craik, I.C.S.

Secy. Townsend, I.C.S.

Works Secy. Mac Watt

Engineer Mac Watt

Under Secy.

Public

Buildg. Swarhar Lal Bhargava.

Sardar Bhagat Ram.

Sayad Makhdum Rajan Shah.

Dewan Bahadur Dewan Daulat Rai.

Bakhsi Sohan Lal of Lahore.

Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh.

Khwahjah Yusuf Shah, Khan Bahadur.

Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das, C.I.E.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narayan.

Nawab Sir Bahram Khan.

E. W. Parker.

Sardar Gopal Singh.

## Elected—11.

Malik Muhammad Amin Khan of Shamsabad.

Chaudhri Lal Chand.

Khan Sahib Mirza Ikram Ullah Khan.

Khan Bahadur Sayad Mehdi Shah.

Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Husain.

## Secretariat.

J. P. Thompson, I.C.S.

H. D. Craik, I.C.S.

O. F. Lumsden.

James Alfred Weston.

Chief Secretary,

Revenue Secretary,

Financial Secretary,

Registrar,

## Public Works Department.

## Irrigation Branch.

Secretaries, F. W. Woods ; W. F. Holms.

## Buildings and Roads Branch.

Secretary, D. V. Aikman, C.I.E.

## Revenue Department.

Financial Commissioners,

H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., on leave,  
and P. J. Fagan, I.C.S.

Director of Agriculture and Industries,

C. A. H. Townsend B.A., I.C.S.

Director of Land Record, Inspector-General of Registration and Registrar-General,

D. J. Boyd.

## The Government of Burma.

## Administration.

Lieutenant-Governor,

Private Secretary,

Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I.

Major W. L. Meade, I.A.

*Aide-de-Camp,*  
*Honorary Aide-de-Camp,*  
*Indian Aides-de-Camp,*

Lt. L. C. Graves.  
Lt. Col. J. L. W. French-Mullen, C.I.B.  
Hon. Capt. Muzaffar Khan,  
*Sardar Bahadur.*  
Hon. Capt. Amar Singh,  
*Rai Bahadur.*  
Subadar Maung Aung Bwin.

**Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor.**

**Officials—5.**

W. J. Keith. Walter Francis Rice. H. Thompson. Charles M. Webb,  
I.C.S. C. H. Wollaston.

**Non-Officials—10.**

Dr. Nasarwanji Nowroji Parakh. Francis Foster Goodliffe.  
Lim Chin Tsong. Maung Po Tha.  
Sir Sao Mawng, C.I.B. Dr. San Crombie Po, M.D.  
Abdul Karim Abdul Shakur Jamal, E. O. Anderson.  
C.I.B. J. E. Du Bern.  
Maung Nyun.

**Secretariat.**

*Chief Secretary,* W. F. Rice, C.S.I., I.C.S.  
*Revenue Secretary,* W. J. Keith.  
*Secretary, P. W. D.,* C. H. Wollaston.  
*Officiating Joint Secretary, P. W. D.,* B. M. Samuelon, C.I.B.  
*Financial Commissioner,* H. Thompson.  
*Senior Registrar,* S. C. Buttery.

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## The Government of Bihar & Orissa

**Administration.**

*Lieutenant-Governor,*

Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.B.  
Assumed charge of office, 19th November 1915.

**Personal Staff.**

*Private Secretary,*  
*Aid-de-Camp,*

J. C. B. Drake, I.C.S.  
W. S. Hitchcock.

*Honorary Aides-de-Camp,*

Hon. Capt. Sardar Bahadur Hira Singh. Subadar Major Sita Ram Singh. Major A. T. Peppe and Major J. A. M. Wilson.

**Executive Council.**

Havilland Le Mesurier, C.S.I., C.I.E., Walter Maude, C.S.I.  
Saiyid Sharf-ud-din. I.C.S. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Tempy-  
Member.

**Legislative Council**

*President,*

The Lieutenant-Governor.

**Ex-Officio.**

The Members of the Executive Council.

**Nominated.**

**Officials—19.**

C. E. A. William Oldham.  
J. G. Jennings.  
J. F. Grunning.  
Hugh Mopherson.  
Blanchard Foley.  
Lt.-Col. J. C. S. Vaughan.  
Stoner Forrest.  
F. Clayton.

E. G. Stanley.  
Edward Lister. I.C.E.  
James David Sifton, C.J.S.  
Robert Thomas Dundas, C.I.E.  
T. S. Macpherson.  
Donald Weston.  
Col. G. J. Hamilton Bell.

**Non-Officials—4.**

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravanewar Prasad Singh K.C.I.E.  
Rai Bahadur Nishi Kanta Sen. Madhu Sudan Das, C.I.E.  
Rev. A. Campbell, D.D.

**Elected—21**

Raja Harihar Parshad Narayan Singh. Bishnu Prasad.  
Babu Maheshwar Parshad. Dwarka Nath Rai Bahadur.  
Kirtanand Singh. Lachmi Prasad Singha.  
Babu Ganesh Lal Pandit, Braja Sundar Das.  
Kumar Thakurai G. Prasad Singh. Sharat Chand Sen.  
Julian Veitch Jameson. Purnendu Narayan Singh.  
Moulvi Saiyid Nurul Hasan. Adit Prashad Singha.  
Saiyid Ahmad Husain. Kumar Sivnandan Persad Singh.  
Robert Middleton Watson Smyth. Babu Gopabandhu Das.  
Saiyid Muhammad Naim. Shyam Krishna Salay.  
Khwaja Muhammad Nur.

**Secretariat.**

*Chief Secretary to Government,  
Political, Appoin tment, and Edu-  
cational Department,*

H. Mcpherson.

<i>Secretary to Government, Financial and Municipal Department,</i>	J. D. Sifton.
<i>Secretary to Government Revenue Department,</i>	E. Lster, C.I.E.,
<i>Secretary to Government (P, W, D), Irrigation Branch,</i>	F. Clayton.
<i>Buildings and Roads Branch,</i>	E.G. Stanley.

**Board of Revenue,**

*Member, E. H. C. Walsh.*

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## The Government of C. P.

### Administration.

*Chief Commissioner, Sir. B. Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., I.C.S., L.L.D.,*  
apptd. 3rd Aug. 1912.

*Personal Assistant, Capt. P. H. Champion.*

*Chief Secretary, The Hon'ble Cecil Upton Wills, I.C.S.*

*Second Secaetary, The Hon'ble Mr. H. C. Gowan, I.C.S.*

*Third Secretary, The Hon'ble Mr. J. F. Dyer, I.C.S.*

*Legal Secretary, The Hon'ble Mr. C. S. Findlay, I.C.S.*

*Under Secretaries, Mr. N. J. Roughton, I.C.S. and Mr. A. Macleod, I.C.S.*

*Registrar, C. E. Higher, (on special duty) R. W. Hart, Officiating Registrar.*

*Secretary, Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch), The Hon'ble. Mr. A.J. Wadley ; (Roads and Buildings), Col. J.P. Blakeway, C.M.G., R.E.*

*Financial Commissioner, The Hon'ble Mr. H. A. Crump., C.S.I., I.C.S.*

*Officiating Financial Commissioner, The Hon'ble Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.*

### Barar.

*Commissioner, The Hon'ble Mr. B. P. Standen, C.I.E., I.C.S.*

### Members of Council.

#### Nominated Members.

#### Officials—11.

Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.	Sir James Fergu, Son Dyer, I.C.S.
Bertram prior Standen, C.I.E. I.C.S.	Col. C.R. M. Green, M.D.
Sir Cecil Upton Wills.	Mr. Arthur Innes Mayhew.
Sir Alfred John Wadley.	Hyde Clarendon Gowan.
Sir C. C. Hughes Hallett.	George Paris Dick.
Charles Stewart Findlay, I.C.S.	

## Non-Officials—4.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Muhammad Salamullah Khan, C.I.E.  
 Mr. Sorabji Bezonji Mehta.  
 Rai Bahadur Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Kt., C.I.E.  
 Rao Bahadur Madho Rao Ganesh Deshpande.

## Elected Members—10.

The Hon'ble Mr. Moreswar Rao Dixit, B.A., Bar.-at-Law.	Rai Sahib Cullianji Murarji Thackar, Bar.-at-Law.
Rao Bahadur Narayan Rao Kelkar.	Mr. Seohar Raghubir Singh.
Mr. Pyare Lal Misra.	Mr. Shripad Balvant Tambe.
Mr. Manoharpant Krishnarao Golwal- kar.	Rao Sahib Ramchandra Vishnu Mahajani.
Rai Sahib Govind Lal Purohit.	Mr. Yeshwant Govind Deshpande.

## The Government of Assam.

## Administration.

*Chief Commissioner*, The Hon. Mr. Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell, C.S.I.,  
C.I.E., appointed 1st April 1918.  
*Personal Asst.*, Captain W. Lowry-Corry, I.A.  
*Chief Secretary*, J. E. Webster, C.I.E.  
*Second Secretary*, A. W. Botham.  
*Secretary, Public Works Department*, F. E. Bull.  
*Inspector General of Registration*, W. L. Scott, I.C.S.  
*Judges*, Abdul Majid on leave, Henry Crawford Lidell.  
*Director of Public Instruction*, J. R. Cunningham.  
*Inspector General of Police*, Lt.-Col. D. Herbert.  
*Sanitary Commissioner*, Major T. C. M. Young, M. B., I.M.S.  
*Comptroller, Financial Department*, Philip Gordon Jacob, B.A.  
*Political Agent in Manipur*, W. A. Cosgrave, I.C.S.  
*Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs*, Abdul Majid, B.A.  
*Director of Land Records and Agriculture*, J. Mcswiney.  
*Chief Inspector of Factories*, L. H. Taffis.

## Legislative Council.

## Nominated Members—13

Lieut.-Col. P. R. T. Gordon.	Rajendra Narayan Chaudhuri.
A. W. Botham, C.I.E.	Rai Nalini Kanta Ray Dastidar.
Lieut.-Colonel D. Herbert.	Munsni Riaz Bakash.

J. R. Cunningham. M.A.  
Abdul Majid.  
F. E. Bull.  
A. B. Hawkins.

Col. H. E. Banatwala.  
J. E. Webster.  
A. Mellor.

Elected Members—11.

Rai Ghanasyam Barua.	Babu Radha Binod Das.
Maulvi Abdul Majid, Khan Bahadur.	Mr. R. St. J. Hickman.
Maulvi Saiyid Muhammad Sadulla,	M. Bakat Mazumdar. Khan Bahadur.
Phanidhar Chandar Rai Bahadur,	Mr. H. Miller.
Mr. Tarun Ram Phukan.	Mr. Walter Mason.
Ramani Mohan Das.	

## The Indian Judiciary.

### High Court of Judicature, Bengal.

#### Judges of the High Court.

*Chief Justice—*

Hon. Sir Lancelot Sanderson, *Kt*, K.C.

*Puisne Judges—*

Hon. Sir J. G. Woodroffe, M.A. B.C.L, bar-at-law  
 „ Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, *Kt*, C.S.I, M.A, D.L.  
 „ Sir C. W. Chitty, B.A, bar-at-law.  
 „ Sir E. E. Flectchar, bar-at-law.  
 „ Nalini Ranjan Chatterji, M.A. B.L.  
 „ W. Teunon, I.C.S.  
 „ Sir T. W. Richardson, I.C.S, bar-at-law  
 „ Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri, M.A, bar-at-law  
 „ C. P. Beachcroft, I.C.S. offg.  
 „ E. Greaves, bar-at-law  
 „ H. Walmsley  
 „ R. B. Newbould  
 „ Sir Syed Shamas-ul-Huda  
 „ G. C. Rankin  
 „ E. B. H. Panton

*Advt. genl*, Hon. T. C. P. Gibbons, bar-at-law

*Standing counsel*. S. R. Das, bar-at-law. offg

*Remembrancer of legal affairs*, H. P. Duval, I.C.S.

*Govt. solctr*, Hon. C. H. Kesteven

*Senr. Govt. pleader*. Ram Charan Mittra

*Offl. trustee and administrator genl, Bengal*, Alex. Kinney (offg.)

*Offl. assigne*, G. M. Falkner, Bar-at-law

*Regtr.* J. H. Hechle



*Master and offl. referee*, N. Chatterji, bar-at-law  
*Regtr. in insolvency and in prize*, M. Remfry  
*Offl. recvr.*, K. K. Shelley Bonerjee, bar-at-law  
*Clk. of the Crown for criminal. sess.*, W. A. Bonnaud Bar-at-law

### High Court of Judicature, Madras.

*Chief Justice*, Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, M. A., bar-at-law.

*Puisne Judges—*

Hon. Sir W. B. Ayling, *Kt*, I.C.S.  
 „ F. Du Pre, Oldfield, I.C.S.  
 „ T. Sadasiva Aiyar, M.L., Diwan Bahdur.  
 „ C. G. Spencer, I.C.S.  
 „ V. M. Coutts Trotter, bar-at-law  
 Hon. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar, B.A., B.L.  
 „ J. H. Bakewell, LL.B. (Cantab), bar-at-law  
 on lve.  
 „ W. W. Phillips.

*Tempy. Addtl. Judges—*

„ C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, B.A., B.L., Diwan Bahdur.  
 „ C. F. Napier, bar-at-law  
 „ C. Krishnan, offg.

*Advte.-genl* Hon. S. Brinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., B.L.

*Regtr. high ct.*, C. G. Mackay, M.A., I.C.S.

*Depy. regtr. cummsr. and taxing offr.*, *Original side ; and chf. clk.*, *Insolvency ct.*, J. R. Atkinson, attny. at-law.

*Depy. regtr. Appellate side*, G. S. White, solctr,

*Govt. Solctr.*, H. Bright-well.

*Crown prosecr.*, J. C. Adam, bar-at-law, on other duty ; C. S. Smith, actg.

*Govt. pleader*, C. F. Napier, bar-at-law, on other duty ; V. Ramasami, B.A., B.L.  
 Actg.

*Public prosecr.*, E. R. Osborne, actg.

*Admstr. genl. and offl. erustee*, C. E. Odgers, M.A., B.C.L.

### High Court of Judicature—Bombay

*Chief Justice*, Hon. Sir Basil Scott, *Kt*, M.A. (Oxon.), bar-at-law

*Puisne Judges—*

Hon. Sir Frank Clement Offley Beaman, *Kt*, I.C.S.

„ „ Sir Joseph John Heaton, *Kt*, I.C.S.

„ „ Lallubhai Asharam Shah, M.A., LL.B.

„ „ A. B. Marten, M.A., LL.D. bar.-at-law

„ „ M. H. Weston Hayward, LL.B., bar.-at-law

„ „ A. M. A. Kajji, B.A., LL.B., bar.-at-law, actg.

*Advate.-genl.*, Hon. Thomas Strangman, bar.-at-law

*Solctr. to Govt. and public prosecr.* Hon. E. F. Nicholson, J.P.

*Admstr.-genl. and offl. trustee*, J. S. Slater, B.A., bar.-at-law

*Reporter*, W. L. Weldon, B.A., LL.B., bar-at-law  
*Prothonotary, testamentary and admiralty regtr.*, A. M. A. Kajiji,  
 B.A., LL.B., bar-at-law, J.P.  
*Master and regtr. in equity*, H. H. Wadia, B.A.  
*Ck. of the crown*, Henry Campbell, bar-at-law  
*Official assignee*, B. N. Lang, B.A., LL.B., bar-at-law  
*Sheriff*, Hon. Mahomed Hajeebhoy

**HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE—United Provinces.**

*Chf. Justice*, Hon. Sir Henry G. Richards, *Kt.* K.C., K.C.B.E.,  
*Puisne judges*—  
 Hon. Sir G. E. Knox, *Kt.* LL.D., J.P., I.C.S.  
 „ Sir P. C. Banerji, *Kt.* B.A., B.L., J.P.  
 „ W. Tudball, J.P., I.C.S.  
 „ Muhammad Rafiq, bar-at-law, J.P.  
 „ T. C. Piggot, J.P., I.C.S.  
 „ C. Walsh, K.C., bar-at-law, M.A., J.P.  
*Regtr.*, C. L. M. Smith  
*Depy. regtr.*, E. P. Blanchet  
*Asst. regtr.*, S. E. J. Mills.  
*Legal remembrancer*, S. R. Daniels, J.P. I.C.S. Hon. D. R. Lyle, (*Actg.*)  
*Govt. advt.*, A. E. Ryves, B.A., bar-at-law.  
*Asst. govt. advt.*, R. Malcomson  
*Law reporter*, W. K. Porter, bar-at-law.  
*Asst. law reporter*, J. M. Banerjee, bar-at-law.  
*Govt. pleader*, Lalit Mohan Banerjee, M.A., LL.D.

**JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER'S COURT, OUDH—Lucknow.**

*Judl. commsr.*, B. Lindsay, I.C.S., on dejn ; L. Stuart, I.C.S. offg.  
*1st addtl. judl. commsr.*, Rai Bahdr. Kanhaiya Lal M.A., LL.B., offg.  
*2nd addtl. judl. commsr.*, S. R. Daniels, I.C.S., offg.  
*Regtr.*, C. H. Cordeux, B.A., bar-at-law.

**CHIEF COURT—Punjab.**

*Chf. Judge*—Hon. Justice H. A. B. Rattigan, bar-at-law.  
*Judges*—  
 Hon. W. Chevis, I. C. S.  
 „ H. Scott Smith, I.C.S.  
 „ Justice Shadi Lal  
 „ W. A. LeRossignol, I.C.S.  
*Tempy. adtl. judges.*  
 „ L. R. Leslie-Jones, I.C.S.  
 „ A. B. Broadway  
 „ S. Wilberforce.  
 „ C. Bevan-Petman, B.A., bar-at-law.

*Regtr.*, J. A. Ferguson, M.A.

*Depty. regtr.*, H. B. Gillmore

*Asst. regtr.*, A. D. Grindal

#### Law Dept.

*Legal remembncr.*, Hon. T. P. Ellis, M.A., I.C.S.

*Asst. legal remembncr.*, H A. Herbert, advte.

*Supdt.*, E. Samuel.

*Hd. clk.* Pt. Premnath.

### HIGH COURT—Bihar and Orissa, Patna.

*Chief Just.*, Hon. Sir Thomas Fredrick P. Dawson Miller, *Kt.*, bar-at-law, K.C.  
*Judges*—

Hon. E. P. Champan, I.C.S. on furlo

„ B. K. Mullick, I.C.S.

„ F. R. Roe, I.C.S.

Hon. Cecil Atkinson, K.C.

„ Jawala Prasad

„ Sir Ali Imam, bar.-at-law (on depn).

„ P. C. Manuk, bar.-at-law (offg)

„ W. S. Coutts. C.I.E., I.C.S, bart.-at-law, actg.

„ P. R. Das, M.A., bar-at-law.

*Legal remembncr.* Hon. T. S. Macpherson. I.C.S.

*Addtl legal remembncr.* F. G. Rowland, I.C.S.

*Govt. advte.*, Sultan Ahmad, bar.-at-law.

*Asst. govt. advte.*, Manahar Lal, bar-at-law.

*Govt. pleader*, Khan Bahdr. Saiyid Fakhruddin, B.L.,

*Registrar*, W. S. Coutts, bar-at-law.

*Depty. Registrar*, Amrita Nath Mitra, M.A, B.L.

### JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER'S COURT—Cent. Province.

*Judl. commsr.*, Sir H. V. Drake-Brockman, *Kt.*, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), bar.-at-law, I.C.S., J.P.

*1st addtl. judl. commsr.*, J. K. Batten, I.C.S., J.P.

*2nd addtl. judl. commsr.*, Jyotis Chandra Mitra, bar-at-law

*3rd addtl. judl. commsr.*, F. W. A. Prideaux, U.C.S., J.P., bar-at-law

*Regtr. to judl. commsr.*, R. J. Jackson, J.P., I.C.S.

*Depty. regtr.*, Rao Saheb K. G. Parande.

#### Law Officers.

*Legal remembncr.*, Hon. C. S. Findlay M.A. (Edin), I.C.S., J.P.

*Govt. advte. and standing counsel*, Hon. G. P. Dick, C.I.E., bar.-at-law.

*Asst. legal remembncr.*, H, S. Munje, M.A., LLB.

# The Government of Native States.

## Travancore.

*Ruler*—H. H. SRI PADMANABHA DASA VANCHI SIR BALA RAMA  
VARMA KULASEKHARA KIRITAPATI MANI SULTAN MAHARAJA  
RAJA RAMMA RAJA BAHR. SHAMSHER JUNG, G.C.S.I.

G.C.I.E., F.M.U., M.R.A.S. F.R.G.S.,

Office de l' Instruction Publique.

### State Officers.

*Diwan*, Diwan Bahdr. M. Krishna Nair, B.A.B.L.      M.A., B.L. R. Krishna Pillai, B.A. B.L., and K. Narayanan. Pandulay, B.A. B.L.  
*Pte. secy. to Diwan*, K. Parameshwaran Pillai B.A. B.L.      *Asst. secs.* K. Venkata Row, S. Paraneswara Aiyer, M.A., B.L. T. P. Ramasubha Aiyar, B.A. and R. Ramalingam Aiyar, B.A.  
*Chf. Secy. to govt.* R. Mahadeva Aiyar, B.A.  
*Under secs.* M. Raja Raja Varma

### Legislative Council.

*Presdt.* Diwan Bahdr. M. Krishna Nair, B.A. B.L.      Rai Bahdr. K. V. Rangaawamy Iyengar, B.A. profsr. of history and economics; and John Kurian, B.A. B.C.B. ex. engr.  
*Offl. members.* R. Mahadwa Iyer, B.A. chf. secy. to govt; V. Subba Aiyar, B.A. B.L. addtl. head sirkar vakil; N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M.A. senr. Diwan peisbkar;      *Non. offl. members* R. Govinda Menon, B.A; M. Subramania Pillai. K. A. Krishna Iyengar, B.A. B.L; R. Gopal Pillai, B.A. B.L. K. Parameswara Pillai, B.A. B.L; Paul Daniel, M.A. L.T; and J. A. Richardson Secy K. Narayanan Pandalai, B.A. B.L.  
N. Rajaram Rai, B.A.; I. C. Chacko, B.A. B.S.C. state geologist; N. Raman Pillay, B.A. excise. commsr;

### High Court.

*Offl. chf. justice. High ct.*, K. Iyengar, B.A. B.L. H. S. Chatfield. Raman Menon, B.A. B.L. bar-at-law. B.A. bar-at-law, and P. Cheriyian.  
*Puisne judges.* R. Veraghava B.A. B.L.

# Bikaner.

**Ruler :—**MAJ.-GENL. H. H. MAHARAJAH RAJ RAJESHWAR NARENDRA  
SHIROMANI SRI MAHARAJAH DHIRAJ SIR GANGA SINGHJI  
BAHADUR, G.C.S.I, G.C.I.E. K.C.B, A.D.C, LL.D

**Heir-Apparent :—**MAHARAJ KUMAR LIEUT SRI SADUL SINGHJI  
BAHADUR

*Ptc. secy.*, to H. H. Pyare Kishen Wattal, M.A. F.R.E.S. F.S.S  
*Mily. secy.*, Lt.-col. Kanwar Baney Singh of Motasar (hony. a.-d.-c. to H. H.)

## State Administration.

### *Mokhma Khas*

*Vice-presdt. and pol. member of the State council*, Col. Maharaj Sri  
Sir Bhairun Singhji Bahdr, K.C.S.I.

*Ordinary member, State council*, Rao Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Reri.

*Home member, State council*, Rai Bahdr. B. Kamta Prasad, B.A.

*Reve. & fince. member, State council* G. D. Rudkin, I.C.S.

*Public wks. member of the State council*, Lt.col. Rao Bahdr. Thakur  
Sadul Singh of Bagsen.

*Mily. member, State council*, Rao Bahdr. Bgdr-Genl. Thakur Hari  
Singh of Sattasar, O.B.E.

*Hony. member, State council*, Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Mahajan.

*Personl. asst. reve. & fince. member*, Maharaj Sri Pirthisinghji Sahib.

*Secy. legtve. dept*, Dwarka Singh, B.A.

*Addtl. secy, legtve. dept*, D. M. Nanavati, B.A, LL.B.

*Secy, reve. & fince, dept*, B. Mathura Prasad, B.A.

*Secy. State council*, B. Naunehal Singh, B.A.

## Members of the Legislative Assembly.

Col. Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairun Singhji Bahdr, K.C.S.I ;

Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Mahajan ;

Rawat Man Singh of Rawatsar ;

Maj. Maharaj Sri Narayan Singhji Sahib,

Maharaj Sri Pirthi Singhji Sahib,

Rao Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Reri ;

Rao Bahdr. Rao Jeoraj Singh of Pugal ;

Thakur Bijey Singh of Sankhu ;

Thakur Sadul Singh of Jasana ;

Rao Bahdr, Thakur Kishen Singh of Raslana ;

Bgdr.-Genl, Rao Bahdr. Thakur Hari Singh of Sattasar, O.B.E.;  
Lt.-col. Rao Bahdr. Thakur Sadul Singh of Bagsen.  
Thakur Nawal Singh of Magrasar ;  
Rai Bahdr. Kamta Prasad, B.A ;  
D. M. Nanavati, B.A, LL.B ;  
G. D. Rudkin, I.C.S ;  
Rai Bahdr. Seth Bisheshwar Dass Daga of Bikaner ;  
Seth Chand Mal Dhadda, C.I.E ;  
Seth Ram Rattan Dass of Bagri ;  
Seth Tola Ram Surana of Churu ;  
Seth Jawahir Mal Khemka of Ratangarh ;  
Seth Jagan Nath Thirani of Nohar ;  
Seth Sahib Ram Sarraf of Hanunagarh ;  
Pt. Jiwan Ram Harsha,  
Prohit Bakhtawar Singh,  
Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim.  
Munshi Fateh Singh,  
B. Nihal Singh,  
K. Rustomji, M.A ;  
Pyare Kishen Wattal, M.A, F.R.E.S, F.S.S ;  
L. P. Lajoie,  
B. Nehal Chud.  
Thakur Bhur Singh.  
Pt. Bisheshwar Nath.  
Seth Shiva Ratan Mohta.  
Seth Ram Prasrd Jagadhia of Sujangarh ;  
Seth Ganesh Dass Dadhanja of Sar darshahr ;  
Seth Gurmuk Rai Lahari-wala of Rajgarh ;  
Seth Likhmi Chand Nahta of Bhadra ;  
Rai Bahdr. Seth Hazari Mal of Dudhewala ;  
Rai Bahdr. Seth Ram Chandra Mantra of Rani ;  
Chowdhari Jagmal Saran of Ganeshgarh ;  
Chowdhari Bhai Uttam Singh of Samandnagar.  
Seth Daulat Ram Bhadani of Sri Dungargarh.

**Chief Court.**

*Chf. judge.* B. Nihal Singh.  
*Second judge.* Munshi Fateh Singh.  
*Third judge.* Sk. Mohammed Ibrahim.  
*Regtr* Munshi Mohammed Ab-dullah, B.A.

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# Gwalior.

*Ruler* :—H. H. MAHARAJA MUKHTAR-UL-MULK, AZIM-UL-IQTIDAR, RAFI-  
 USH-SHAN, WALA SHIKOH, MOHATASHAM-I-DAURAN, UMADAT-UL-UMARA,  
 MAHARAJADIRAJA, HISAM-US-SALTANAT, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR  
 MADHAVA RAO SCINDIA, ALIJAH BAHADUR, SRINATH, MANSUR-I-  
 ZAMAN, FIDWI-I-HAZARAT-MALIK-I-MUAZZAM-I-RAFI-UD-  
 DARAJA-I-INGLISTAN, G. C. S. I., G. C. V. O., A. D. C. To  
 H. M. THE KING-EMPEROR, LL.D. (Camb.) &  
 (Edn.), D.C.L. (Oxon.), PRO-CHANCELLOR,  
 BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

*Pte. secy*, Lt.-col Dwarkanath Shankar Wagle. *Master of ceremonies*, Lt.-col. Sardar Yadao Rao Ghorpare, Feroj  
*Persnl. asst*, Pt. Sheo Bakhsh *peshi offr.*, Syed Jung, on lve, Capt. Sadashiv Rao  
 Mohammad Ali. *Regtr.* B. Sri Ram, Phaednis, offg  
 B.A.

## Administration.

### Majlis-khas.—Council.

*Presdt.* H. H. the Maharaja Scindia, *Ex-officio Members*, Sirdar Lt.-col. Appaji Rao Shitole Anklikar, c.i.e. Amir-ul-Umara Member for Reve and Agri; Shrimant Sadashiv Rao Khashe Saheb Pawar, Home member; Lt.-col. Kailas Narain Haksar, B.A. c.i.e.; Mashir-i-Khas Bahdr. Political member; Sardar Sahaibzada Sultau Ahmad Khan, Muntazim-ud-Doula, M.A. LL.M. (Cantab.), bar-at-law, Member of Muncplty. Appeals; Yashvant Govind Apte, B.A., L.M. & S, Finance Member; Abdul Karim Khan, M.A. (Allhd.), B.A. (Cantab.), bar-at-law. Member for law and justice; Col. G. R. Rajwade, inspr.-genl. Gwalior army and ex-officio army member; Rai Badur. Munshi Gajpat Rai Muntazim Bahadur Member of trade, custom and excise; and H. M. Bull, M.A. (Cantab) Member of Educn. and

### Extra Members.

Sardar Lt.-col. Sir Michael Filose. Scindia, Madar-ul-Moham, c.v.o.;  
 K.C.I.E., K.S.S.; Sardar Rao Raja Mir Aun Ali, bar-at-law; Rao Bahdr  
 Raghunath Rao Dinkar Mashir-i- Raoji Janardau Bhide, B.A.; Munta-  
 Khas Bahdr, Madar-ul-Moham, c.i.e.; zim Bahdr, and Rao Bahdr, Shiram  
 Sardar Balwant Rao Bhariya sahib Sundar Lal., B.A., C.I.E., F.A.U., on lve.

# Baroda.

*Ruler* :—H. H. FARZAND-I-KHAS-I-DAULAT-I-INGLISHIA MAHARAJA  
SIR SAYAJI RAO, GAEKWAR SENA KHAS KHEL  
SHAMSHER BAHADUR, G.C.S.I

*Dewan*, Manubhai N. Mehta, Shrimant Ganpatrao Gaekwar, Bar.-  
M.A., LL.B. at-law; Vinayakrao Yadavrao  
*Naib-Dewans*. Dewan Bahdr. Vanikar, M.A.

## Executive Council.

*Presdt*, Manubhai N. Mehta, at-law; Vinayakrao Yadavrao  
M.A., LL.B. Vanikar, M.A. & Anant Narayan  
*Councillors* :—Dewan Bahdr. Datar, A.M. (Col.)  
Shrimant Ganpatrao Gaekwar, Bar.

## Legislative Council.

*Presdt* :—Manubhai Nandshankar  
Mehta, Esq. M.A., LL.B. Dewan.

*Members, ex-officio*, Dewan  
Bahadur Shrimant Ganpatrao Gaek-  
war, Bar-at-law, naib-dewan, Nyaya-  
bhag; Vinayakrao Yadavrao Vanikar,  
M.A., naib-dewan. Mulki bhage,  
Ganesh Balwant Ambegaoker, M.A.,  
LL.B., legal remembner; and Guna-  
jirao Rojaba Nimbalker, B. A. Sar  
Suba.

*Nominated ex-officio*, Khasherao  
Bhagwantrao Jadhav, Esq., settlemt.  
commsr; Col. O. D. Rigg, offg' genl  
comdg. Baroda Army; A. B. Clarke,  
R.A. edctl. commsr; Anant Narayan  
Datar, B.A., LL.B., A.M., (Columbia),  
acctt, genl; & R. B. Govindbhai  
Hathibhai Desai, B.A., LL.B. & F.R.A.,  
joint Sar Suba, tho commissioner  
of excise commerce and agriculture.

*Non Offis*, Shrimant Dada Saheb  
Ukhajirao Gaekwar, Shrimant Ana-  
drao Yeshyantrao Raje Pandhre, Rao  
Bahdr. Hargovindas Dwarkada  
Kantawala, Girdharlal Dosabhai  
Parikh, B.A. LL.B., and Mohamadali  
Sharafali Horarwala, Sidhpur.

*Elected* :—*Baroda Dist.*, Varaj-  
bhai Patel, Kalidas Narandas Patel,  
and Lallubhai Naranbhai Patel.

*Kadi Dist.*, Mahasukhbhai Chunilal  
Sheth, Narayanji Chhanulal Dwivedi,  
and Prohaladji Shevakram.

*Naosari Dist.*, Nathubhai Gulab-  
bhai and Jamnadas Ghelabhai.

*Amreli Dist.*; Sundardas Narandas,  
Rao Bahadur, B.A. LL.B., J.P. solctr.  
and notary public.



# The Nizam's Dominions—Hydrabad.

*Ruler*:—H. H. ASAFJAH MUZAFFARUL-MAMALIC NIZAM-UL-MULE  
NIZAM-UD-DAULA NAWAB MIR SIR UASMAN  
ALI, KHAN BAHADUR, FATEH  
JANG, G.O.S.I.

*Prime ministr*  
*Peshkar*, Raja Rajayan Raja Sir  
Kishen Pershad Maharaja Bahadr,  
Yamini-us-Sultanath, G.O.I.E  
*Ddeptl. ministr.*—  
Nawab Safdar Jung Mushtr-ud-  
Dowla Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Bahdr, police,

postal, and edctl, depts; R. I. R.  
Glancey, i.c.s, fince. dept; Moulvi  
Mohd. Anvarulla Khan Bahdr,  
ecclesiastical dept; Mahd. Waliuddin,  
Khan Saheb, mily dept; Mir Tilavat  
Ali, Khan Sahib Sahibzada, B.A.P.,  
M.D. muncepl. and medl. depts

## Cabinet Council.

*Presdt*—The Nizam,

*Members*—Nawab Fakhr-ul-Mulk. Bahdr ;  
Moulvi Mohd, Anvarulla Khan Bahdr ;  
Mahd. Waliuddin Khan Sahib.

*Secy.* Mirsa Nazir Beg.

*Asst. Secy.* Abdul Farah Syed Yusuf Hussainy.

## Legislative Council.

*Presdt*—The NIZAM.

*Vice-presdt*, Nawab Md. Vali-  
uddin Khan Bahdr, Judl. Minister.

*Offl. members*, Syed Md. Ghulam  
Jabbar, chf. justice; M. A. N. Hydari  
B.A. Secy, judl, police and genl. depts;  
Rao Bahdr. G. Krishnamachariar, B.A,  
B.L, secy, legtve. dept; Fasiuddin  
Ahmed Khan Sayeb, Secy, reve, dept;  
Sayed Mehdi Hassan Bilgrami, M.A.  
P. W. D. secy.; Nawab Nazir Jung  
Bahdr., mily. secy; Khan Bahdr.  
Mirza Hyder Jivan Baig, puisne  
judge; Nawab Emad Jung Bahdr.  
police commsr; Dr. George Nundy.  
M.A. LL.D. inspr. genl. of regtn. and

stamps; and Rai Baijnath, M.A, LL.B.  
under-secy. legtve. dept.

*Non-offl. members.* Nawab Yasin  
Jung Bahdr, asst. Secy, Sarfi Khas  
dept; Mukdam Mohiuddin Saheb,  
Mir Majlis. Sir Kursheed Jah's paigah;  
Syed Abdulla Razir Saheb, Jagirdar  
Abdul Latif Khan Saheb, Jagirdar  
Pt. Gopal Rao, high ct, vakil; Sajja  
Ali Abbasi Sahib, high ct. vakil  
Inayet Hussain Khan Saheb, high ct  
vakil; Keshw Rao, high ct. vakil  
Murza Mahmood Ali Beg Saheb, high  
ct. vakil; Musiuddin Saheb, high ct.  
vakil; and Mahomed Asgar, B.A.,  
Bar-at-law.

# Mysore.

*Ruler* :—H. H. SIR SREE KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR, BAHADUR.  
G. C. S. I. MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

*Yuvaraja*, Sir Sri Kantirawa Narasimharaja Wadiydar Bahdr, G.C.I.E.  
Yuvaraja of Mysore.

*Dewan*, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, B.A., L.C.B., M. Inst. C.E., K.C.I.E., *Retd.*, 1919.  
R. D. M. Kantaraja Urs. *apptd.* 1919.

## The Council.

*Dewan & presdt. in Council*, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, B.A. L.C.B., M. Inst. C.E.,  
K.C.I.E. (*Retd.*). M. Kantaraja Urs. 1919.

*Extraordinary Member of Council*—Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja  
Wadiyar. Bahdr. G.C.I.E. Yuvaraja of Mysore, Pro-Chancellor of the  
Mysore University.

*Members of Council, 1st member*, Rajaseva Dhurina M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A.  
C.S.I.

*2nd member*, Albion Raj Kumar Banerji, M.A. I.C.S. C.I.E.

*Actg. 2nd member*, P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A. B.L.

## Legislative Council.

### Officials,—

Dewan Bahdr. J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., F.R.A.S.; C. S. Doraswami Iyer,  
B.A., B.L.; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A.; C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, B.A.; K.  
Chandy, B.A.; Srinivasacharya Cadambi, B.A. L.C.B. C. R. Reddy, M.A.; Mir.  
Humza Hussain. B.A. B.L.

*Non-offl. members*, Dewan Bahdr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty. C. I. E.;  
M. Chengaiya Chetty, B.A. Nawab Gulam Ahmad Kalami, M. Basava  
Iya, B.A., B.L.; B. Narasinga Rao, M. Karnik Krishnamurti Rao. C. Nara-  
simhaiya, B. A., B. L.; B. K. Garudachar, M. Venkata Thrishnaiya, B.  
Venkata Samanna, B.A., B.L.; S. Seetaramaiya, Rao Saheb H. Chennaiya and  
L. Srinivasa Iyengar.

## Secretariat.

### Secretaries—

C. S. Balasunderam Iyer, B.A.

B. Ramaswamaiya, B.A. B.L.

P. G. D'Souza, B.A., B.L., edcn. &  
agri. also secy. economic con-  
ference.

G. Aravamudu Iyengar, B.A., B.L,  
mazrai dept.

Diwan Bahdr. J. S. Chakravarti  
M.A. F.R.A.S. finance dept.

Srinivasacharya Cadambi, B.A., L.C.  
s. chf. P. W. D.

Rao Bahdr. K. Krishna Iyengar.  
B.A., I.C.E., rys agt, on spl.  
duty.

### Under secretaries—

T. E. Jayarama Iyer, B.A., B.L.

S. P. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.

N. Madhava Rao, B.A., B.L.

A. T. Ramanathan, B.A.

*Ex officio*, R. V. Sundaram Iyer.

B.A., B.C.E., A.C.E., depy. chf. engr.

T. Lakshminarasimha Rao, B.A.

B.L., depy. agent, rlys. & chief  
store-keeper.

# Indore State--Central India.

*Ruler* :—H. H MAHARAJADHIRAJ RAJ RAJESHWAR SAWAI  
SHRI TUKOJI RAO HOLKAR BAHADUR

*Heir-apparent* :—PRINCE YESHWANT RAO HOLKAR.

## Personal Staff of H. H.

*Secy*, Krishnarao Govind Reshimwale  
*2nd secy*, Capt. Dinanath, bar-at-law  
*Mily. secy*, Col. Madho Prasad Dube

## State Council.

*Presdt*, Rai Bahdr. Maj. Rampershad Dube, M.A, B.SC, LL.B  
*Members*, Rao Bahdr. Genl. Govind Rao Matkar Bahdr ; Rai Bahdr.  
S. M. Bapna, B.A, B. SC, LL. B ;  
Rao Bahdr. Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A, M.R.A.S ;  
Rao Bahdr. B. P. Wagle and Rai Bahdr. Hirachand Kothari. *secy*.  
Narhar Shankarrahalakar, B.A

## Judicial Committee

*Presdt*, Rai Bahdr. Maj. Rampershad Dube, M.A, B.SC, LL.B  
*Members*, Rai Bahdr. Saraymal Bepna, B.A, B.SC, LL. B ;  
Rao Bahdr. Sardar Madhavrao Vinayakrao Kibe, M.A, M.R.A.S ;  
Laxman Gangadhar Bhaddhade, B.A. (Oxon.), bar.-at-law ;  
Damodar Vinayak Kirtane, bar-at-law ;  
Jagmandarlal Jaini, M.A, bar-at-law.  
*Regtr*, Matilal C. K, modia, B.A, bar-at-law

## Chief Minister And Staff

*Chf, minstr*, Maj. Ramprasad Dube, M.A, B.SC, LL.B  
*Foreign secy*, Lala Mathulal, B.A  
*Resdcy, wakil*, Shankar Trimbak Ranadive

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# Jaipur State—Rajputana.

*Ruler* :—MAJOR-GENL. H. H. SARMAH-I-RAJA-I-HINDUSTAN

RAJA RAJENDRA SRI MAHARAJA DHIRAJ SIR

SEWAL MADHO SING BAHADUR, G.C.S.I.,

G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., LL.D. (Edin.)

## Personal Staff of H. H.

*Pte. secy.*,—*Assts.* Ananda Pershad Banerji and Bepin Behari Gupta.  
*Personl. asst. to the pte. secy.*, S. C. Mozumdar, B.A.  
*Kpr. of State Jewels and Privy purse*, Rai Bahadur Khawas Bala Bux.  
*Kpr. of robes*, Khawas Ram Kumar

## State Council

FOREIGN, MILY. AND MISC. DEPTS.—Hon. Nawab Mumtazud-Dowla Sir  
Mohammad Faiyaz Ali Khan Bahadr, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., C.S.I.

*Minister*, Rai Bahadur Babu Abinash Chandar Sen and Rai Bahadur

Purohit Gopinath M.A., C.I.E.

*Judicial dept.*, Thankur Devi Singh of Chomu, Munshi Nand Kihsoore  
Singh, Sayed Md. Taqi Khan, Bahadur and Moulvi Ahmed Ali Khan.

*Reve. dept.*, Babu Ishan Chandra Mukerji and Thakur Rup Singh of  
Naila.

*Police dept.*, Rai Bahdr. Purohit Gopinath, M.A., C.I.E.

*Secy.*, Munshi Rampratap.

*Mir Munshi*, Muhshi Kundan Lal.

*Hd. clk.*, Syed Aulad Ali.

*2nd clk.*, Choube Baij Nath, B.A.

*Translator*, Munshi Shive Narain Saksena, B.A.

*Regtr.*, P. C. Chaterji.

*Judges, appte. ct.* Thankur Kesari Singh of Achrol, Rai Bahadur Pandit  
Durga Pershad and Khan Bahadur Maulavi Rafiuddin.

*Deuans (Reve. Commr.)*, *Eastern divn.*, Pandit Amar Nath Atal, M.A.

*Western divn.*, Munshi Madho Singh, B.A.

*Acctt.-genl.*, Sanjiban Gangoli, M.A.

*Supdt, Karkhanajat.* Seth Ram Nath.

*Supdt, Customs*, Syed Abdur Rahman,

*Treasy. offr.*, Seth Sagar Mal.

*Treasr.*, Ramgopal.

*Civil Judges, (Mukhtars, Adalat Dewani)*, Munshi Nanag Ram, B.A.,  
LL. B. and Munshi Hardeo Pershad.

*City Magte*, Munshi Radha Mohan Lal, B.A.

# Udaipur

(MEWAR)—Rajputana.

*Ruler*:—H. H. MAHARAJADHIRJA MAHARANA SIR FATEH  
SINGH BAHADUR, G.C.S.I, G.C.I.E.

*Heir-Apparent*.—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI BHOPAL SINGHJI BAHADUR

## Ministers of Mahakmakhas.

*Chf. ministr.* Rao Bahdr. Sukhdeo Prasad. B.A, C.I.E, F.S.A. (Thakur of  
Jasnager, Marwar).

*Minstr.* Mehtaji Jagannath Singhji.

*Pte. Secy. to H. H. Gopinath Ojha* M.A. LL.B.

*Pte. secy. to Shriman Maharaja*, Kunwar Sahib Thakur Mangal Singh.

## Maharana's Council.

*Members of Mahendraj Sabha.* Rawatji Raj Singhji of Mijha ; Raj  
Amer Singhji, of Tana ; Maharaj Aman Singhji, Rao Bahdr ; Sukhdeo  
Prasad, B.A, C.I.E, F.S.A ; Methaji Jagannath Singhji, Tirbhawan Nathji.  
M.A ; Ramakant Malviji, B.A, LL.B ; Naranjan Nath, Mehta Takhat Singhji  
and Madan Mohan Lalji, B.A, B.L ;

*Secy. to Mahendraj Sabha*, Pt. Ramakanta Mulviji.

## State Officers.

*Treasy. offr.* Mehta Manohar Singhji.

*Hakim Mahakma Mal*, Akshwani Kumar, B.A, LL. B.

*Settlmt. offr.* Hamid Husainji.

*Daroga Devasthan*, Mehta Takhat Singhji.

*Customs offr.* Langu Singhji.

*Chf. magte.* Bhura Lalji Hiron, M.A., LL.B.

*Civil judge*, Mir Afzal Ali.

*Supt. of mint*, Jagannath Singhji Mehta.

*Supdt. of Dharmasabha, astronomer & astrologer*, Isri Singhji.

*Supdt. of Police*, Amrit Lal.

*Girai offr.* Ranwat Man Singhji.

*Offr. in chge. of irregular force*, Ranawat Indersinghji.

*Acctt. genl.* Pundit Panna Lall Mohile.

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# Patiala State—Punjab.

*Chief* :—HIS HIGHNESS FARZAN-I-KHAS DAULAT-I-

INGLISHIA MANSUR UL-ZAMAN AMIR-UL-UMRA

MAHARAJA DHIRAJ RAJESHWAR SIB

MAHARAJA RAJGAH MAJOR-

GENERAL MOHINDIE

BAHADUR, G.C.I.E.,

G.C.B.E.

## Secretariat

**FINCL. SECTT.**—*Fincl. and Foreign secy*, Diwan Bahdr. Sardar Daya Kishan Kaul, C.I.E

*Asst. fincl. secy*, Sardar Mian Sukh Dev Singh, M.A, L.L.B

*Supdt.* L. UMroo Bahudur B.A

**FOREIGN**—*Foreign and fincl. secy*. Diwan Bahadur Sardar Daya Kishan Kaul. C.L.E

*Asst. Foreign secy*, Sardar Gridhar Lall, B.A

*Supdt.* L. Sardha Ram, offg

*Mily. secy*, Col. K. M. Mistri. offg

*Supdt.* B. Brij Kishore

*Reve. secy.* Sardar Sahib Sardar Dalip Singh

*Clk. of the Ct.*, Sardar Dewan Chand

*Judicial secy*, Sardar Sahib Sardar Nihal Singh, M.A

*Asst. judl. secy*, Sardar Nagana Singh B.A, offg

*Supdt.*, Sardar Darbara Singh, B.A, LLB. offg

*War secy*, Sardar Bahadur General Gurnam Singh, C.I.E

*Chief of the General Staff*, Sardar Sarup Singh, offg

*Persnl. asst.*, Rai Sahib S. Raghunath Sarup

*Home secy*, Col. K. M. Mistri

*Persnl. asst. to home secy*, Sardar Rup Lall B.A

*Genl. offr, comdg, cavalry bjde*, Sardar Bahadur Brigadier-General Sardar Nand Singh

*Genl. offr. comdg infay, bjde*, Major General Sardar Surup Singh

## Chief Court.

*Judges* :—Sardar Narnarian Singh ; Sardar Bachittar Singh ; Sardar Gokal Chand, B.A. ;

*Govt. advte.*, Sardar Bhagat Ram, M.A., LL.B., offg

*Regtr.*, Sh. Fateh Mohommad

*Nazims* :—Sardar Balwant Singh—Karam Garh, Sardar Bachittar Singh—Anahad Garh, Khan Bahadur S. M. Fazal Matin, Sardar Sant Singh—Mohinder Garh, Sardar Ram Kishan Dass, offg.

## Kashmir & Jammu—(Cap. Sringar)

*Ruler* :—LT. GENL. H. H. MAHARAJA SIR PARTAB SINGH  
IFDAR MAHINDRA BAHADUR SIPAR-I-SUTANAT,  
G.C.S.I ; G.C.I.E ; G.B.E.

## Administration.

*Chf. Minister*—Raja Daljit Singh Saheb.

*Ministers, Home*.—Rai Bah. Maj. Gen. Dewan Bishan Das.

*Rev.*—Khan Bah. Chowdhuri Khushi Mohamad.

*Judl.*—Rai Bah. Kunwar Parmanand.

*Pt. Secy. to H. H.*—L. N. Sharma, Bar-at-law.

*Secy. to H. H.*—Lala Shanker Lal.

*Secy. to Chief Minister*—Sardar Karman Singh.

*Asst. Governor Kashmir Pr.*—Lala Ram Ratan M.A.

*Chief Judge Kashmir*—Ardeswar Hakim.

*Dy. Governor, Jammu Pr.*—Rai Sahib Pt. Lachman Das.

*Judge, High Court, Jammu*—Rai Bahadur Knnwar Parmanand.

*Chief Judge*, " " —Dewan Bodhraj Sawahini.

*Inspector General Police*—C. G. D. Farquhar.

*Director, Public Works*—H. N. Green.

*Asst. Engineer, Public Works*—E. F. Sykes.

*Settlement Commissioner*—H. M. Stow.

*Conservator of Forests*—B. O. Coventry.

*Commander, State Army*—Gen. Raja Sir Hari Singh.

*Adj. Genl.*—Major Gen. Raja Farman Ali Khan.

## Kapurthala--Punjab.

*Ruler* :—LT. COL. H. H. FARZAND-I-DILBAND RASKH-UL-ITIQA'D DAULI  
INGLISHIA RAJA-I-RAJAGAN MAHARAJA JAGATJIT SINGH, SAHEB  
BAHDUR, G.C.S.I. ETC.

*Chief Secretary*—Khan Bah. Sardar Abdul Hamid.

*Nazir*—Sardar Bhagwan Das.

*Chief Judge*—Dewan Harkishen Das.

*Puisne Judge*—Sardar Bhagat Ram.

*Dir. of Police*—Capt. Maharaj Kumar Amarjit Singh.

*Dir. of Educ.*— Do Do.

*Officer Comm.*—Lt. Col. Nihal Singh Bahadur,

*Bukshi.*—Maj. Gen. Sirdar Puran Singh Bahadur.

## Rampur State—U.P.

*Ruler* :—COL. H. H. ALIJAH FERJAND-I-DILPIZIR-I-DAULAT-I-ING-  
LISHIA NASIBULMULK AMIRULOMRA NAWAB SIB SYED  
MUHAMMAD HAMID ALI KHAN SAHEB BAHADUR,  
G.C.I.B. ETC. A.D.C. TO H.I.M.

### Administration.

*Pte. Secretary to H. H.*—Haji Mohd. Hadi Hasan Khan.

*Chf. Secretary* " —Sahebzada Abdus Samad Khan.

*Rev. Secretary* " —Sahebzada Abdul Majid Khan.

*Home Secretary* " —Sahebzada Sayad Sadat Ali Khan.

*Judcl. Secretary* " —Qamar Shah Khan.

*Miv Munshi*—Bhakat Behari Lal.

*Vnib* " —Raghubir Sahai.

*Dt. Judge*—Muhammad Sher Zaman Khan.

*Nazim*—Muhammad Abbas Ali Khan

*Sadar Dewan*—Munshi Raj Bahadur.

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## Bhopal state—C.I.

*Ruler* :—Her Highness Nawab Sultana Jehan Begum Sahiba. G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., C.I.E.

*Heir-apparent*—Col : Nawab Muhammad Nasrulla Khan.

### Administration.

*Chief Secretary*—Maj. Nawabzada Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Saheb Bdr.

*Rev.* „ —M. Oudh Narain Bisaria, Rai Bahadur.

*Fincl.* „ —Mir Munshi Syed Munsab Ali.

*Mily.* „ —Capt. Abdus Samad Khan.

*Private* „ —Syed Sakhawal Hossin.

*Legtve.* „ —M. Abdul Gaffar.

*Pol.* „ —M. Abdul Ranf Khan Khan Saheb.

*Judcl.* „ —Khan Bahadur Moul. Muhammad Asrar Hassan Khan.

*Secy : State Council*—Moul : Saiduddin Bahadur.

*Rubbkari*—Mia Abdus Samad Khan Khan Bahadur.

*Com-in-Chief, State forces*—General Nawabzada Haji Hafiz Muhammad Obaidulla Khan, C.S.I., a.d.c. to Viceroy.

## Cochin state—S.I.

### ( Cap. Ernakulam )

*Ruler*—H. H. Sir Rama Varma, G.C.I.E.

*Dewan*—C. Vijayaraghava Chariar.

*Dewan Peshkar*—T. V. Kasturiranga Iyer.

*Chief Judge*—T. S. Narayana Iyer, B.L.,

*Puisne Judges*—P. J. Varughes, B.L.

P. Narayan Menon B.L.

*Supdt. Land Recerps*—A. K. Venugo Iyer, J. Achuta Menon (Actg).

„ *Agriculture and fisheries*—J. Raman Menon, B.A., F.E.S.

„ *Customs*—H. W. M. Brown.

„ *Stamp and Stationery*—K. K. Joseph, B.A.; A. P. Antony (actg.)

„ *of Registration*—A. R. Venkiteswara Iyer.

„ *of Police*—M. A. Chakko.

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# India and her People.

## Natural Divisions.

1. **Boundaries**—The political boundary of India marches with Persia from the Gulf of Oman to near Zulfikar on the Hafirud; then with the Russian Empire along the frontier laid down by agreement in 1885 as far as the Oxus at Khamiab; thence along the Oxus by the Punjab branch up to the Victoria Lake, and from the east end of that lake by the line demarcated in 1895 up to Povalo Schveikovski on the Taghdumbash Pamir, where three Empires—the British, Russian, and Chinese—meet. From this point the frontier—in many parts not yet clearly defined—touches the Chinese Empire, mainly along the crests of the Muztagh (Karakoram) range and the Himalayas, till the limits of French Indo-China are reached on the upper Mekong. The Indian frontier, on leaving the Mekong, marches with Siam till it reaches the sea at Victoria Point, half-way down the Malaya Peninsula. Beyond the sea the Indian Empire includes the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Laccadive and Minicoy Islands, Aden and Perim, besides protectorates over Socotra, Bahrein, and various chiefships along the coast from Aden to the Persian Gulf. Continental India, including Baluchistan, reaches from 8° to 37°N. latitude, and from 61° to 101°E. longitude. Delhi, the new capital, lies in 77°E. long.

**Natural Divisions of India** :—The country is naturally divided into three sections, viz., the Himalayan reign, the northern river plains, and the southern table-land.

*The Himalayas.*—The Himalayas (which lie partly beyond the frontier), with their southern offshoots, form the natural northern boundary of India. The Himalayan range runs for 1500 miles from N. W. to S. E. with a varying breadth of 150 to 200 miles, and attains an average height of 20,000 feet above the plain, culminating in the loftiest peaks yet measured on the globe—Mount Everest 29,141 feet, Kunchinjunga 28,146 feet, and Dhaulagiri, 26,826 feet, near the centre of the range; and Mount Godwin Austen, 28,250

feet. near its junction with the Hindu Kush. The line of perpetual snow is at above 16,000 feet. The Himalayas form a barrier to the tropical clouds and store up water for the plains below. The slopes afford a representation of the tropical zone (especially on the southern slopes to the East), the temperate zone (particularly to the S. W. of the range), and the arctic zone as the upward journey is taken from the plains. There are several very beautiful sanatoria, including Murree, Simla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, and Darjeeling. Himalayan vegetation includes varied species as the tree-fern, llex, pine, oak, find deodar, (cedar), rhododendron, barley, oats, millet, and many domestic vegetables. The fauna are as varied as the flora, and include the bison, musk-deer, yak, wild sheep and goat, bear, elephant, monkey, and tiger, eagles, partridges, and pheasant. Between the Himalayas and the plains to the S. E. is the dangerous fever-haunted Tarai or Duar jungle, densely forest-covered and full of big game.

*The Great Plain.*—The great northern river plains, lying at the foot of the Himlayas, comprise the rich alluvial plains watered by the Indus, the Ganges, the Lower Brahmaputra, and their tributaries. This is the region which formed the theatre of the ancient race movements which shaped the civilisation and political destinies of the whole Indian Peninsula. At no great distance from one another, four rivers take their rise in the Himalayas. The sources of two are on the north side—the Indus, which flows westward for 1,800 miles, and the Tsanpo or Brahmaputra, which flows eastward for nearly 1,500 miles. The other two, on the southern slope, are the sutlej, which, after flowing W. and S. W. for 900 miles and collecting various other streams, joins the Indus, and the Ganges, which, during a journey S.E. and E. of about 1,550 miles, drains almost all the Bengal plain. The Brahmaputra, after flowing along the northern side as far as the eastern extremity of the Himalayas,, turns sharply to the S. then to the W., and finally joins the Ganges, 75 miles from where their combined streams enter the Bay of Bengal. Thus the Himalayas supply India with the water gathered on both slopes. The Indus and Ganges, with their tributaries, are source of an extensive system of irrigation by canals. These plains are the richest, most populous, and most historically famous part of India. Formerly the Ganges was the only great highway of Bengal; it is still the fertiliser and the water-carrier. But a close net work of railways is increasingly used for transport. The richness of the Indo-Gangetic plain, with its ample rainfall, enables it to support a dense population, almost wholly agricultural. The density of the

population rises in some districts to 900 per square mile. On the other hand, in Baluchistan there are only 6 persons to the square mile. The population has increased most in the densest areas, and pressure on the soil is severe in parts of Bihar and the United Provinces. In northern India there are two harvests, *rabi* (spring) crops being reaped in March and April, *kharif*, (autumn) crops in October to December. There are also wheat, pulse, maize millet, barley, and tea; while in the south, indigo, cotton, sugarcane, jute, oilseeds, tobacco, opium and spices are produced. Among the fauna are monkeys, panthers, tigers, leopards, hyenas, jackals, squirrels, elephants, deer, crocodiles, and snakes. Salt, mica, and coal are the chief minerals. The Ganges delta yields rice, bamboos, and a large variety of palms. The Aravalli range, the primeval chain of India, divides Rajputana from the Central India Native States. To the N.-W. of the peninsula lies the mountainous, barren and thinly populated region of Baluchistan.

*The Deccan*—Just as the Himalayas on the N. and the Hindu Kush and Suleiman Mountains on the N. W. form natural barriers of defence for Hindustan, so do the Vindhya Mountains, running almost due E. from the head of the Gulf of Cambay, north of the Narmuda River, form a firm southern boundary to the river-plains of Northern India. Southern India or the Deccan, is a plateau of triangular shape from 1000 to 3000 ft above sea level and very old geological formation bounded on two sides by the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, which converge at Cape Comorin, and on the north by the Vindhya's. The Eastern and Western Ghats all but complete this triangle of mountain ranges. In the extreme N.-W., south of the Vindhya's, and parallel to them, but north of the Western Ghats, the Narmuda and the Tapti flow westwards, their basins being sharply defined by the Satpura Mountains, which lie midway between them. As the Western Ghats lie close to the coast, and afford no exit for rivers, there are no streams on the Malabar coast south of the Tapti; all the rivers flow eastwards, through defiles in the Eastern Ghats, into the Bay of Bengal. The Western Ghats form a lofty barrier between the waters of the central plateau and the Indian Ocean. The drainage has therefore to make its way across India to the east, now turning sharply round projecting ranges, now trembling down ravines, or rushing along the valleys until the rain which the Bombay sea-breeze has deposited upon the Western Ghats is finally drained into the Bay of Bengal. The four chief rivers are the Mahanuddy, in the extreme

N. E. ( 500 m. ), the Godavery ( 900 m. ), the Kistna ( 600 m. ), and the Cauvery ( 472 m. ), at intervals further to the south.

The physical geography of Southern India has shaped its history: the S. W. coast, shut in by mountains, is very primitive and moves slowly; the S. E., open and easy of access by sea and towards the interior, has made great progress. The mountain slopes of this region, especially those of the Western Ghats, which rise to 8,000 feet in the Nilgris, are still covered with a splendid primeval forests vegetation. Teak, ebony, satinwood, sandalwood, palm, and bamboo abound. The jungles in the East are very deadly. The tiger, bison, leopard, deer, and various smaller game afford sport. Snakes are found everywhere. In the valleys and on the higher plains many valuable crops are raised, chiefly rice, millet, cotton, oilseeds, coffee, tea, indigo, tobacco, and cinchona. The black cotton soil is very fertile. Irrigation by dams, wells, tanks, and canals. The southern tableland has furnished considerable supplies of minerals. The minerals principally worked are coal, manganese ore, mica, monazite, and gold.

*Burma.*—Beyond the Bay of Bengal is the large province of Burma, watered by the Irrawaddy and its tributaries and by the Salween. The delta region is flat; further inland are hills and rolling downs; while the north is mountainous. Rice is the chief staple. Millet, cotton, sesamum, and tobacco are also cultivated. The forests, particularly of teak, make a considerable contribution to the exports. Petroleum is produced on a considerable scale, and jade, wolfram, and rubies are mined. The fauna include monkeys, jackals, tigers, elephants, bison, and deer.

*Climate*—About half of India is within the tropics, but the greatest extremes of heat and cold are in the N. W. In the Himalays the climate is moist and cold. In Northern India it is dry, and the winters are rather cold. In tropical Southern India the climate is more equable. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras all have an equable climate, owing to proximity to the sea. India depends for its fertility upon the monsoon rains. The S. W. monsoon brings moisture from the ocean south of the Equator, and reaches the west coast early in June and the northern provinces late in June. The mountains arrest these currents and precipitate rainfall, which averages 60 inches in the sub-Himalayan region, 39 inches in the Indo-Gangetic plain, and 30 in-

ches in the Deccan, but is small in Sind and Rajputana. Madras benefits by the N. E. monsoon in the autumn.

**Area and Population.**—The total area of India proper is about 1802,657 square miles, with a population of 315 millions about three-fourths of the population of the British Empire). The British Provinces, is distinguished from the States under native administration, comprise 60·6 per cent. of the area, and 77·5 per cent. of the population.

### The fourth general census of India.

10th March, 1911.

The enumeration embraced the whole of the Indian Empire but only estimates could be made for a few outlying tracts and tribal areas on the frontier. The census returns give a population of 315,156,396, as compared with 294,361,056 in 1901, an increase in ten years of about 7 per cent. The returns were in some parts much affected by severe malarial fever and plague which caused a large temporary decrease in certain towns. The census total of 1911 is divisible into 244,267,542 (or 77·5 per cent.) for British India, and 70,888,854 (or 22·5 per cent.) for Native States. India is not overpopulated, for two-thirds of the people live on one-quarter of the area. In Burma, Asam, and elsewhere there are large unpopulated tracts where a much larger population might subsist. There were in 1911 30 towns with a population of 100,000 and over. Urban areas of over 5,000 people comprise only about 10 per cent. of the total population.

### Political Divisions.

India including Burma consists of about one million Sq. M. with a population of about 232 millions of British territory and about 7 millions Sq. M. with a population of about 62 millions divided up among various Native States.

British India is distributed into 13 Provinces of varying size, each with a separate head, but all under the supreme control of a Viceroy and Governor-General in Council. The table below gives the figures as to the Provinces.

The Native States are ruled by Native Princes or chiefs with the help of political officers appointed by the British Government and resident at their courts. Some of the States in their internal ad-

ministration exercise almost complete independence ; others require more assistance or a stricter control. The Chiefs possess revenues and armies of their own, and the more important exercise the power of life and death over their subjects. The authority of a chief is however limited by treaties and engagements with the British Government which, as suzerain in India, does not allow its feudatories to form alliances with each other, and on policy keeps them divided. The Suzerain Power has the right to interfere in case of misgovernment of a State and also to remove a chief or appoint another in his place.

There are in all nearly 700 Native States, divided into a Major Group and a Minor Group. Of the Major Groups the most important are Hyderabad (Deccan), Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir and Jammu, the Rajputana Agency, and the Central India Agency. The first four are single units, each under a Ruler, but Rajputana and Central India are political Groups consisting of many states, enjoying different degrees of power. Rajputana contains twenty states, while central India has about 148 states and petty chiefs. The Agencies are directly under the Governor-General who is locally represented by his Agent.

The Minor States are subordinate to the Provincial Governments. There are 5 under Madras, 354 under Bombay, 28 under Bengal and Behar, 34 under Punjab, 25 under the Central Provinces, and 2 under the United Provinces Government.

In addition to these fixed internal states, there are several frontier tracts of India whose status is not strictly defined. Such are the States of Kalat and Las Bela in Beluchistan, the Chitral and Dir States in the North-West-frontier, and the Afridi, Waziri and other tribal units. Nepal and Bhutan, though perfectly independent, are under various commercial and other agreements with the Government of India.

Statistics of Population in India.

	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901	1911.
<b>INDIA</b> — — — —	206,162,360	253,896,330	287,314,671	294,361,056	315,156,396
<b>PROVINCES</b> — — — —	185,163,435	198,882,817	221,240,836	231,605,940	244,267,542
Ajmer-Merwara — — — —	396,331	460,722	542,358	476,912	501,395
Andamans and Nicobars — — — —	—	14,628	15,609	24,640	26,450
Assam — — — —	4,150,769	4,907,792	5,477,302	5,841,878	6,713,635
Baluchistan — — — —	—	—	—	382,106	414,412
Bengal — — — —	34,119,465	36,316,728	39,089,632	42,141,477	45,483,077
Bihar and Orissa — — — —	26,486,482	30,988,320	32,876,557	33,242,783	34,490,084
Bihar — — — —	19,735,627	22,418,367	23,581,538	23,360,212	23,752,969
Orissa — — — —	3,603,156	4,343,964	4,666,227	4,982,142	5,131,753
Chota Nagpur — — — —	3,147,699	4,225,989	4,628,792	4,900,429	5,605,362
Bombay (Presidency) — — — —	16,301,362	16,494,538	18,878,471	18,559,650	19,672,642
Bombay — — — —	14,075,508	14,042,621	15,959,292	15,304,766	16,113,042
Sind — — — —	2,206,565	2,875,100	2,875,100	3,210,910	3,513,435
Aden — — — —	19,289	34,860	44,079	43,974	46,105
Burma — — — —	2,747,148	3,736,771	7,722,053	10,490,624	12,115,217
Central Provinces and Berar — — — —	9,951,268	11,943,363	13,048,972	11,971,452	13,916,308
Central Provinces — — — —	7,723,614	9,270,690	10,151,481	9,217,436	10,859,146
Berar — — — —	2,227,654	2,672,673	2,897,491	2,754,016	3,057,162
Coorg — — — —	168,312	178,302	173,055	180,607	174,976
Madras — — — —	31,230,622	30,841,154	35,644,428	38,229,654	41,405,404
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories). — — — —	—	1,575,943	1,857,519	2,041,534	2,196,933
Punjab — — — —	17,609,672	17,274,597	19,009,368	20,330,337	19,974,956
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh — — — —	42,002,004	44,149,959	46,905,512	47,692,277	47,182,044
Agra — — — —	30,780,961	32,762,127	34,254,588	34,859,109	34,624,040
Oudh — — — —	11,221,043	11,387,832	12,650,924	12,833,168	12,558,004



	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
STATES AND AGENCIES —	20,998,925	55,013,513	66,073,835	62,755,116	70,888,854
Assam State (Manipur) —	—	221,070	—	284,465	346,222
Baluchistan States —	—	—	—	428,640	420,291
Baroda State —	1,997,598	2,182,158	2,415,396	4,952,692	2,032,798
Bengal States —	567,827	698,261	716,310	740,299	822,565
Bihar and Orissa States —	1,723,900	2,410,611	3,028,018	3,314,474	3,945,209
Bombay States —	6,797,970	6,937,893	8,081,950	6,908,559	7,411,675
Central India Agency —	—	9,261,907	10,136,403	8,497,805	9,356,980
Central Provinces States —	928,116	1,387,294	1,712,562	1,631,140	2,117,002
Hyderabad State —	—	9,845,594	11,537,040	11,141,142	13,374,676
Kashmir State —	—	—	2,543,952	2,905,578	3,158,126
Madras States —	3,289,392	3,344,849	3,700,622	4,188,086	4,811,841
Mysore State —	5,055,402	4,186,188	4,93,604	5,539,399	5,806,193
N.-W. F. Province (Agencies and Tribal areas) —	—	—	—	83,962	1,622,094
Punjab States —	—	3,861,683	4,263,280	4,424,398	4,212,794
Rajputana Agency —	—	9,934,255	12,171,749	9,853,366	10,530,432
Sikkim State —	—	—	30,458	59,014	87,920
United Provinces States —	638,720	741,750	792,491	802,097	832,030

## Statistics of Population in Towns.

TOWNS.		1872.	1881.	1891	1901.	1911.
1	CALCUTTA—including Howrah	633,009	612,307	682,305	1,106,738	1,222,313
2	BOMBAY — — —	644,405	773,196	821,704	776,006	979,445
3	MADRAS AND CANTONMENT—	397,552	405,848	452,518	509,346	518,000
4	Hydrabad and Cantonment	.....	367,417	415,039	448,466	500,623
5	Rangoon and Cantonment —	98,745	134,176	182,080	245,430	293,316
6	Lucknow and Cantonment—	284,779	261,303	273,028	264,049	259,798
7	Delhi and Cantonment —	154,417	173,393	192,579	208,575	232,837
8	Lahore and Cantonment —	125,413	157,287	176,854	202,964	228,687
9	Ahmedabad and cantonment	119,672	127,621	148,412	185,889	216,777
10	Benares and Cantonment —	178,300	218,573	223,375	213,079	203,804
11	Bangalore Civil and Military Station	81,810	93,540	100,081	89,599	100,834
12	Agra and Cantonment —	149,008	160,203	168,662	188,022	185,449
13	Cawnpore and Cantonment	125,877	155,369	194,048	202,797	178,557
14	Allahabad and Cantonment	143,693	160,118	175,246	172,032	171,697
15	Poona and Cantonment —	118,886	129,751	161,390	153,320	158,856
16	Amritsar and Cantonment —	135,813	151,896	136,766	162,429	152,750
17	Karachi and Cantonment —	56,753	73,560	105,199	116,663	151,903
18	Mandalay and Cantonment	.....	.....	188,815	183,816	138,299
19	Jaipur — — —	... ..	142,578	158,787	160,167	137,098
20	Patna — — —	158,900	170,654	165,192	134,785	136,153
21	Madura — — —	51,987	73,807	87,428	105,984	134,130
22	Bareilly and Cantonment —	104,533	115,138	122,837	133,167	129,462
23	Srinagar and Cantonment —	.....	.....	118,960	122,618	126,344
24	Trichinopoly and Cantonment	76,530	84,449	190,609	104,721	123,512
25	Meerut and Cantonment —	81,386	99,565	119,390	118,129	116,227
26	Surat and Cantonment —	107,855	109,844	109,229	119,306	114,868
27	Dacca — — —	68,595	78,369	81,585	89,733	108,551
28	Nagpur — — —	84,411	98,299	117,014	127,734	101,415
29	Jubbulpore and Cantonment	55,469	76,023	84,682	90,533	100,651
30	Howrah — — —	84,069	90,813	116,606	157,594	170,000

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

	India	British Provinces.	Native States.
1	2	3	4
Area in square miles ...	1 802,657	1,093,074	709,583
Number of Towns and Villages	722,495	538,809	183,686
(a) Towns ...	2,153	1,452	701
(b) Villages ...	720,342	537,357	182,985
Number of Occupied Houses ...	63,710,179	49,140,947	14,569,232
(a) In Towns ...	6,037,456	4,409,121	1,628,335
(b) In Villages ...	57,672,723	44,731,826	12,940,897
Total Population ...	315,156,396	244,267,542	70,888,854
(a) In Towns ...	29,748,228	122,817,715	6,930,513
(b) In Villages ...	285,408,168	221,449,827	63,958,341
Males ...	161,338,935	124,873,691	36,465,244
(a) In Towns ...	16,108,304	12,525,830	3,582,474
(b) In Villages ...	145,230,631	112,347,861	32,882,770
Females ...	153,817,461	119,393,851	34,423,610
(a) In Towns ...	13,639,927	10,291,885	3,348,439
(b) In Villages ...	140,177,537	109,101,966	31,075,571

## POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

Religion	Males			Literate in English
	Total Population	Illiterate	Literate.	
Hindu .. .. .	110,865,731	66,642,497	11,223,134	1,013,599
Sikh .. .. .	1,734,778	1,550,610	184,163	11,490
Jain .. .. .	643,553	324,968	318,585	13,080
Buddhist .. .. .	5,286,142	3,131,761	2,134,381	21,767
Parsi .. .. .	51,128	11,128	39,995	25,334
Muhammadan .. .. .	34,709,365	32,319,599	2,389,766	176,051
Christian .. .. .	2,010,734	1,422,154	588,570	252,591
Animistic .. .. .	5,088,241	5,034,408	53,833	1,521
Minor and Unspecified .. .. .	28,818	22,430	6,388	2,981
Total Males .. .. .	160,418,470	143,479,655	16,938,314	1,518,361

STATISTICS OF RELIGION

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				Females.			
Hindu	..	..	..	106,721,714	105,905,904	814,819	23,659
Sikh	..	..	..	1,279,667	1,262,387	17,289	238
Jain	..	..	..	604,629	580,509	24,120	209
Buddhist	..	..	..	5,435,086	6,117,738	317,338	1,383
Parsi	..	..	..	48,973	17,755	31,218	8,347
Euhhammadan	..	..	..	31,883,812	31,746,005	137,807	3,949
Christian	..	..	..	1,865,472	1,613,177	252,295	112,643
Animetic	..	..	..	5,129,303	5,126,316	2,987	74
Minor and	..	..	..	29,263	26,355	2,908	1,533
Total Females	..	..	..	152,996,919	151,396,156	1,600,763	152,026
Total Population	..	..	..	313,415,888	294,875,811	18,539,578	1,670,307

STATISTICS OF RELIGIONS.

				Religion	India	British Provinces	Native States.
INDIA				..	315,156,396	244,267,542	70,888,854
Hindu	..	..	..	217,586,892	163,621,431	53,965,461	
Brahmanic				..	217,337,943	163,381,380	53,956,562
Arya				..	243,445	234,841	8,604
Brahmo				..	5,504	5,210	294
sikh	..	..	..	3,014,466	2,171,908	842,558	
Jain	..	..	..	1,248,182	458,578	789,604	
Buddhist	..	..	..	10,721,453	10,644,409	77,944	
Zoroastrian (Parsi)				..	100,096	86,155	13,941
Musalman	..	..	..	66,647,299	57,423,889	9,223,410	
Christian				..	3,876,203	2,492,284	1,383,919
Jew	..	..	..	20,980	18,524	2,456	
Animistic				..	10,295,168	7,348,024	2,947,144
Minor Religions and Religion not returned				..	37,101	2,340	34,761
Not enumerated by Religion				..	1,608,556	..	1,608,556

### The Racial Types in India.

1. **The Turko-Iranian**, represented by the Baloch, Brahui and Afghans of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province. Stature above mean, complexion fair, eyes mostly dark, but occasionally grey, hair on face plentiful, head broad, nose moderately narrow, prominent, and very long.

2. **The Indo-Aryan**, occupying the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir, and having as its characteristics members the Rajputs, Khattris, and Jats. This type, approaches the traditional Aryan colonists of India. The stature is mostly tall, complexion fair, eyes dark, hair on face plentiful, head long, nose narrow, and prominent, but not specially long

3. **The Scytho-Dravidian**, comprising the Maratha Brahmans, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs of Western India. Distinguished from the Turko-Iranian by a lower stature, a greater length of head, a higher nasal index, a shorter nose, and a lower orbitonasal index.

4. **The Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani**. found in the United Provinces, in parts of Rajputana, and the Bihar and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brahman and in its lower by the Chamar. Head long, complexion from lightish brown to black, nose medium to broad, being always broader than among the Indo-Aryans, stature lower than in the latter group, and usually below the average according to the scale. The type is essentially a mixed one.

5. **The Mongolo-Dravidian**, or Bengali type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brahmans and Khasias, the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. Probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements, with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood of the higher groups. The head broad, complexion dark, hair on face usually plentiful, stature medium, nose medium, with a tendency to broad. These is one of the most distinctive types in India.

6. **The Mongoloid** type of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam, and Burma, represented by the Kanets of Lahul and Kulu, the Lepchas of Darjeeling and Sikkim, the Limbus, Murmis and Gurungs of Nepal, the Bodo of Assam, and the Burmese. The head broad, complexion dark with a yellow tinge, hair on face

scanty, stature short, below average, nose fine to broad, face characteristically flat ; eyelids often oblique.

7. **The Dravidian type**, extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervading Madras, Hyderabad, the Central provinces, most of Central India and Chota Nagpur. Representatives are the Paniyans of Malabar and the Santals of Chota Nagpur. Probably the original type of the population of India now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements. In typical specimens the stature is short or below mean ; the complexion very dark, approaching black ; hair plentiful, with an occasional tendency to curl ; eyes dark ; head long, nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root,

### Sex in India.

In India the proportion of females per thousand males rose steadily from 954 in 1881 to 963 in 1901. It has now fallen again to exactly the same figure as in 1881. This is in strong contrast with Europe, where the number of females per thousand males varies from 1,093 in Portugal, and 1,068 in England and Wales, to 1,013 in Belgium, and 1,003 in Ireland. The reason, says the census officer, is : in Europe, boys and girls are equally well cared for. Consequently, as boys are constitutionally more delicate than girls, by the time adolescence is reached, a higher death-rate has already obliterated the excess of males and produced a numerical equality between the two sexes. Later on in life, the mortality amongst males remains relatively high, owing to the risks to which they are exposed in their daily avocations ; hard work, exposure in all weathers and accidents of various kinds combine to make their mean duration of life less than that of women, who are for the most part engaged in domestic duties or occupations of a lighter nature. Hence the proportion of females steadily rises. In India, the conditions are altogether different. Sons are earnestly longed for, while daughters are not wanted. This feeling exists everywhere, but it varies greatly in intensity. It is strongest amongst communities such as the higher Rajput clans, where large sums have to be paid to obtain a husband of suitable status and the cost of the marriage ceremony is excessive and those like the Pathans who despise women and hold in derision the father of daughters. Sometimes the prejudice against daughters is so strong that abortion is resorted to when the midwife predicts the birth of a girl. Formerly female infants were frequently killed as soon as they were born and

even now they are very commonly neglected to a greater or less extent. The advantage which nature gives to girls is thus neutralised by the treatment accorded to them by their parents. To make matters worse, they are given in marriage at a very early age, and cohabitation begins long before they are physically fit for it. To the evils of early child-bearing must be added unskilful midwifery, and the combined result is an excessive mortality amongst young mothers. In India almost every woman has to face these dangers. Lastly, amongst the lower classes, who form the bulk of the population, the women often have to work as hard as, and sometimes harder than, the men, and they are thus less favourably situated in respect of their occupations than their sisters in Europe." The statement, however is not accepted on all hands, and the returns are doubtful in the case of females whom it is not easy to count.

### Marriage in India.

Polyandry, once prevalent at certain places, is now rare, and polygamy though allowed is now discreditable. Child marriage is very common: 4 per cent. of males aged 5 to 10 are married, and of those aged 10 to 15, 13 per cent, of those between 15 to 20, 32 per cent and the per centage rises to 69 for those between 20 and 30 years. Of the females under 5, one in 72 is married; of those between 5 and 10, 10 per cent, between 10 and 15 years, 45 per cent and between 15 and 20 more than 85 per cent. Altogether there are 2½ millions girlwives under 10 and 9 millions under 15 years!

The result is shown in the percentage of widows. The proportion of widows is about 18 per cent of the total number of females, against only 9 per cent in Western countries. About 400,000 widows are below 15!

Legislation to prevent infant marriage is in force in the only two progressive spots of India—the Native states of Mysore and Baroda. In the former an Act has been passed forbidding the marriage of girls under eight, and that of girls under fourteen with men over fifty years of age. For though marriage is a sacrament in most places and with most people of India, old widowers greedily take up young girls as their wives without any regard to the future of the girls. Widowers above 50 marrying girls below 12 are yet common, and the orthodox society still connives at such unnatural outrages in the name of religion! The Gaekwar of Baroda, in the face of strong orthodox opposition, has refused to satisfy the lust of old widowers to the sacrifice of young girls, and in 1904 passed an Act

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forbidding absolutely the marriage of all girls below the age of 9. The Act allows the marriage of girls below the age of 12 and of boys below 16 only when the parents first obtain the consent of a tribunal consisting of the Sub-Judge and 3 assessors of the petitioners' caste. Consent is given only on certain special grounds specified in the act.

**Statistics of Birth and Death Rates.**

Province of British India,	Birth Rates (per mille). Death-Rates (per mille).			
	1915.	1916.	1915.	1916.
Delhi ... ..	47·91	49·39	28·97	32·92
Bengal ... ..	31·80	31·89	32·83	27·37
Bihar and Orissa ... ..	40·4	36·6	32·2	32·8
Assam ... ..	33·60	30·52	30·86	28·59
United Provinces ... ..	43·48	43·09	30·04	29·50
Punjab ... ..	43·6	45·6	36·33	30·7
N. W. Frontier Province ... ..	31·7	33·8	23·61	20·1
Central Provinces and Behar ... ..	47·95	43·85	35·91	39·95
Madras ... ..	31·2	32·5	22·0	21·9
Coorg ... ..	25·33	28·74	31·08	27·23
Bombay... ..	37·10	35·98	26·12	33·32
Burma, Lower ... ..	33·39	32·75	25·12	22·61
Burma, Upper ... ..	38·01	35·30	32·72	26·21
Ajmer-Merwara ... ..	43·78	38·68	26·03	40·48
Total for India ... ..	37·82	37·13	29·94	29·10



PROVINCE, STATE, OR AGENCY.	Area in square miles (1911).	PERSONS, 1911:		
		Males.	Females.	Total.
Ajmer-Merwara ...	2,711	266,198	235,197	501,395
Andamans and Nicobars	3,143	19,570	6,889	26,459
Assam ...	53,015	3,467,621	3,240,014	6,713,630
Assam State (Manipur)	8,456	170,660	175,556	346,222
Aden —	80	31,290	14,875	46,165
Baluchistan —	54,228	239,181	175,231	414,412
Bengal —	78,699	23,365,225	22,117,852	45,483,077
Bihar and Orissa —	83,181	16,859,929	17,630,155	34,490,084
Bombay (Presidency) —	123,059	10,245,847	9,470,795	19,672,642
Bombay —	75,993	8,275,233	7,837,809	16,113,042
Burma —	230,839	6,183,494	5,931,723	12,115,217
Central Provinces and and Berar: —	99,823	6,930,392	6,985,916	13,916,308
Baroda State —	8,182	1,055,935	976,863	2,032,798
Bengal States —	5,393	438,368	384,197	822,565
Bihar and Orissa States	28,648	1,955,125	1,990,084	3,945,209
Bombay States —	63,864	3,765,401	3,646,274	7,411,675
Coung —	1,582	97,279	77,697	174,976
Central India Agency	77,367	4,801,459	4,555,521	9,356,980
Delhi —	557	1	1	391,828
Hyderabad State —	82,698	6,797,118	6,577,558	13,374,676
Kashmir State —	84,432	1,674,307	1,483,759	3,158,126
Madras —	142,330	20,382,955	21,022,449	41,405,404
Madras States —	10,549	2,411,758	2,400,083	4,811,841
Mysore State —	29,475	2,934,621	2,871,572	5,806,193
† North West Frontier Province (Agencies and Tribal Areas) —	25,500	864,876	752,218	1,622,094
North West Frontier Province —	13,418	1,182,102	1,014,831	2,196,933
Punjab —	99,222	10,992,067	8,982,889	19,974,956
Punjab States —	36,551	2,322,908	1,889,886	4,212,794
Rajputana Agency —	128,687	5,515,375	5,014,157	10,530,432
Sind —	46,986	1,939,344	1,574,111	3,513,455
Central Provinces States —	31,174	1,053,630	1,063,372	2,117,002
Sikkim —	2,818	45,059	42,861	87,920
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts) —	80,410	227,238	193,053	420,291
United Provinces, of Agra and Oudh —	107,267	24,641,831	22,540,213	47,182,044
Total Provinces —	1,093,074	124,873,691	119,303,851	244,267,542
United Provinces States	5,079	431,440	400,596	832,036
Total, States and agencies —	709,583	36,465,244	34,423,610	70,888,854
TOTAL, INDIA —	802,057	101,338,935	153,817,401	315,156,396

## Occupation of the People

India has been said to be a country of a single industry—that industry being Agriculture. More than two thirds of the population are employed in occupation connected with land, while only about 25% are engaged in all other occupations combined. But like the flourishing Western countries, India, too, was at no very distant date a great, perhaps at one time the greatest, manufacturing and industrial country sending her merchandise to the farthest corners of the world and enjoying wealth and prosperity which are now recorded in history. The causes which have operated to bring about the present state of destitution and misery in the country are now matters of history, but the proximate causes have very lucidly been explained by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya last year in his Note on the Report of the Industrial Commission of which he was a member (for this see Part iii, Government Reports.) This phenomenal dependence upon land, and consequently upon favourable or unfavourable monsoon, is making the people more and more helpless in the economic world, and is held to be one of the main causes of the frequent famines and plague, malaria and other diseases which every year takes an appalling toll of life.

Of the 217 million supported by the land, 8 million are landlords, 167 million cultivators, 42 million farm servants and labourers, and less than a million estate agents or farm managers. The village which from time immemorial has been a self sufficient unit in all functions of social life has since the last two centuries been breaking down under the many disintegrating influences which have been and are inevitably at work.

The extensive important oocheap foreign goods, chiefly piece-goods and utensils, and the establishment in the country itself of numerous factories of the Western type, have served to kill almost all the once flourishing village industries. In consequence thousands of people are being year after year thrown out of employment and forced to serve as labourers in factories etc. The huge export of raw materials and their reimport into the country in a finished state have tended to drag the country in one direction alone—that of depriving the people of their hereditary work. This huge competition with the rapidly moving western countries supported by their brain,

organisation, and machinery is gradually driving a lethargic, tradition-ridden, spiritualised, docile, inert people to the very verge of extinction. The corroding influence of conservatism from the inside and the huge pressure of a dynamic world from the outside have operated to bring about a thousand cleavages in the solidarity of the people as a whole—politically, socially, communally, industrially, and in every respect possible.

**Statistical Table showing number of People  
engaged in the different trades etc.**

INDIA—	population in million	...	313'4
<b>A—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS</b>		...	227
<i>I—Exploitation of the Surface of the Earth</i>		...	226'5
Pasture and agriculture	...	...	224'7
(a) Ordinary cultivation	...	...	216'7
(b) Growing of special products and market gardening	...	...	2
(c) Forestry	...	...	'6
(d) Raising of farm stock	...	...	5
(e) Raising of small animals	...	...	.05
Fishing and hunting.	...	...	1'9
<i>II.—Extraction of Minerals</i>	...	...	5
Mines	...	...	4
Quarries of rocks	...	...	'08
Salt, etc.	...	...	'08
<b>B—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES</b>			58
<i>III—Industry</i>	...	...	35
Textiles	...	...	8
Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	...	...	'7
Wood	...	...	3'8
Metals	...	...	1'8
Ceramics	...	...	2
Chemical products etc.	...	...	1
Food industries	...	...	3'8
Industries of dress and toilet	...	...	7'8
Furniture industries	...	...	'03
Building industries	...	...	2
Construction of Means of transport	...	...	.06
Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.)	...	...	'015

## OCCUPATION OF THE PEOPLE

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Industries of luxury	...	2
Industries concerned with refuse matter	...	1'4
<i>IV.—Transport</i>	...	5
Transport by water	...	1
Transport by road	...	2'8
Transport by rail	...	1
Post Office, telegraph and telephone services	...	'8
<i>V.—Trade—</i>	...	17'8
Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	...	1'2
Brokerage, commission and export	...	'8
Trade in textiles	...	1'2
Trade in skins, leather and furs	...	'3
Trade in wood	...	'8
Trade in metals	...	'06
Trade in pottery	...	'1
Trade in chemical products	...	'17
Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	...	'7
Trade in food stuffs	...	9'5
Trade in clothing and toilet articles	...	'3
Trade in furniture	...	'17
Trade in building materials	...	'08
Trade in means of transport	...	'2
Trade in fuel	...	'5
Trade in articles of luxury	...	'5
Trade of other sorts	...	2'2
<i>VI.—Public force</i>	...	2'3
Army	...	'6
Navy	...	'004
Police	...	1'7
<i>VII.—Public administration</i>	...	2'6
<i>VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts</i>	...	5'3
Religion	...	2'7
Law	...	'3
Medicine	...	'6
Instruction	...	'7
Letters and arts and sciences	...	1
<i>IX.—Persons living principally on their Income</i>	...	'5
<i>D.—MISCELLANEOUS</i>	...	17
<i>X.—Domestic Service</i>	...	4'5

<i>XI—Insufficiently described Occupations</i>	...	9
<i>XII—Unproductive</i>	...	35
Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals	...	1
Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	...	33

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## Economic Products.

### The Chief agricultural produce are.—

1. **Rice**, cultivated extensively in Burma where the large waste areas are being gradually brought under cultivation, Bengal, Madras, and Behar and Orissa, and occasionally in the other Provinces. The area under this crop exceeds 80 million Acres. Most of the rice from Burma is exported to Europe or the farther East, but in times of scarcity it goes to the other provinces of India. The total annual yield averages about 700 million *Cwt.*

2. **Wheat** is grown widely throughout Northern India as a winter crop, the canal colonies of Punjab producing most. Panjab is the great grain field of the Empire for this wheat is largely exported, the percentage of export being more than 30. The total area under this crop is about 25 Million acres of which two-thirds is in Punjab alone. The total annual yield averages more than 10 million tons.

3. **Millets**, of which there are several varieties, constitute the most universal crop in India, as its cultivation extends from Madras to the Punjab. The variety known as *Jawar* (*Sorghum Valgare*) is the staple grain crop of Southern India. The *Bajra*, spiked Millet, is grown on the dry sandy soil of the Deccan and the Punjab. Its yield is poorer. There are other Millet crops cultivated to a small extent at other places. The total area under *Jowar* is 22 million and under *Bajra* 16 million acres. In the Bombay Deccan districts they cover more than 60% of the grain area, and more in years of drought. It is not much exported and is an important article of food for the poorer classes.

4. **Pulses**, or gram, mugh, etc., constitute an important rotation crop with rice or other crops, and are mostly grown in the gangetic plains. The total area is about 10 million acres.

5. **Oil-seeds**, chiefly rape, mustard, linseed, sesamum and Castor-oil, cover an extensive area, 15 million acres, as there is a flourishing export trade. Bengal, U. P., and Madras are the chief sources of supply. A very large quantity of the seeds are exported, but they are also largely pressed in the country, as oil is of universal domestic use in India. The total annual yield is about 3 million tons.

6. **Cotton** is one of the chief export from India but suffers greatly from competition with the American staple in being very short in fibre. It is principally grown in the Gujrat and Kathiawar Districts. The total area in India under this crop is about 14 million acres, and the average annual yield 2000 million pounds.

7. **Jute**, next to cotton, is the most important of Indian manufactures. Bengal enjoys a monopoly of this article, the cultivation being confined to a comparatively restricted area, more than three fourths of the total acreage (2.6 millions) being in East Bengal and Assam while the remainder fourth is in Bengal.

8. **Sugar cane**, occupying some 3.5 million acres mostly in the submontane tracts of Northern India, yielding in the average 2.7 million tons of cane sugar. The production is inadequate to meet the local demand and the manufacture of sugar is not run on a good profit basis, owing to the lack of organisation and large initial capital outlay. The consequence is that India imports foreign sugar, chiefly from Java and Mauritius, of 5 to 6 million pounds annually.

9. **Indigo**, once the most important export of India bringing enormous profit to European capital, has since 1860 been a dying industry, being unable to hold the field against the cheap synthetic Indigo of Germany. During the war an attempt was made to place it on a better footing, the German trade being cut out, but with little success. The pre war acreage under Indigo was about 2 millions but this has since risen to more than 7 millions and the total yield has increased from 46 thousand cwt., the pre war average, to about its double in 1918.

10. **Tea** cultivated chiefly in Assam, East Bengal and Southern India. More than two thirds of the total produce is from Assam alone. The total area under tea is more than half a million acres, yielding annually about 370 million pounds worth about 18 crores of Rupees. The Industry is *par excellence* of British Capital, more than 80 % of the capital being held by shareholders in London.

There is a prosperous export trade, the chief consumers being the United Kingdom, Canada, Russia, Australia and the United States of America. In recent years the export and market for Indian Tea in the whole world has been steadily rising. The total export in 1918 was 360 million pounds worth £ 11 million sterling.

**11. Coffee** is cultivated almost solely in Southern India and Ceylon—the coffee tract being the landward slope of the Western Ghats from Canara to Travancore in the extreme south. The article has almost no local market, the whole produce being exported to the United Kingdom and France. Lately competition with the cheap Brazilian coffee is seriously hampering the Indian trade and the land is being gradually given up to the more paying Tea and Rubber cultivations. The export in 1918 was 196 thousand Cwts.

**12. Cinchona** cultivated in government farms at Darjeeling, the Nilgiris and Coorg. The amount produced is small and is distributed in cheap packets for the local use of the people.

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## Mineral Resources of India.

The chief Mining resources are :—Coal in Bengal and Behar, Gold in Mysore and South India, Petroleum in Burma, Mica in Bengal, Tin and Jade in Burma and Monazite and other deposits, Iron in Bengal and Central India.

Except in Bombay and Southern India *Coal* exists under a very extensive area in India, but it has only been opened up in the Dhanbad Districts of Behar, and Asansol and Ranigum in Bengal. There are also some mines in Hyderabad, Assam and the C. P. The *Iron* ore deposits of Singhbhum, Raipur, Maurbhunj (Orissa) are now being very extensively operated by the great Tata Iron and Steel Company of Sakchi (Jamshadpur) and the Bengal Iron and Steel Company of Barakar. The Tata Company turned out 167,870 tons of pig Iron and 114,027 tons of Steel and Steel rails in 1917 and the output is rapidly increasing ; and the Bengal Iron and Steel Company produced 80 thousand tons of pig and 2 thousand tons of cast-iron Castings. Besides these there are numerous smaller furnaces.

The great *oil feds* of India are in Burma which supplies 98% of the total output, the remainder comes from Assam. The total output in 1917 was 282 million gallons, worth a little more than one million pound sterling.

Of other minerals Manganese ore is found on the Madras coast midway between Calcutta and Madras most of which goes to England. The Central Province deposit of Manganese is now being worked up by the Tatas. Mica in the Hazaribagh districts and Tin in Tavoy and Margui (Burma) are important deposits. Copper ores are found in many places in India, plumbago in Madras and the C. P. and corundrum in South India.

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## Total value of Minerals for the years 1916 and 1917.

Mineral.	1916	1917
	£	£
Coal	3,878,564	4,511,645
Gold	2,303,023	2,221,899
Manganese-ore	1,487,026	1,501,080
Petroleum	1,119,405	1,092,964
Salt	728,358	983,157
Saltpetre	607,488	527,666
Tungsten-ore	497,397	623,074
Lead and Lead ore	428,383	510,559
Mica	311,680	508,173
Building Materials and road metal	209,334	249,776
Silver	88,687	237,216
Tin-ore and Tin	39,302	66,533
Jade Stone	48,926	67,502
Iron ore	37,891	39,997
Monazite	37,714	56,489
Ruby, Sapphire and Spinel	37,513	51,881
Chromite	16,401	26,216
Magnesite	14,065	14,559
Alum	6,205	3,707
Clay	4,645	9,019
Copper-ore	3,259	30,162
Corundum	2,783	3,874
Steatite	2,628	6,470
Graphite	1,501	547
Ochre	941	1,630
Agate	783	255
Bismuth	—	163
Gypsum	745	1,034
Antimony-ore	503	139
Bauxite	453	620
Diamond	361	1,826
Molybdenite	202	626
Amber	157	684
Platinum	46	19
Asbestos	—	303
Total	11,916,469	13,351,364

## Trade Returns of India.

The following two tables gives the declared value of imports and exports up to March 1918. The imports of merchandise were approximately the same in value as those of the preceding year ; the exports, however, show a decrease of 1 per cent. As is well known the imports are mainly of goods manufactured from raw materials which India herself mostly exports. Compared with the preceding year exports show a decline of 9% and imports an increase of 23%

*Imports and exports of Private Merchandise and net imports of treasure on private account only.*

PRIVATE MERCHANDISE IN 1000 Rs.	Pre-war annual Average	1916-17.	1917-18.
Imports of Merchandise	Rs. 1,45,84,72	Rs. 1,49,63,53	Rs. 1,50,42,51
Exports of Indian Merchandise . .	2,19,49,73	2,37,07,86	2,33,43,44
Re-exports of Foreign Merchandise . . .	4,61,88	8,07,71	9,12,09
Total private Merchandise .	3,69,96,33	3,94,78,60	3,92,98,04
NET IMPORTS OF TREASURE (PRIVATE).			
Gold (net imports)	28,86,34	13,57,6	19,93,86
Silver " . .	7,20,91	-3,32,03	68,52
Total treasure (net imports).	36,07,25,	9,95,58	20,62,38

## TRADE RETURNS OF INDIA

*Imports and exports of Government store and net imports of  
treasure on Government account.*

Government Account in 1000 Rs.	Pre-war Annual Average	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Imports of Merchandise	5,82,28	6,18,31	10,61,37	13,92,97
Exports of Indian Merchandise	5,46	1,71,05	2,04,15	2,21,72
Re-exports of Foreign Merchandise ... ..	5,83	38,97	11,89	12,21
<b>TOTAL STORES...</b>	<b>5,93,57,</b>	<b>8,28,33</b>	<b>12,77,41</b>	<b>16,26,90</b>
<b>NET IMPORTS OF TREASURE (ON GOVERNMENT ACCOUNT).</b>				
Gold (net imports) ... ..	-71,49	3,75	-4,07	5,24,00
Silver ( " ) ... ..	3,51,97	-74,64	22,12,04	18,35,66
<b>Total treasure (net imports)...</b>	<b>2,80,48</b>	<b>-70,89</b>	<b>22,07,97</b>	<b>23,59,66</b>

**Imports.**—The chief articles of import are cotton goods, cotton yarn, metals, sugar, mineral oils, machinery, mill works and plants, woollen manufactures, hardware and cutlery, silk, liquors, apparels railway-materials and chemicals. Owing to the war and the consequent want of bottoms India has suffered greatly. Cotton manufactures and yarns come exclusively from the United Kingdom and the prewar percentage of this trade to the whole imports was more than 43. The balance of trade is always against India as she is debtor country and has to pay interest on capital borrowed in England and elsewhere, also the huge "Home charges" which make such a disastrous drain upon the material and moral resources of the people.

**Chief Imports :—**The Chief imports into India were as follows :—

					Pre-War Annual average	1916-7.	1917-18.
In 1000 Rs.					Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cotton goods	..	..	..	..	48,40,85	49,01,57	52,40,74
"    yarn	..	..	..	..	3,77,18	4,04,89	4,29,52
Sugar	..	..	..	..	13,17,58	15,45,03	15,31,98
Iron and steel	..	..	..	..	11,17,45	8,88,06	7,75,80
Machinery of all kinds, including belting	..				5,80,04	6,01,42	5,23,50
Chemicals, drugs, etc.	..	..	..	..	2,12,73	3,50,87	4,30,10
Silk, raw and manufactures	..	..	..	..	3,94,54	3,94,80	4,02,75
Mineral oil	..	..	..	..	3,72,03	4,43,93	3,64,07
Hardware	..	..	..	..	3,17,04	3,10,87	2,71,55
Liquors	..	..	..	..	2,02,46	2,33,01	2,49,96
Paper and paste board	..	..	..	..	1,27,07	2,33,10	2,31,12
Salt ..	..	..	..	..	79,16	1,91,46	2,20,08
Provisions	..	..	..	..	2,05,10	2,80,91	1,77,37
Motor cars and cycles	..	..	..	..	1,00,64	2,14,41	72,16
Railway plant and rolling-stock	..	..	..	..	6,10,94	1,56,86	49,63

**Exports.**—The chief exports are: raw cotton, cotton goods and yarn, rice, wheat, oilseeds, jute, hides, skins, tea, opium, and lac. The total exports for 1917—18 exceeded Rs 233 crores, 9 per cent above the annual pre war average. There was a large increase, of 52 per cent, or over Rs. 18 crores, in the export of food grains. How far this has operated bringing about the food scarcity and the consequent famine and riots in the country is matter which still awaits investigation. There was an increase in the export of raw cotton and manufactured Jute which rose by over Rs. 6 crores and Re. 1 crore respectively.

**Chief Exports.—****1917-18**

1.	Raw Cotton	...	...	Rs. 43 crores
2.	Cotton manufactures...	...	...	" 13 "
3.	Cotton Yarn	...	...	" 7.5 "
4.	Cotton goods	...	...	" 5.5 "
5.	Food Grains (Rice, Maize, Wheat, Barley, Gram, Pulse, Millets, etc)	...	...	" 5.4 "
6.	Raw Jute	...	...	" 6.4 "
7.	Manufactured Jute	...	...	" 4.3 "
8.	Hides and skins	...	...	" 2.3 "
9.	Oil seeds	...	...	" 8.2 "
10.	Raw Wool	...	...	" 4 "

## TRADE RETURNS OF INDIA

Other exports,	Average of pre-war An- nual.	1916-17	1917-18
In 1000 Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Lac ... ..	2,20,15	2,80,32	3,77,78
<b>Metals and Ores—</b>			
Manganese Ore ... ..	98,64	1,25,42	85,67
Wolfram ... ..	...	1,05	1,08,66
Others ... ..	70,40	1,41,37	99,95
Opium ... ..	9,96,17	2,09,65	2,40,77
Dyes—Indigo ... ..	29,92	2,11,26	1,52,81
Other sorts... ..	85,00	91,75	69,77
Oils ... ..	91,90	1,51,61	2,05,98
Rubber ... ..	39,38	1,58,44	1,62,36
Paraffin wax ... ..	54,99	1,01,69	1,10,99
Spices ... ..	85,88	1,09,53	1,09,20
Saltpetre ... ..	34,99	1,05,55	88,74
Coffee ... ..	1,37,52	1,07,68	99,31
Hemp, raw ... ..	78,27	1,64,12	79,44
Mica ... ..	35,87	51,19	86,29
Provisions and oilman's stores	45,63	71,01	70,37
Coal and coke ... ..	75,77	76,22	23,90
Articles exported by post ...	90,76	1,39,98	1,46,39

## TRADE RETURNS OF INDIA

## THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

	Pre-war average	1916-17	1917-18
	£(1,000)	£(1,000)	£(1,000)
(1) Gross exports—private merchandise ...	149,411	163,434	161,703
(2) Gross imports— " " ...	97,232	99,757	100,283
(3) Net export " " ...	52,179	63,677	61,420
(4) Imports of Treasure and funds (private account) ...	52,464	33,282	49,830
(a) Net imports of Gold ...	19,242	2,797	14,306
(b) " " Silver ...	4,806	—1,440	971
" " Treasure ...	24,048	1,357	15,277
(c) " " Government Securities ...	878	542	737
(d) Council Bills ...	27,538	31,383	33,816
Balance of trade in favour of India ...	...	30,395	11,590
" " against India... ...	285	...	...

# Budget for 1918—19

Speech of the Finance Members, the Hon. Sir W. Meyer,  
in the Imperial Legislative Council,

22, March 1918.

The final figures of the Revised Estimate for 1917-18 and of the Budget Estimate for 1918-19 are given in separate formal statements. The broad results of the revenue account are brought out in the table below in which I have also shown in brackets for convenience of comparison the figures (now superseded) which were given in the corresponding table appearing in paragraph 54 of my speech introducing the Financial Statement.

The more important alterations in our figures occur under the entirely provincial or the 'divided heads of revenue and expenditure. Thus, owing to the unsatisfactory conditions of the paddy market in Burma the Local Government has had to postpone land revenue collections to a considerable extent with the result that these are now expected to fall short of the previous estimates for the current year by £500,000, of which we anticipate that £400,000 will be realised during the course of the next year. This affects both the Imperial and the Provincial estimates in each of the two years. There has been a similar postponement of a smaller amount namely, £67,000 in Bombay. In the latter province, however, a large increase of £233,000 is now expected in the excise revenue for next year, against which we have allowed proposals made by the Local Government for additional expenditure mainly on education and sanitation. Under purely Imperial heads the largest changes in our estimates are an increase in the Customs revenue of about £76,000 in the current year, and £100,000 in the next year. I need not refer to other alterations as these are of relatively minor importance.

The net result of the above changes, in so far as the Imperial position is concerned, is to reduce the surplus for 1917-18 by £114,000 and to increase that for next year by £291,000, the surplus for 1918-19 now standing at £2,582,000. Of this latter improvement, however, about £182,000 represents revenue thrown forward from the current year, and £108,000 a real improvement.



# Revised Budget Estimate 1917-19

	BUDGET, 1917-18,			REVISED, 1917-18.			BUDGET, 1918-19.		
	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.
Revenue . . .	66,420	32,451	98,871	76,563 (76,677)	33,361 (33,724)	109,924 (110,401)	74,303 (73,999)	34,887 (34,348)	109,190 (108,347)
Expenditure . .	66,284	32,549	98,833	70,852 (70,852)	31,523 (31,468)	102,375 (102,320)	71,721 (71,708)	34,756 (34,443)	106,477 (106,151)
Surplus (+) or deficit (—).	+136	—098	+038	+5,711 (+5,825)	+1,833 (+2,256)	+7,549 (+8,081)	+2,582 (+2,291)	+131 (—095)	+2,713 (+2,196)

These results would, so far as the ability to provide funds is concerned, permit the fulfilment of the conditional promise I made on the 9th instant with reference to a Resolution by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma, that if our final Budget figures justified it, we should be prepared to make a supplementary grant of £200,000 for technical and agricultural education. But, as I indicated on that occasion, the sanction of the India Office was also required, and though that has just been received, it has arrived too late to allow of the alteration in figures which the allotment of this sum would require. But I assure the Council that we shall make a supplementary allotment as soon as possible, and thus furnish substantial evidence of the reality which we attach to our new procedure in respect of discussion of the Financial Statement.

"6. In the case of the provinces there will be a reduction in the surplus for 1917-18 of £418,000, but on the other hand the estimated deficit of £95,000 for 1918-19 will be converted into a surplus of £131,000, there being thus an improvement of £226,000. Concurrently with this conversion of the collective provincial deficit into a surplus, provision has been made for increased provincial expenditure next year to the extent of £313,000. This increase occurring mainly in Bombay where, as already stated, we have allowed the Local Government to apply the anticipated increase of £233,000 in excise receipts next year to beneficent expenditure, including £100,000 on education, £67,000 on sanitation, and a like amount for grants to local bodies for other purposes. We have also allowed them to draw on their provincial balances during the current year to the extent £80,000 for the last mentioned object. This is a very early fulfilment of the undertaking which I gave in connection with a resolution moved in the Council a short time ago to the effect that if later on improvement occurred in the provincial revenues we would consider very sympathetically the possibility of allowing the provinces to increase their outlay.

Turning to ways and means, recent heavy demand for Treasury Bills in Bombay warrants an increase of £1,333,000 on our previous estimate for 1917-18, involving a corresponding increase in the estimated repayments of the same from fresh bills next year. There has also been an improvement in savings bank deposits, and a falling off in payments on account of foreign money orders. On the other hand, we expect to meet during the current year additional military outlay, mainly on stores, to the extent of £660,000; a considerable part of this will probably be recovered later, and the expenditure is meanwhile shown provisionally under the suspense head. As the net result of these and other

less important alterations, we now expect that our cash balance in India at the end of the current year will be £16,522,000, or an increase of £553,000 on the figure adopted in the Financial Statement; while our closing balance for next year will stand at £12,273,000, being an increase of £1,153,000, over that previously taken and practically equivalent to the normal closing balance we look to.

“As regards England, the Secretary of State expects that his balance will be larger by £1,745,000 at the end of the current year and next, owing to additional and more prompt recoveries from the War Office and the Admiralty.

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FINANCIAL DETAILS

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Heads of Revenue and Expenditure.	Accounts, 1916-1917.	Revised Estimate, 1917-1918.	Budget Estimate, 1918-1919.
<b>REVENUE.</b>			
	in 100 £		
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Land Revenue	22,041.2	22,191.1	22,358.5
Opium	3,160.0	3,068.4	3,191.8
Salt	4,826.2	5,432.8	3,492.2
Stamps	5,776.6	5,745.0	5,928.0
Excise	9,215.8	10,050.1	10,373.7
Customs	8,659.1	11,127.9	10,714.4
Income Tax	3,772.9	6,075.8	6,313.2
Other Heads	3,655.1	3,861.3	3,870.7
<b>TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS</b>	<b>61,107.4</b>	<b>67,554.5</b>	<b>66,242.5</b>
Interest	1,136.5	2,245.3	3,552.6
Posts and Telegraphs	4,174.6	4,492.1	4,782.8
Mint	689.8	530.7	376.0
Receipts by Civil Departments	1,739.7	1,926.7	1,956.1
Miscellaneous	847.5	2,599.9	1,295.2
Railways : Net Receipts	21,313.7	24,051.6	22,983.7
Irrigation	5,155.6	5,174.0	5,320.4
Other Public Works	309.3	318.9	304.9
Military Receipts	1,575.9	1,502.2	1,532.7
<b>TOTAL REVENUE</b>	<b>98,050.4</b>	<b>110,401.3</b>	<b>108,346.9</b>
<b>EXPENDITURE.</b>			
Direct Demands on the Revenues	9,328.6	9,919.0	10,438.3
Interest	1,174.8	7,797.5	7,784.3
Posts and Telegraphs	3,441.3	3,599.0	3,931.4
Mint			
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	167.4	179.8	170.0
Miscellaneous Civil Charges	19,081.2	20,916.1	22,993.0
Famine Relief and Insurance	5,414.2	5,894.8	5,614.7
Railways : Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
Irrigation	13,831.9	13,876.8	13,782.0
Other Public Works	3,549.9	3,742.8	3,928.7
Military Services	4,618.5	5,110.5	5,945.6
	36,566.7	20,284.7	30,532.7
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE, IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL</b>	<b>88,174.9</b>	<b>102,320.0</b>	<b>106,150.7</b>
Add-Provincial Surpluses, †	2,397.3	2,322.9	351.4
Deduct-Provincial Deficits, ‡		66.7	446.7
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE.</b>	<b>90,572.2</b>	<b>104,576.2</b>	<b>106,055.4</b>
<b>SURPLUS</b>	<b>7,478.1</b>	<b>5,825.1</b>	<b>2,291.5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>98,050.4</b>	<b>110,401.3</b>	<b>108,346.9</b>

† that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year.

‡ that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balance.

## FINANCIAL DETAILS

**General Statement of the Revenue and  
Expenditure Charged to.**

	Accounts, 1916-1917.	Budget Estimate, 1917-18.	Revised Estimate, 1917-1918.	Budget Estimate, 1918-1919.
<b>Revenue—</b>	£	100£	100£	100£
Principal Heads of R.				
Land Revenue ...	22,041,265	22,218,2	21,611,1	22,798,6
Opium ...	3,160,005	3,389,3	3,068,5	3,191,8
Salt ...	4,826,260	3,972,9	5,472,8	3,492,2
Stamps ...	5,776,696	5,952,1	5,745,0	5,938,0
Excise ...	9,215,899	9,328,2	10,076,8	10,647,0
Customs ...	8,659,182	9,394,8	11,204,2	10,814,4
Income Tax ...	3,772,967	5,129,3	6,075,8	6,333,2
Other Heads ...	3,655,196	3,465,6	3,828,0	3,870,7
<b>TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS</b>	<b>61,107,470</b>	<b>62,850,4</b>	<b>67,082,2</b>	<b>67,085,9</b>
Interest ...	1,136,504	2,095,7	2,245,3	3,552,6
Posts and Telegraphs	4,174,607	4,345,7	4,492,1	4,782,8
Mint ...	689,866	139,1	530,7	376,0
Receipts by Civil Departments ...	1,739,713	1,706,3	1,926,7	1,956,1
Miscellaneous ...	847,530	743,0	2,599,9	1,295,2
Railways : Net Receipts	21,313,797	20,253,0	24,051,6	22,983,7
Irrigation ...	5,155,624	5,125,3	5,174,7	5,320,4
Other Public Works	309,373	285,2	318,9	304,9
Military Receipts ...	1,575,946	1,327,1	1,502,2	1,532,7
<b>TOTAL REVENUE...</b>	<b>98,050,430</b>	<b>98,870,8</b>	<b>109,924,3</b>	<b>109,190,3</b>

Revenue, of the Government of India, in  
India and in England

	Accounts, 1916-1917.	Budget Estimate, 1917-1918	Revised Estimate, 1917-1918	Budget Estimate 1918-1919
<b>Expenditure—</b>	£	100£	100£	100£
Direct Demands on the Revenues ...	9,328,668	10,027,5	9,950,3	10,454,9
Interest ...	1,174,864	6,832,8	7,797,5	7,784,3
Posts and Telegraphs	3,441,387	3,601,9	3,599,0	3,931,4
Mint ...	167,411	108,6	179,8	170,0
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	19,081,230	21,089,8	20,936,8	23,164,3
Miscellaneous Civil Charges ...	5,414,272	5,419,2	5,894,8	5,671,5
Famine Relief and Insurance ...	1,000,000	1,000,0	1,000,0	1,000,0
Railways; Interest and Miscellaneous Charges ...	13,831,922	14,147,4	13,876,8	13,782,0
Irrigation ...	3,549,912	3,834,1	3,732,8	3,928,7
Other Public Works				
Military Services ...	4,618,535	5,544,8	5,122,5	6,057,7
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE,</b>	<b>26,566,757</b>	<b>87,227,1</b>	<b>30,284,7</b>	<b>30,532,7</b>
<b>IMPERIAL AND PROVIN :</b>	<b>88,174,958</b>	<b>98,833,2</b>	<b>102,375,0</b>	<b>106,477,4</b>
<i>Add</i> -Provincial Sur- pluses : † ...	2,397,302	240,3	2,068,6	572,6
<i>Deduct</i> -Provincial De- ficits : ‡ ...	...	338,1	231,2	441,2
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</b>				
<b>CHARGED TO REVENUE</b>	<b>90,572,260</b>	<b>98,735,4</b>	<b>104,212,7</b>	<b>106,608,8</b>
<b>SURPLUS ...</b>	<b>7,478,170</b>	<b>135,4</b>	<b>5,711,6</b>	<b>2,581,5</b>
<b>TOTAL ...</b>	<b>98,050,430</b>	<b>98,870,8</b>	<b>109,924,3</b>	<b>109,190,</b>

† that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year.

‡ that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balances.

...

**Currency Reserve—1918.**

Silver coin in India Rs. 10,40 lakhs.

Gold coin and bullion in India Rs. 26,85 lakhs.

Silver bullion under coinage Rs. 39 lakhs.

Gold coin and bullion in England Rs. 67 lakhs.

Securities Rs. 61,48 lakhs.

These securities were held in the following form :—

	Nominal Value.			Cost price.		
IN RUPEE SECURITIES—	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
3½ per cent. loan of 1842-43	8,15,95,000	0	0	8,00,00,000	0	0
3 per cent. loan of 1896-97	2,04,86,500	0	0	1,99,99,945	10	0
	<u>10,20,81,500</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9,99,99,945</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>
	₹	s.	d.	₹	s.	d.
IN STERLING SECURITIES—						
2½ per cent. Consols ...	2,628,438	1	6	2,240,468	18	0
British Treasury Bills ...	<u>32,777,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>32,078,782</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
	<u>35,405,438</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>34,319,251</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	=Rs.			61,47,88,773	1	0

**Gold Standard Reserve—1918.**

Estimated value on the 31st March 1918 of the Sterling Securities of the nominal value of ₹29,389,824 (as per details below) ...	28,452,943
Cash placed by the Secretary of State in Council at short notice— ...	6,000,499
In India—	
Gold ...	<i>Nil.</i>
<b>TOTAL...</b>	<u>34,453,442</u>

## Details of investments :—

	Face value.
	₹
Local Loans 3 per cent. Stock ...	200,000
Guaranteed 2½ per cent. Stock ...	438,720
Transvaal Government 3 per cent. Guaranteed Stock (1923—53) ...	1,092,023
Exchequer 6 per cent. Bonds ...	4,982,800
Exchequer 5 per cent. Bonds, 1922 ...	2,008,300
1921 ...	139,800
Exchequer 3 per cent. Bonds ...	2,998,000
Canada 3½ per cent. Bonds ...	161,000
New South Wales 3½ per cent. Stock ...	113,000
British Treasury Bills ...	13,494,000
National War Loan 5 per cent. ...	<u>3,762,181</u>
<b>TOTAL...</b>	<u>29,389,824</u>

# IMPERIAL CONFERENCES.



# INDIA AND THE WAR.

Early in 1918 the War wore an aspect ominously threatening the Allies on all fronts, and the Eastern menace assumed proportions which could neither be neglected nor denied. In phenomenal succession Russia collapsed, the Tsar and his family were brutally murdered, the nobility massacred, all past secret treaties and State documents were torn up, all land seized and distributed equally to the People, and Bolshevism came to be the supreme National Creed. In the welter of riot and anarchy the whole country passed silently into the hands of Germany. That Power at once saw her opportunity, concluded an alliance with the Bolshevik government, subsidised Russia and aimed at a general confusion and conflagration in Central Asia and the frontiers of India. Southern Russia was occupied by German hordes, new Turkish Divisions were moved across the Black sea to Batum and the Caucasus, Turkish troops invaded the province of Azerbajjan in Persia ; and rapid preparations were made to cross the Caspian and carry the War into Central Asia and Persia. The situation clearly enough was becoming very threatening and on April 2nd the Prime Minister addressed to the Viceroy the following telegram :—

## The Premier's Message.

“ At this time, when the intention of the rulers of Germany to establish a tyranny, not only over all Europe, but over Asia as well, has become transparently clear, I wish to ask the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the British armies, assisted by their Allies, the attempts of the enemy in the West are being checked, but if we are to prevent the menace spreading to the East and gradually engulfing the world, every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels it has already won, and will equip itself on an even greater scale than at present, to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve.”

The Viceroy replied on April 5th.—“ Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom and by the stern unalterable resolution which those

sacrifices evince. India, anxious yet confident, realizes to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict, and your trumpet call at this crisis will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the Princes and the Peoples' leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands."

The Premier's message for the first time in India sent a thrill throughout the country which it had not experienced even in four years of war. It showed for the first time that the war may at any time be carried into Indian soil or the frontiers, and people's apprehensions and expectations ran high. The whole country was astir; the traditional eastern apathy was for once laid aside, and men began to question if they could not really help and do something new. Great was the intensity of feeling; greater still the hopes for a better and nobler field of work. Circumstances demanded a united India voicing forth its feelings and the Viceroy, as the only leader for such an occasion, called a special War conference of Princes and Peoples at Delhi on April 27, 1918. This conference sat for 3 days, 27th to 29th April, and was attended by the Ruling Chiefs, the members of Viceroy's Council, and delegates representing all shades of political opinion sent by the Provincial Governments.

## DELHI WAR CONFERENCE—27 April, 1918.

### The Viceroy Speech.

We are met together, princes and people, from all the ends of India—I wish I could have summoned more—with no pomp and circumstance, no pageantry, no clash of arms or music, to show that India's word given in the soft days of peace holds good in the iron times of war, to prove that India remains now, as ever, true to her salt. We are met here, then, with a quite purpose and stern resolve to answer the call which our King Emperor makes to us. And what is the call to-day after well nigh four completed years of war? The guns are thundering and men are dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue "Is right might?" or "Is might right." And your Emperor calls upon India at this supreme moment to rally to his call and establish it for all time that right is might. Do I err when I state the issue thus? We hold that moral purpose is the achievement of right. Can we say

the same of our foes? None of us can forget the German Chancellor's cynical avowal in the opening days of the war that "necessity knows no law." We remember blazing Louvain. We hear the cries of children. Old men are shot, women are outraged, and butchered. We have had the tale of German rule in South-West Africa. So I could go on with the gruesome history of these four years. And now where do we stand? In the West the armed hosts face each other locked in deadly conflict. The battle sways this way and that. Our forces have been pressed back under the weight of the German armies released from the Russian front.

### The menace to the East.

But in the meantime Germany, with that thoroughness which might have been devoted to a better cause, has not been idle in the East. I will take your minds back a few years. Germany has long cast her eyes eastward. In her dream of world domination the East has always loomed large, and many years ago Germany concentrated her diplomacy on the moral and political capture of Turkey as her servitor. A path to the East was open and she could use the influence and prestige of Turkey in the Moslem world for the furtherance of her own aims. I need not dwell on her pre-war plans in regard to the Baghdad railway and other matters in Asia-Minor and Mesopotamia. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe, Germany succeeded, with the help of a clique bound by self-interest to her service, in dragging Turkey into a share with which she had no concern, regardless of the ruin caused to that unhappy country now. In this policy Germany was prompted not only by her craving for Eastern dominion, but also by the hope that she might cause thereby the maximum embarrassment in the East to her chief enemy, Great Britain. In the first place she hoped that the Moslems of India would be duped into the belief that this secular war with Turkey, thrust on us against our will, was a religious war, and would be shaken in their allegiance to Great Britain. But in this she was destined to disappointment. The Indian Moslems were quick to realise that this was not a matter of religion but a secular trap, into which they were too wise and too loyal to walk. The Indian Moslems, with their religion safeguarded and secured as it has always been and always will be under British rule have stood loyal to the great Empire of whom they form so vital a part. In the second place, Germany hoped to secure an open and unmolested path to the Persian Gulf, whence she might harry Indian communications and Indian commerce with her submarines, and, perhaps eventually, by intrigue and terrorism in Persia, bring the war to the

confines of India itself. But here again she is thwarted. Our gallant armies in Mesopotamia, to which India has contributed so generously, have now succeeded by victory after victory in securing the great plains of Mesopotamia so that no danger can, I hope and believe, again threaten us from that quarter. By our operations in Mesopotamia we have not only steadied the Middle East, but are defending India by the best way possible from direct German aggression.

You will ask:—Where then is the menace of which the Prime Minister speaks? The terrible revolution which has hurled Russia into anarchy has opened another door for Germany through Southern Russia to the confines of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. At present famine, lawlessness, and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us by that route, and, as yet, preoccupied with the stupendous struggle in the West, Germany has made no military move whatsoever in this direction; but the door is open and we must be on our guard. In this war, as in no war before, we have to look ahead and prepare for every possible contingency. Germany has not, and could not yet have made any military move in the direction I speak of; but she has already, as is her wont, thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration. The lesson she has learnt from the Russian revolution is that a stronger weapon than all the armaments that money can buy or science devise is the disruption of an enemy by his own internal forces. To this end Germany sapped and mined in Russia. To this end she will sap and mine through her agents in the Middle East, and blow on the fame of anarchy in the hope that it may spread and spread till it has enveloped the lands of her enemies, regardless of all intervening havoc. When the ground has thus been prepared, then she will look for the opportunity.

#### The Need for Men.

I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large. I want her to realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland. And, now the Prime Minister has sent forth his trumpet call and spoken of the menace to the East, I have thought it well to take you into my complete confidence and tell you how the matter stands. There is no reason for apprehension. Forewarned we are forearmed, and, if we stand united against the common foe, we have no cause for fear. India is true to her allegiance. India stands for the right. No man addressing such an audience and stating such a cause can

doubt for one moment what the response will be. I have spoken of the cause. I have told you of the death-grip on the Western front and have unfolded to you the story of German machinations in the East.

If the war were to stop to-morrow the tale of India's share in the great war would form no unworthy page in her glorious annals. Her sons have fought not without glory on every front. In East Africa, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, they have borne away victorious laurels. They still flock to the colours, but until victory is achieved we cannot relax our efforts. I have summoned you to Delhi not simply that you may listen to me, move resolutions, and then disperse ; but I have asked you to come and help with your counsel and advice now, and with your personal endeavour when you return to your homes.

In due course you will be invited to appoint two committees, one on man-power and another on resources. The Commander-in-Chief and other members of my Executive Council, assisted by expert advisers, will lay before the committees informations which will enable them to review the situation and report to the Conference on Monday. I might speak to you to-day of the help which India could give in many directions. We can of our plenty give more to those who go short. We can become more self-sufficing. We can learn to do without things. But these are questions which can be better discussed in committee.

While I am speaking the great issue still hangs on the balance upon the battle fields of France. It is there that the ultimate decision of India's fate will be taken. I have told you of the situation in the East, not because I think your pulses can only be quickened by an indication of peril to yourselves, but because through it you may be able to see clearly where our path of duty lies. Let me be able to tell the Prime Minister that he need have no fear for the East—that here India will do watch and ward, that here she will take full responsibility.

#### **We Must Close our Ranks.**

But, if we are to do these things, we must close our ranks. In the face of the common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning, and surely no one can say that India has any cause for complaint on this score. It was only in August last that the momentous declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government was made. Close on the heels of that announcement the Secretary

of State came out to India, and he and I have been at work on the problem for the past six months. Mr. Montagu is now on his way home, carrying with him a joint report and recommendations on the momentous declaration of policy made by His Majesty's Government last August. He has left in full confidence that India will not prove deaf to the call which has been made. I read with great satisfaction the telegram of the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council, in which they expressed their trust that the people of India will put aside all difference of opinion and disputes and will concentrate their whole energy upon a supreme endeavour to prevent the tyranny of the German Empire from engulfing the whole world. Surely that should be the aim of us all. I am ready, aye more than ready, to concert with those who will meet me on this common platform. But in these days of stress and strain it is idle to ask men to come together who disagree on first principles. While they are wrangling over those while the house is burning, there are those who would exploit England's difficulty. I believe that these people gravely misinterpret India's attitude. I am sure that there are none here who will countenance such a policy. There are those, again, who would wish to bargain. Again I decline to believe that anyone has come to this Conference in a huckstering spirit. Lastly there are some who would busy themselves with this thing or that. To these I would say that, as at home and in other countries, we have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over, but our task in this respect is now over for the present. We have heard all those who had a right to be heard and we have a right to ask for patience. No decisive steps will be taken without opportunity being given for discussion and criticism. Let me then take Burke's immortal phrase and say: "Let us pass on, for God's sake, let us pass on".

**Message from the King.**—At the conclusion of his speech, the Viceroy read to the Conference the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor:—

"I learn with deep satisfaction that in response to the invitation of my Viceroy, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, representatives of the provincial Governments and leaders of all ranks and sections of the community, European and Indian, are meeting in Conference at Delhi to re-affirm the abiding loyalty of the Indian people and their resolute will to prosecute to their utmost ability and to the full limit of their resources, in association with other members of the Empire, the war which our enemies have wantonly provoked and which they are ruthlessly waging against the freedom of the world.

Great as has been India's contribution to the common cause of the allies, it is by no means the full measure of her resources and her strength. I rejoice to know that their development and the fuller utilisation of her man-power will be the first care of the Conference. The need of the Empire is India's opportunity and I am confident that under the sure guidance of my Viceroy her people will not fail in their endeavours. Recent events have made the struggle on the western front more bitter and more intense. At the same time the position in the East is menaced by disturbances in Asia instigated by the enemy. It is of ever-increasing importance that the operations of our armies in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India. I look confidently to the deliberations of the Conference to promote a spirit of unity, a concentration of purpose and activity, and a cheerful acceptance of sacrifices without which no high object, no lasting victory, can be achieved."

Following the Viceroy's speech, the Conference appointed committees on Man-power and Resources, and adjourned whilst these two committees were considering in detail the points put before them. The following recommendations were made :—

**Man-power.**—(i) That this Committee recommend that the Conference tender to His Majesty the King-Emperor a suitable acknowledgment of his gracious message to which India will respond with enthusiastic alacrity.

(ii) That this Committee offers its cordial support to the Government of India in largely increasing voluntary recruitment during the present year.

The Sub-Committee are of opinion that India's effort should be a voluntary one, and that it is not necessary at present to consider the question of conscription.

(iii) That this Committee desire to impress on the Government the necessity for the grant of a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians, and urge as a corollary to this that measures be taken for training the recipients of these commissions.

(iv) That this Committee recommend that Govt. be invited to consider without delay, the question of a substantial increase of the pay of Indian soldiers.

(v) That this Committee desire that the question of the constitution and development of (a) publicity Bureau and (b) Employment Bureau in the various provinces be commended to the favourable consideration of Government.

**Resources.**—The Committee on Resources submitted the following recommendations :—

**Resolution I.**—(a) “This Conference recommends that provincial and—where this is desirable—State committees, on the former of which non-official Indian opinion should be adequately represented, should be formed for the purpose of advising Government departments and of encouraging the people to confine their private requirements as nearly as possible to local products, in order to save unnecessary demands for railway transport, and for the further purpose of advising Directors of Civil Supplies as to the special necessities of any districts and as to the commodities for which they think that priority should be given on the railways.”

(b) This Conference recommends that for the purpose of minimising the serious hardships to the public and the dislocation of trade caused by the congestion of traffic on railways, it is necessary that the Government should, with as little delay as possible, take measures for the construction by itself of river craft for inland transport, of sailing ships for ocean transport and also as far as possible of steamships, and should by the grant of subsidies or concessions encourage the construction of the same by private agencies.”

2. In the next place, and with the same end in view, the Sub-Committee are persuaded that considerable development is possible in the local production of war materials and other munitions, and that by organising a provincial machinery much could be done towards reducing the local consumption of material needed for war use. The existence of such provincial organisations would also, the Sub-Committee believe, be useful in preventing or alleviating local irregularities in, and inflation of, prices. For these reasons they commend to the Conference the adoption of the following Resolution :—

**Resolution II.**—“This Conference recommends that provincial, and—where this is desirable—State committees, the former consisting both of officials and non-officials, should be formed to advise the provincial Controllers of Munitions regarding the measures to be adopted for—

(a) stimulating the local production of war materials :

(b) reducing the local consumption of materials wanted for war use ;

(c) preventing local irregularities in, and inflation of prices.”

3. For the purpose of giving effect to the foregoing Resolution the Sub-Committee think it necessary that the Munitions Board—upon which it is desirable that Indians should be appointed—should



be in close communication with the proposed committees, and to this end, they recommend that the following Resolution be passed:—

**Resolution III.**—“This conference recommends that the Munitions Board should place itself in communication with the provincial and State committees, where these are formed, for the purpose of organising district work in connection with the supply of materials for war use.”

4. In connection with the development of India's resources in food-stuffs the Sub-Committee have reason to believe that useful results would accrue from the appointment in all provinces—and, where this is desirable, in States—of committees acting in co-operation with the local Directors of Agriculture, where these exist. The functions of such committees should be to educate the agriculturist in the direction of making the best possible use of his land for the production of different kinds of food-stuffs, and to obtain and disseminate information in the districts in regard to facilities for procuring fertilisers of all kinds for the development of agriculture. To this end the Sub-Committee suggest the adoption of the following Resolution.—

**Resolution IV.**—“This Conference advises that provincial, and—where this is desirable—State committees, the former consisting both of officials and non-officials, should be formed with, if necessary, subordinate district committees—to advise in consultation with the local Directors of Agriculture, where these exist, in regard to the possibilities of developing the production of particular foodstuffs, and to collate and propagate information likely to be of value to the agriculturists on the subject of manures, implements, etc., required for such development; also to recommend to the Government what steps might be taken to facilitate the cultivation of waste lands.”

5. Lastly, the Committee recommend that the Munitions Board and the various advisory committees constituted for war work should, as far as this is consistent with public interest, issue periodical communiques or reports giving information as to their activities, requirements, and results.

#### The Delhi Conference—April 29, 1918.

The Conference met again on April 29th, the Viceroy presiding. The Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde, member, Imperial Legislative Council, wanted to move a resolution on the grant of equal status of citizenship to Indians. This had a strong following but was over-ruled. The Viceroy in opening the proceedings said: “Your Highnesses and gentlemen, before proceeding with the agenda which you all

have in your hands, I wish to inform this Conference that I have received notice of a resolution from the Hon. Mr. Khaparde. The resolution is as follows : "That this Conference recommends that in order to invoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilise the man power and material and money, the Govt. in England should without delay introduce a bill into Parliament to meet the demands of the people to establish Responsible Govt. in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the statute. We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their motherland for freedom in the defence of their own rights in an Empire in which they possess the same status as other members thereof, and we are further assured that if the imagination of our country be captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged, it can easily equip itself to be, in the language of the Premier, the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This Conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith, and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the Kings equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

The Viceroy ruled the resolution out of order, for, he said that that was a war Conference summoned to discuss how best India could help the Empire in Man-power and Material resources, and the resolution did not really come within the scope of the Conference. Further the Conference was an Imperial Conference of the Ruling Princes as well as of the People of India. He said :

"There is a fundamental governing principle which rules the relations between the Native states and British India. We do not interfere in the internal concerns of the Native States and conversely we do not expect their Highnesses to interfere in our affairs. Therefore on this occasion if this resolution were admitted we should be asking their Highnesses to discuss and to vote on a matter which I for one distinctly say is not in their purview, and I feel that their Highnesses would be the first to disclaim any wish to do so and would in fact decline to do it. Therefore on all these grounds I am bound to rule this resolution out of order. I gave the Hon. Member notice of my intention and I told him that I should put the resolution as he drafted it before the conference, and I also told him that I should inform the conference of the considered opinion which I have arrived at upon this resolution to show that I had considered it carefully and after the consideration had felt that it was not in my power to accept it."

The Gaekwar of Boroda then moved the first resolution

of loyalty. He said His Majesty's appeal to our sense of patriotic unity had fallen upon no deaf ears and Indians would do the utmost to ensure the triumph of right over might to which they all looked forward with entire confidence.

The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior followed : India, he said, would do her duty to the utmost in this hour of great crisis which had arisen.

The Viceroy then introduced the **Begum of Bhopal**, explaining that Her Highness should have been invited to speak earlier. The Begum then rose and in clear voice she herself read the patriotic speech in English expressing the unalterable resolve of her State to support the British Empire to the utmost in this time of trial. Nothing in love, in sympathy, or in help should be lacking.

The **Maharaja of Bikanir** said the time was verily one for active deeds and not for mere words. He would therefore be brief. The services India was proud to have rendered in this momentous struggle were the outcome of her unquestioned and whole-hearted loyalty and devotion to the King Emperor—a loyalty which had no price and was not for barter or for sale. Woe betied the people that did not defend itself ; everything else was of altogether secondary importance. The horrors of what invasion of India would mean could only be realised by those who had seen it in Belgium and France. He was confident that this conference would lead to redoubled effort so that tyranny might be overthrown, and as to his own State, his troops had been continuously away on field service abroad, and reserves had been kept up throughout at home. They had also contributed, he hoped, to the full extent of resources of his State in other ways. His own sword was at the service of the King-Emperor and they would stand or fall with him.

The Maharaja of Patiala followed in a similar strain.

Mr Surendra Nath Banerjee also supported the resolution and said never was the Empire confronted with a graver crisis.

The Rajah of Mahmudabad also supported the resolution and said everyone in India was united in one resolve, namely, to see this conflict through and through to victorious termination.

Mr Srinivas Sastri also supported the resolution.

Mr Hasan Imam said he supported the resolution on behalf of the province of Behar and Orissa.

Mr. Gandhi speaking partly in the vernacular said he supported the resolution with all his heart (applause).

Pundit Malaviya was proud to find how the Princes and people of India were in union in supporting the resolution. The task before them was a huge one. He was sure there was a guarantee

in this gathering that great effort to accomplish it would be made but there was need to infuse the right spirit into the men. They were asking them to risk their lives and to this end he would ask all to take a lesson from Aurangzebe and Guru Govind Singh who enlisted the humblest classes as well as the Rajputs and obliterated all distinctions between the Guru and the pupil. At this great crisis also there should be equality of opportunities to all, to the humble and the highly born, to the Indian and to the European alike. Thus, as in the time of Guru Govind Singh, tyranny would once more be over-thrown. The conditions necessary to enable Indians to do their best must be established. There must be a feeling of freedom and equality of opportunity. He knew that constitutional reforms could not now be announced in detail, but if some general statement could be made, that a day of equal opportunity and freedom was to dawn, this would go far to help.

Mr. Ironside speaking on behalf of the commercial community also supported the resolution.

Sardar Sundar Singh supported the resolution on behalf of the Punjab.

Mr. Maung Bah Too also supported the resolution.

Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis also supported the resolution. He said there was only one question throughout the country and that was how best to meet the common danger to their common Empire. United they stood, divided they fell.

Mr. Chanda and others also spoke in support of this resolution.

The loyalty resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Maharaja of Kashmir then moved the second resolution endorsing the recommendations of the sub-committees. It was their birthright, he said, to defend their hearths and homes.

The Maharaja of Alwar also supported the resolution.

The Maharaja of Dholpur said India was capable of yet greater efforts. They must make up their minds that more was possible and try to bring home to everyone that they should help.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala cordially supported the resolution.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer also supported the resolution.

Mr. Mazumdar supporting the resolution said the future of England hung in the balance and the fate of India with it.

Sir Narayan Chandravarkar also supported the resolution. He said the sparrows of India could yet smite the eagles of Prussia!

Mr. Crum supported the resolution in the name not only of the commercial community of Calcutta but also in that of the province of Bengal.

Mr. Mudholkar also supported the resolution.

Mr. Madhosudan Das and Mr. Rajendra Narayan Chowdhury also supported the resolution.

The Resolution was then put by the Viceroy and was passed by acclamation.

**War Gifts.**—The Viceroy, in closing the Conference, announced the following War contributions from the Ruling Princes present:—

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda	...	15 lakhs.
His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior	... ..	... 15 lakhs a year so long as the war continues.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir	...	5 lakhs.
His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur	...	5 lakhs.
His Highness the Maharao of Kuch	...	1 lakh a year for the period of the war.
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar	...	1 lakh.
His Highness the Maharaja Jam Shaib of Nawanager	... ..	... 3 lakhs a year as long as the war lasts.

### BENGAL WAR CONFERENCE—MAY, 1918.

The Bengal Conference met on the 2nd. May, 1918 at the Government House under the presidency of the Governor. In opening the proceedings His Excellency Lord Ronaldshey said in the course of his speech:—

“I am grateful to Bengal for what has already been done. Twelve crores of rupees were subscribed in this presidency in the last war loan. Sixteen and half lakhs of rupees were given by this presidency to Our Day Fund and large sums have been given to other useful institutions which are carrying on war work, that is to say, the Y. M. C. A., and other bodies. The strain upon the financial resources of the Empire is a steadily increasing one. A new loan is shortly to be floated and I desire to make an appeal to all those who are in a position to do so to give us such help as they can in making the subscription to the new war loan an unqualified success. We have already appointed a committee to consider the best means of popularising the loan and we shall welcome any suggestion from whatever source it may come as to what further steps we may usefully take. Now Bengal's record is a finer one than is perhaps generally realised. Bengal has already provided something like 56,000 noncombatants for service connected with the war (applause.) That is a result for which I desire to express to all who were concerned my hearty and grateful thanks. When

we come to the matter of combatants, Bengal's record is not quite so worthy of note. The Bengalee battalion has since its inception contributed to it approximately some 2500 men, that is to say, on an average something rather less than 120 men each month. Now I anticipate that we shall be asked to do very much more now in the direction of supplying men for combatants service and I appreciate the fact that we shall have to spread our net very much wider than we have done up to the present time. We shall have to go to the districts and appeal not only to the educated classes, as we have done up to the present time, but to appeal very much more widely to the agriculturists and artisans. It is possible that the means which have been proposed by the conference at Delhi for further popularising recruitment for combatants service may have a beneficial effect. I refer to the suggestion which have been made for increasing the pay of the soldier and to the proposal for the grant of a number of commissions to members who join the new Indian army. So far as that goes we have no definite instructions from the Government of India, but I am prepared to say on behalf of the Bengal Government that any suggestion of the kind which may be made to us will meet with our hearty and cordial support (applause.) Now you may ask me whether I can give you a figure up to which I think the people of Bengal ought to be asked—I myself am a great believer in laying down a defined standard up to which you should be able to work. They then know what it is that you expect them to do. The figure which I suggest is that the Recruiting Board should lay down as its standard figure one thousand fit combatants every month. I know that there may be difficulty in obtaining that number. I know it may be necessary to make some alteration in our present methods of recruitment, and it is with regard to that matter that I shall rely upon the whole-hearted co-operation of the non-official community for their assistance and for their experience (applause.) I shall propose, as soon as I have definite instructions from the Govt. of India, to communicate with the Recruiting Board of the presidency coupled with the Bengalee Battalion Recruiting Committee. I shall tell them what our demands are and I shall ask them to submit to the Govt. such a scheme as they may consider best conceived to achieve the object which we have in view. Let me say hear and now that if any one here present is of opinion that there are interests or classes in this presidency who are not at present adequately represented upon the Recruiting Board, we shall be only too glad in due course to receive any suggestion which they might desire to make for sending such representatives to it.

It is possible that beside increasing our recruitment among the Indians of this presidency we may be asked to add a further modicum from the European non-official community. There again I am not now in a position to make a definite proposal, but I merely say here that should such a request be made to us I should count with every confidence upon any representation of the non-official European Community, whom we may desire to consult, to give us their best advise and assistance in that difficult matter.

The only other point which I have to mention is this. Grave misapprehension is liable to be created by discussions on the platform and in the press on the necessity of compulsory service. It may be that those who do not understand what is meant by conscription, or by a modified form of conscription, or by whatever term you may like to describe any form of compulsory service, it may be that among those who do not understand this, you are more likely to create a panic than to do good (applause.) I am most desirous that everything that we have to do, everything that we desire to see done, should so far as possible be made public. I want everybody in the presidency to understand what it is that is asked of them and how it is that we propose to ask them to meet our requirements, and in this connection I shall welcome the recommendations which were made in the Delhi Conference to constitute a Publicity Board which shall have branches in every presidency throughout India and which will serve the purpose of keeping the public at large fully informed not only as to what is being done but what we propose to do and how welcome to do it."

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar then moved the following resolution :—"That this Conference of representatives of all classes and interests in the Presidency of Bengal desires to place on record its complete agreement with the response made by the Conference recently assembled at Delhi to the gracious message from His Majesty the King-Emperor and its determination to co-operate whole-heartedly in any measures which in the present crisis may be deemed necessary for the achievement of final victory over the enemies of the British Empire".

Mr. B. Chakravarti in supporting this resolution said :—

"So far as I am concerned, I think your Excellency is aware, and all you gentlemen assembled here know, that I entertain strong political views. There is no question about that. But at the same time I think you will do me the honour that with regard to recruitment, I entertain even stronger views, and because my politics is so strong I say that recruitment ought to be not in tens, not in hundreds, but in thousands. For the success of recruitment,

and not as a matter of bargain; we made certain suggestions in the man-power committee at Delhi including the suggestion as to a general amnesty for deportees, internees, and political prisoners, and with the same object in view I was in support of the motion notice of which was given by the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde at the Delhi War Conference. They were not acceptable to the Government. How that will affect the complete success of our efforts has been mentioned in a public manifesto signed by myself along with other persons.

Be that as it may, the decree has been passed and however defective and unsatisfactory it may be, as a lawyer I am not going to quarrel with it. The Executing Court is Your Excellency and so far as I am concerned you will find me supporting Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government in the due execution of the decree which has been passed, although many of us are honestly of opinion that the decree should not have been passed in that form.

At the same time I must say that a thousand men from Bengal, under the present circumstances of irritation and disappointment, is a large number and I will tell you the reason why. It is possible that in course of time we may be able to enlist thousands of Hindus and Mahomedans. But from my experience of the country—for with Dr. S. K. Mullick I have gone to many places all over the country for recruiting purposes—and from my knowledge I do not think that it is possible at the present moment to enlist the agriculturists and artisans to come forward and join the Army. (Hear, hear). One of the reasons is with regard to pay—because the man makes a great deal more than Rs. 11, and even when the pay is increased by Rs. 6, that also is not sufficiently attractive to him because he makes a great deal more than that. Now, that being so, recruitment must be for the present at any rate confined to the educated middle classes. I heard at Delhi that the number wanted is something like 600,000 men. I cannot expect that Bengal's contribution will be anything appreciable with regard to that. Even with regard to 1000 men, we shall have to find these from students of the Colleges—probably some of them have already left Colleges, from amongst young men who have already left Colleges—who are either in service or seeking for it. Now, in order to create enthusiasm among them there are certain things necessary and we have repeated them so often that at this late hour I will not dilate on them. But the promise of the King's Commission is certainly to our advantage—it will greatly strengthen our hands. Then, if early steps are taken for the training of officers, that again will also be an inducement for certain classes of young-



men now reading in the Colleges and belonging to richer families and their examples again will be followed by others. Then this increase of pay—although above 50 per cent and will be a burden on the public revenues to the extent of some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees, will not be sufficiently attractive here. However, these matters will certainly strengthen our hands.

### The Arms Act.

Then there is another thing. For sometime we have rightly or wrongly been gibbing at the Arms Act and it was openly suggested at Delhi that the Viceroy has already given direction that new rules are to be published with regard to that. As to what these rules are going to be, I do not know. If these rules come up to reasonable popular expectations, it may be, that also will go to strengthen our hands.

The question then is with regard to money. As regards money there is at present need for it as separation allowances, i.e. for the relief of the people who are left behind by some of those youngmen. But some of them are of rich families and they have not asked for any help and they have not got any help. But all of them are not of rich families and if Rs. 17 be the pay, I think in future more money will have to be found for separation allowances. I know some of the Noblemen have been generous in the past and I have no doubt they will be generous in the future but that begging policy will not do. As regards the counsel of perfection which my friend Sir Rajendra gave with regard to new taxation, that won't do in Bengal. The economic position of the ryot depends on jute, and the economic position of the zemindar depends upon the ryot. Although it is generally understood and generally accepted that the Bengal zemindars are so many "Crœsusses", I can assure you, that is very far from the truth, and you may wonder when you are told that the times are so bad that many of them have to borrow money to meet the Government demands. That is the position. Therefore, it is no use attempting to start further taxation.

But there are certain moneys—whether Your Excellency's Government can utilise them or not I do not know. I have not considered it from the legal aspect of the matter or the administrative aspect. But I will give some examples. There is Rs. 6,50,000 set apart for the purpose of partitioning the district of Mymensingh. Mymensingh at present is said to be too big a charge for one administration and therefore it has to be partitioned into two! I think that partition may stand over for sometime longer and if it is possible, that money may be diverted to military

purposes. I hope Your Excellency's Government will do it. There is a further sum of Rs. 6,64,000 for the partition of Midnapur. The same reasons being applied here, this amount may also be diverted for war purposes.

Then, I am told, there is something like 20 lacs set apart for steamers and quarters for the use of a very useful body of men, viz. the Police, but they may be persuaded to put up with a little inconvenience until we have gone through the war and this 20 lacs may also be diverted to military purposes. I only give these as examples; these matters will have to be worked out and the budget may have to be recast.

I have only two more matters to mention. With regard to the Bureaus, one is for the purpose of giving information to the people with regard to their position either advantageous or disadvantageous in this war. I think it is an excellent thing for the purpose of creating general interest in the war, and people must understand how far they are affected with regard to their homes and hearths. Then there is another part which has been suggested by the resolution at Delhi and that is with regard to employment. I know there are plenty of people who may not join the combatant forces but they are quite willing to serve as Post office or Telegraph clerks or as Transportmen or in the Commissariat.

In conclusion, I frankly say that in the present state of things I have considerable apprehension as to the complete success of our efforts: but notwithstanding the same and my political views, I can assure Your Excellency that you will have my whole-hearted and unstinted support for all that it may be worth.

### **THE C. P. WAR CONFERENCE—MAY 4, 1918.**

Representatives of the Central Provinces and Berar met on May 4, 1918 at the war Conference held in the Council Hall, the Hon'ble Sir Benjamin Robertson presiding. The resolutions adopted at the Delhi Conference were re-affirmed: the first was moved by the Hon'ble Sir G. Chitnavis, and the second by the Hon'ble Mr. M. Dadabhoy. The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Bose and the Hon'bles T. Thecker Dixit, Nawab Salimulla Khan, Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Malak, representing different interests wholeheartedly supported the resolutions both on their own behalf and on that of the people.

### **PUNJAB WAR CONFERENCE—**

**May 4, 1918.**

The Punjab war conference met at Lahore on May 4. The proceedings were opened by the Lieutenant Governor, who in the

course of his speech outlined the events which had brought about the present situation in the Western theatre of war, and read to the conference the King's message. "We are asked what we can do," he said, "and we are here to-day to give the answer."

His application of the Delhi programme to the Punjab was 200,000 men, of whom 180,000 should be combatants for the regular army, volunteers if possible, conscription if necessary; a war loan effort which would eclipse the last development to the utmost of their local resources; and by God's grace, victory in the end. His Honour went on to consider these points separately, saying that the contingency of the failure of voluntary system in certain areas was there and it would be cowardice not to face it. We had often been told by those who claimed to understand India's mind better that the one thing wanted to open the flood gates of recruiting was the grant of the King's commission to Indians. He twitted that idea and said that the next few months would show whether that view was correct.

Five resolutions embodying Sir Michael O'Dower's suggestions were then proposed and supported by various speakers and all were carried unanimously.

#### **BIHAR & ORISSA CONFERENCE—May 4.**

In response to the invitation issued by the Local Government, representatives from all parts of the province assembled in large numbers in conference at Government House on 4th May under the chairmanship of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor.

His Honor in the course of his speech said: "My colleagues and I, before the programme was finally decided upon, had the advantage of a preliminary conference yesterday evening with the representatives of this province who attended the Delhi Conference, and you will see that we are following the Delhi procedure in arranging beforehand the speakers on each resolution. The first resolution needs no words of mine to commend itself to you. As regards the second resolution, you will have observed that the recommendations of the Delhi Conference are very wide and general in their form, and it has therefore been quite impossible for us in the short time since we received the resolutions to decide upon a constructive policy to give effect to them. The control of the great industries of the province, such as coal, steel, iron and mica, has already been taken over by the Government. There is a Provincial Recruiting Board consisting of a majority of non-official members, while district committees also exist in some places to

assist the Director of Agriculture. In regard to the matters dealt with in the last of the Delhi resolutions a great deal may be done in co-ordinating the activities of these local committees and in encouraging individual effort; but the matter cannot be decided off-hand and details will have to be carefully worked out. The manpower question is of the utmost importance, and I do not think that you will rest content with the figures of this province shown in the statement of recruitment, copies of which are in your hand. It would be useless to attempt anything like a discussion on these matters now, for we have not the materials before us to enable us to come to a decision in regard to them. We have thought it better, therefore, to recommend the appointment of a large provincial committee which will combine the functions of a recruiting and a resources board, and which will be able to appoint its own executive committee, with small working committees, for particular areas or for any of the special purposes dealt with in the Delhi resolutions. It will be under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Maude, and will hold its first sitting this afternoon to consider any suggestions that have been or may be made, and generally to determine its future line of action. I need hardly say that all suggestions will be welcomed and any such suggestions may be sent to the Secretary to the Committee, Mr. Hammond. As regards the last resolution you will have seen it authoritatively stated in the papers to-day that a war loan is about to be issued, though the terms are not yet known. I need hardly say that one of the most effective ways in which you can all help us is by doing everything in your power to make the loan a success."

The Hon. **Maharaja of Gidhaur** moved the first resolution which ran as follows: "That this meeting, having heard His Majesty's gracious message, requests His Honour the Lieutenant Governor to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy an expression of their humble duty and unswerving loyalty, and their determination to place the resources of the province unreservedly at His Majesty's disposal." The Maharaja Bahadur made a stirring and patriotic speech in support of the resolution.

In supporting the resolution the Hon. **Mr. Mazurul Haque** said the lead must come from the Government. They must know what was required from them, what they were wanted to do. If the Government placed implicit faith in them they would not be found wanting (applause). They were loyal to the very core, and their loyalty was unquestionable and unqualified. Whatever differences they had, they did not concern anyone outside India and to-day they were ready to sink those differences and help the Empire. They

were ready to avail themselves of the present opportunity, and they were sure the future of India was assured.

**Mr. Hasan Imam** next moved a resolution endorsing the resolutions passed at Delhi, and recommending a strong and representative provincial committee under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. W. Maude with Mr. E. L. Hammond as Secretary, to give effect to the same. He suggested that the King's commission should be given to those Indians who qualified themselves for it. He appealed to all those present to help in raising at least 950 men per month.

The Maharaja of Dumraon, in seconding the resolution, made various suggestions, and insisted that they should put on the committee only such men as would take an active interest in the work. He concluded by offering his personal services to the Indian Defence Force.

The resolution was then passed.

**Sir Ali Imam** next moved a resolution pledging all present to do their utmost to ensure the success of the forthcoming war loan.

His Honour, in closing the meeting, said he had received a telegram from the Raja Sudhal Deo, Fudatory Chief of Barma State, announcing that in addition to his other contributions to the war funds he was making a donation of Rs. 20,000.

### U. P. CONFERENCE—May 4.

At a meeting of representatives of the United Provinces held at Government House to give effect to the resolutions of the Delhi Conference, **Sir Harcourt Butler** welcomed specially the leaders of the Christian and Indian religions and also their American friends on whom he had always looked as one with Britain in all essentials. He thought that Indians, Americans and Europeans were one in purpose and hope. He said the committee would have to consider how to increase the number of recruits by about 2,500 a month, and how to popularise the forthcoming war loan. Propaganda must be organised on a big scale. He called on all Government pensioners, Honorary Magistrates, and title-holders to take an active part in what was their bounden duty. He appealed also to those who in ordinary times were critical towards the Government, but who were now ready to sink all differences, to join actively. He also appealed to the young generation on whose enthusiasm and loyalty, he said, he placed no limit.

The representatives of the Moslem and Hindu religions then offered their support to the Government.

The Bishop of Lucknow said the missionaries of the Province would do whatever part was assigned to them.

The Rev. Dr. Norman assured the Government of the whole-hearted loyalty of the Roman Catholic community and of the Anglo-Indian community.

A resolution asking the Viceroy to convey to the King-Emperor their humble duty, and to assure him that these Provinces would do their utmost to give full effect to the wishes contained in his recent gracious message to India, was proposed by the Hon. Raja of Mahmudabad and endorsed by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who said that Indians and Europeans should work together so that the burden should balance evenly.

A representative committee was then appointed with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor as President, to consider the best means of developing the man-power and resources of the Provinces with a view to securing the greatest assistance possible in the prosecution of the War. The powers of this committee were delegated to two sub-committees which will report their proceedings to the President. The agenda for the man-power sub-committee included the allotment of monthly quotas to obtain a minimum of 10,000 men a month, the utilisation of non-officials, and rewards to returning soldiers for good recruiting work.

### **BOMBAY WAR CONFERENCE—10 June, 1918.**

The Bombay War Conference held at Govt. House on the 10 June was presided by the Governor, His Excellency Lord Willingdon. The Conference did not, unhappily, proceed as smoothly as the other War Conferences, and a great unpleasantness was created by His Excellency's straight talk to the Home Rulers whose stronghold is Bombay. In the course of his speech, after explaining the meaning of the conference, His Excellency said :

“Eager and anxious as I am to feel assured of an entirely united force to assist me in this campaign, there are a certain number of gentlemen, some of whom have considerable influence with the public, many of them members of the political organisation called the Home Rule League, whose activities have been such of late years that I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their support, until I have come to a clear understanding with them and have frankly expressed to them all that is in my mind. I do not wish in any detail to criticise their action or their methods in the past, beyond saying that they have not given the help to Government that I think I was fairly entitled to expect from them in these critical days; indeed I must frankly say that their object seems to

have been at every available opportunity to increase the difficulties and embarrassment of Government whenever and wherever they could. I can claim that my Government have always felt that in every country where there is any public feeling, any political instinct, there must always be an advanced party, the extreme left of our political life, which is generally opposed to Government, but which must be, like any other party, given full freedom of speech, action and opinion, provided it keeps within constitutional limits.

As I have already said, the object of the Delhi Conference was to secure unity of effort and promise of strenuous, wholehearted service. But within the last few weeks I have studied with some care the speeches and writings of some of these gentlemen since the Delhi Conference was held, and they have been of such a character that I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their desire for that unity of effort, that strenuous service, which is absolutely necessary to secure the success of our labours.

From reading their speeches, the position of those gentlemen seems to be this: "We quite realise the gravity of the situation; we are all anxious to help, but unless Home Rule is promised within a given number of years, and unless various other assurances are given us with regard to other matters, we do not think we can stir the imagination of the people, and we cannot hope for a successful issue to the recruiting campaign." I understand that these gentlemen disclaim any suggestion that they are trying to make a bargain and I of course accept their disclaimer, but if I have fairly stated their position, I must honestly confess that I don't think their help will be of a very active character.

These gentlemen must be perfectly well aware that no promises of the kind they seem to desire can possibly be given without full constitutional sanction, and as to the request that a promise should be definitely given them of Home Rule within a certain number of years, they know very well that the whole question of political reforms is now in the hands of the British Cabinet, and that it is quite impossible for the Viceroy or anyone else to give such a promise as they desire. I do not expect anyone even in these days to give up all political action or discussion for I fully realise that the administration of any Government must be open to criticism even in the most grave and serious times, but I do expect that criticism to be fair, to be reasonable, to be free from the bitterness which I have sometimes noticed in the past. I can accept no uncertain, no half-hearted assistance at this juncture. And with the recollection of these speeches fresh in my mind, I ask these gentlemen to put aside their doubts and difficulties, and as loyal citizens of the British

Empire, sincerely anxious for the success of the Allied cause, to join with us all wholeheartedly and unreservedly, and do nothing by speech, writing or action which will in any way prejudice the success of our campaign."

#### A Scene.

After the first resolution on loyalty was moved His Excellency called upon **Mr. B. C. Tilak** to speak. Mr. Tilak expressed on behalf of himself and all Home Rulers deep loyalty to the King Emperor, but regretted the rules of procedure did not allow him to move an amendment to the resolution.

His Excellency said that if Mr. Tilak wished to move an amendment to the resolution, he could not allow it as he had stated at the outset.

Mr. Tilak said he was not going to move an amendment. He then proceeded to say that cooperation with the Government necessitated certain things, and attempted to reply to His Excellency's attack on Home Rulers.

The President here called Mr. Tilak to order and said he could not allow any political discussion.

Mr. Tilak was proceeding when His Excellency again ruled him out of order. Mr. Tilak then declared that the only self-respecting course for him was to retire from the meeting and left the hall.

**Mr. N. C. Kelker** was then called upon. He said he wished to express his loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the British Government in India. He had, he said, a number of practical proposals to make to help the cause of rallying man-power in India, and he would put them forward. But he wished to point out to the Conference that non-officials would not, unfortunately, be able to give effective co-operation to Government in the matter of recruitment unless and until they could go to the people and say to them: "Here is Government in earnest to do what is necessary and what is actually in their power, for raising the political status of this country, and giving a fair chance to the people therein to rise to the full height of their manhood as citizens of the British Empire."

Lord Willingdon here said he could not allow any political discussion and after some further conversation with his Excellency Mr. Kelker also retired and walked out of the Conference accompanied by Messrs. B. G. Horniman, S. R. Bomanji and Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

**Lord Willingdon** said he regretted that some of the members had thought fit to leave the Hall. He had, however, told them in the beginning not to introduce any political matters in the resolution



on loyalty to Government. The reason for not accepting any amendments was that they had been carrying out the instructions of the Government of India. Government were, however, prepared to hear any advice or criticism.

The Hon. Mr. V.J. Patel wished to know whether amendments were out of order, and the Chairman said they were.

**The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah** said that their response to the message of the King-Emperor, namely, their assurance of the determination of the Presidency to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire was passing, had the support of the entire educated community of India. There were also no two opinions at this crisis that India should go forward—nay it was imperative that India should develop her manpower and utilise her resources to the fullest possible extent. But before he would proceed further, he must say this: that he was pained, very much pained, that His Excellency should have thought fit to cast doubts on the sincerity and the loyalty of the Home Rule party. He was very sorry, but with the utmost respect he must enter his emphatic protest against that view. The Home Rule party was as sincere and as anxious as any one else to help the defence of the Motherland and the Empire. He did not wish to take up the time of that august body at that late hour. The difference was only regarding the methods, for Government's methods the Home Rule party did not want. He was only making suggestions for the improvement of the scheme. The Government had their own scheme, namely for the recruitment of sepoys but that was not enough to save them from the German menace which was right at their door on the frontiers. They wanted a national army or in other words a citizen army and not a purely mercenary army.

H. H. the Maharaja of Jamnagar said that we should not be moved by a huckstering spirit. "We should wait for what we want to-day till to-morrow, and if we do what we are required to do we shall surely get our desire." Mr. Manmohondas Ramji says: "We should do all we can now and we shall get the benefit and what we want afterwards." But now, is this not bargaining? Mr. Manmohandas is a strict businessman; our young men are not, and our recruiting field is our young men. They prefer to be made to feel that they are the citizens of the Empire, and that would rouse them to come forward and make sacrifices. I donot agree that we should do all we can on the understanding that we are going to be rewarded for it afterwards, neither do I say that we should bargain and make conditions before we help the Empire, but I say that if you wish to enable us to help you, to facilitate and stimulate the

recruiting, you must make the educated people feel that they are the citizens of the Empire and the King's equal subjects. But the Government do not do so. You say that we shall be trusted and made real partners in the Empire. When? We do not want words. We do not want the consideration of the matter indefinitely put off. We want action and immediate deeds.

I will only give one instance of the dilatoriness. At the Delhi War Conference we passed a resolution recommending that a substantial number of King's Commissions should be granted to the people of India and that the training colleges should be thrown open to them. It is nearly two months now. And what has been done? We have heard nothing yet. He said they would not succeed in preparing the real defence of India "much less help the Empire, unless India is made a partner of the Empire and you trust her—at once."

**The Chairman** said the speaker had better go to the Government at Delhi or Simla and say those things there, for he had no power over that matter.

**Mr. Jinnah**: But your Excellency said that the Bombay Government had been directed by the Government of India to carry out the proposals embodied in the memorandum annexed to the resolution now under discussion. If the Government wanted us to co-operate with them and carry out their wishes in this province then let them trust us."

He further said that he could not agree with the methods laid down in the resolution, and he did not approve of that part of the resolution which dealt with the appointment of boards.

The Chairman said Mr. Jinnah could not question the ruling of the chair.

**Mr. Jinnah** said he would say that he could not support the whole of the resolution, but only a part of it. He did not approve of the personnel of the Board. He did not agree with it because he had not been given an opportunity to exercise his judgment in its selection. He wanted to move an amendment. "But" said Mr. Jinnah "it has been ruled by your Excellency that no amendments will be allowed. This is a procedure which is unheard of, not known to any constitution, but since the ruling is given, I must bow to it."

The Chairman said the Hon. gentleman might send any suggestion he wanted to be adopted hereafter.

**Mr. Jinnah** said the procedure had already been laid down by the Chairman, and he did not desire to challenge it. Another point was that he did not approve of the memorandum annexed to the resolution. He had had no opportunity given to him to

exercise his judgment, and he refused to be a party to adopt that memorandum which he had had no opportunity given to consider.

**Mr. R. P. Karandikar** said : Invitation from Government to a Home Ruler to this Conference illustrates the desire of your Excellence to hear all sides and though no amendments are convenient in the pressing need of the hour, I wish to emphasize a point or two—a prompt reference to which is in my opinion absolutely necessary to make the proceedings of this solemn meeting less inconsistent with the requirements of the occasion. I have no hesitation in affirming that the grant of the reform and ideal of Home Rule urged for by the whole country are at the back of the head of every one in this august assembly, when we join in supporting the measures proposed, and as a Home Ruler I will say, without the grant of which we can scarcely command the loving and enthusiastic reception of those measures.

I am not quite sure what work the existing Committees are doing as I find no adequate popular representation on them. But I have no doubt when fresh committees are formed, due regard shall be paid to all elements that will secure enthusiastic and not merely formal co-operation. My attention is further drawn to para 2 in the concluding portion of the Memorandum. In the interests of fairness and for guarding against want of more necessary information, it is desirable that not only the locality but also the section referred to as working against recruiting must be exposed. I shall be happy to know that the youth of the country are fired by the kind of lofty sentiment claimed, and I should discourage the foul means that chill such patriotism. As a Home Ruler I claim for the Home Rule party that it is for the purpose of creating and sustaining the feeling of patriotism that we want a declaration of an immediate grant of the reforms leading to Home Rule. I know of no case in which a Home Ruler has descended to thwart recruiting in the manner suggested in the paragraph. I know however that the agencies employed in recruiting are not infrequently found to have committed mistakes and excesses so as to lead the ignorant and terrified villagers to look upon all recruiting as unwelcome. No recruiting agent is brought to book but on the contrary the excesses of villagers are met with more severe notice. For the sake of restoring confidence therefore, proclamations such as are sent by the Collector of Satara are absolutely necessary, and but for the fact that no amendment is welcome, I was almost on the point of urging for a Committee of Redress. But I have no doubt that the committees themselves will guard against any excesses by their subordinates.

Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar said, he had risen to speak because it was the desire of the political party to which he belonged, that on an occasion like that there should be absolute harmony, and that they must not part with a jarring note, which ought not to have been introduced at the meeting. He was, on their behalf, to assure his Excellency that he was perfectly right in ruling that a Loyalty Resolution should not have any amendments. If their loyalty was genuine, if they were anxious to serve the cause with which his Majesty was identified in the present war, they should absolutely surrender all the rights that they wanted, they should stand by his Majesty and sacrifice all, not for the sake of their hearths and homes, but for the sake of the eternal verities. As H. H. the Jam shahib had said, for the sake of the higher and the holier cause for which England had gone into the war. The principles for which the Allies were fighting had been summed up by President Wilson in his inimitable language that the present war was the first unselfish war in the history of the world. If it was true, and if all the people subscribed to that view, it was not possible for them to stand out and say that it would be difficult for them, it would not be possible for them, to co-operate with his Majesty and his soldiers unless their selfish demands, however patriotic they might be, were granted to them. They were not fighting for their hearths and homes, for God would protect them. Every German politician from the Chancellor downwards had admitted that England had not gone to war for any cause, but because the German Empire were bent upon trampling the sanctity of justice and liberty. That being the case, could they not say that they pledged themselves to serve the Empire unconditionally in the present war? They felt that if India could offer her services unconditionally for the sake of her principles her name would be written in history, but if India gave her help conditionally then her name would be blotted out from life.

Lord Willingdon said he was thankful to the previous speaker for summing up in such an admirable way what he wanted to say and he thanked him heartily for the generous sentiments which he had given expression to. He was only anxious to secure the entire sympathy and support of all, and he was heartened by the feeling with which the great majority of the people in the Presidency would rally to him. He had asked them to give him all the help in their power. Mr. Jinnah had reproached him, but he had no wish to hurt Mr. Jinnah and he did not think he had doubted the loyalty of Home Rulers.

Mr. Jinnah asked his Excellency to refer to his speech and if he

could show that he (Mr. Jinnah) was wrong in his interpretation, he would withdraw his protest.

Lord Willingdon continuing said he had suggested to the Home Rulers that that was the time to support the Government. The result of it had been, he was afraid, they wished to have terms. He had told them that it was a crisis for the Empire ; and he hoped that every citizen of the Empire in the Bombay Presidency had sufficient sense of his duty to the Empire.

He thanked the meeting for the heartening message that they had given to him and he hoped that he had the support of the majority. He hoped that his Presidency would always remain where she was, always at the top. (Cheers).

### POST CONFERENCE WORK.

It is not possible to summarise the work which followed the meeting of the various Conferences because the end of the war came so suddenly that none of the bodies constituted has yet presented their reports. The main activities were directed to the provision of men, munitions and money. The provision of men had already been taken in hand by the Central Recruiting Board, whose activities were redoubled. Strong organisations were established in every Province and Native State, and men came pouring in. The main recruiting centres were the Punjab and the United Provinces, which ran a neck and neck race ; although the actual figures have not been published, it is understood that at the declaration of the armistice over 450,000 of the half million men asked for had been enrolled. Recruiting was stopped on the 19th November, whereafter the pre-war practices were re-established. The provision of munitions had already been undertaken by the Munitions Board whose activities both in the direction of manufacture and collection were rapidly expanded. The resources of India were developed with a rapidity never reached before ; new industries were established, old industries were expanded, and the armies furnished from India were made largely independent of supplies of England. Great activity was manifested in a great war loan, with the result that contrary to the general expectation, the levy was even larger than in 1917. Amongst the special Boards set up were the *Central Publicity Board*, which at once undertook an active propaganda, which was executed through the medium of provincial boards ; the *Central Foodstuffs and Transport Board*, designed to facilitate the equitable distribution of supplies ; this was merged in the office of the *Food Controller*, when the extensive failure of the rains made the distribu-

tion of food supplies a matter of special importance ; a *Central Communications Board*, whose work it was to co-ordinate the working of the railways : and a *Central Employment and Labour Board*.

### WAR CONTRIBUTIONS.

In September 1918 a further step was taken in the direction of the participation of India in the cost of the war. The non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council accepted by a majority a proposal that India should take a greater share of the cost of the military forces raised or to be raised in the country. The Finance Member in placing this before the Council pointed out that prior to the war the normal recruitment of combatants for the Indian Army was only about 15,000 men a year. In the year ending May 1917, this had been raised to 121,000 and in the following year, that ending on the 31st May, 1918, to over 300,000 men. The Government however did not think that this figure was sufficient and during the recruiting year which commenced on the 1st of June 1918, fixed the quota of combatant recruits at half a million men (500,000) to be raised on voluntary basis.

These, and other war charges taken over by India, work out to a grand total of £45 million assuming that the war would continue until the 31 March 1920.

It is proposed that this additional expenditure shall be financed in the main from an excess profits tax, but the details will be decided by the Imperial Legislative Council in the ordinary Budget Session, namely, March 1919.

**Other Contributions.**—The contributions in money or in kind for War Purposes from Indian Rulers and every class of the Indian people are large. Up to March 1918 nearly £1,000,000 had been given to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, hospital ships, motor cars, ambulances, machine guns, and aeroplanes have been poured in : the Nizam of Hyderabad has maintained two regiments at the front throughout the war and his total gifts exceed in value £700,000; before the end of 1916 the Ruling Princes had given gifts in cash or in kind valued at £1,000,000; Provincial War Funds and Funds for comforts for the troops have been fully maintained by the charity and benevolence of all classes of Indians.

The total sum of all these gifts and contributions it is impossible to estimate accurately : but they can hardly be of a value less than £5,000,000.

### THE SECOND WAR LOAN.

The Second Indian War Loan was opened in order that India might herself raise the whole of the Hundred Million sterling which

she contributed to the British Exchequer as her gift to England the year previous. It was thought prudent that India should make that contribution her internal debt, instead of its being an external debt, so that she herself may benefit from the Interest that had to be paid on that huge sum. The Second Indian War Loan was for an unlimited amount, and was divided into 2 parts :—

1. 5½% War Bonds, 1921, 1923, 1925, and 1928; and
2. Post office 5 years cash certificates.

The yield was nearly 51·5 crores, distributed as follows, Bengal being the largest contributor :—

Bengal	...	...	Rs.	19,81,27,800
Bombay	...	...	„	14,40,17,500
Punjab	...	...	„	3,76,95,700
United Prov.	...	...	„	3,76,78,700
Madras	...	...	„	3,37,06,900
Burma	...	...	„	1,71,98,600
Behar and Orissa...	...	...	„	77,13,600
Central Prov.	...	...	„	56,93,500
Assam	...	...	„	8,63,800
Minor Administrations	...	...	„	1,25,85,700
Hyderabad State	...	...	„	1,00,36,300
Mysore State	...	...	„	46,31,500
Baroda State	...	...	„	30,00,000
GRAND TOTAL				...
				59,29,49,600

### THE MILITARY EFFORT.\*

1. At the outbreak of the war the strength of the Army in India was—

British Officers	...	...	...	4,744
British other ranks	...	...	...	72,209
INDIAN RANKS—				
Serving	...	...	...	159,134
Reservists	...	...	...	34,767
NON-COMBATANTS—				
Indian	...	...	...	45,660

2. During the war the Government of India recruited 757,447 combatants and 404,042 non-combatants or a grand total of 1,161,489 men—all on a voluntary basis.

\* From the Times of India Year book.

*INDIA AND THE WAR.*

3. The numbers sent on active service from India since the outbreak of war were—

British Officers ...	...	...	23,040
British other ranks ...	...	...	196,494
Indian Officers ...	...	...	13,617
Indian other ranks ...	...	...	538,724
Indian non-combatants ...	...	...	391,033
Animals ...	...	...	174,836

4. These totals represent the numbers sent to France, East Africa, Mesopotamia, Egypt (including Gallipoli and Palestine) Salonika, Aden and the Persian Gulf.

	British.	Indian.	Total.
To France ...	18,934	131,496	
To East Africa ...	5,403	46,936	
To Mesopotamia ...	167,551	588,717	
To Egypt ...	19,166	116,159	
To Galipoli ...	60	4,428	
To Salonika ...	66	4,938	
To Aden ...	7,386	20,243	
To Persian Gulf ...	968	29,457	
	<b>219,534</b>	<b>953,374</b>	<b>= 1,172,908</b>
British ranks sent from India to England ...	...	...	42,430
<b>GRAND TOTAL ...</b>	...	...	<b>1,215,338</b>

5. Besides these great assistance was rendered in the matter of material supplies and stores:—

## RAILWAY MATERIAL—

Track ...	...	1,874 Miles.
Vehicles ...	...	5,999
Locomotives ...	...	237
Girders ...	...	13,073 L. ft.

## RIVERCRAFT—

Steamers and barges ...	...	883
Anchor boats and dinghies ...	...	500
Timber ...	...	10,000,000 C. ft.



## MILITARY EXPENDITURE

145

6. The total number of casualties among Indian troops were—

<b>DEATHS FROM ALL CAUSES—</b>			
Indian Officers	...	...	691
Other ranks	...	...	25,186
Non-combatants	...	...	10,819
<b>WOUNDED—</b>			
Indian Officers	...	...	1,463
Other ranks	...	...	57,045
Non-combatants	...	...	781
<b>MISSING—</b>			
Indian Officers	...	...	43
Other ranks	...	...	1,302
Non-combatants	...	...	174
<b>PRISONERS—</b>			
Indian Officers	...	...	218
Other ranks	...	...	7,147
Non-combatants	...	...	1,725

### Military Expenditure.

Statement showing the expenditure incurred by the Government of India on account of the war up to the 31st March 1918 :—

(1) Increase in net military expenditure in the years 1914-15 to 1917-18 as compared with the pre war scale of expenditure ( <i>i.e.</i> ) in 1913-14	...	...	£ 16,500,000
(2) Increase in political expenditure, mainly in Persia, from 1914-15 to 1917-18	...	...	1,300,000
(3) Expenditure on account of the war incurred in the Civil Department in India from 1914-15 to 1917-18.	...	...	250,000
(4) Interest, sinking fund and other charges during 1917-18 in connection with India's contribution of 100 million...	...	...	6,000,000
(5) Expenditure incurred in England by the Secretary of State for India from 1914-15 to 1917-18, representing mainly the value of stores lost at sea and the cost of marine insurance	...	...	650,000
<b>Total</b>			24,700,000,

Statement showing the cash contributions made by the general public towards the expenses of the war up to the 31st August 1918 :—

By the rulers and peoples of the various Indian States	£ 2,466,200
By private individuals and bodies in British India	... 58,300
	<hr/>
Total	... 2,524,500
	<hr/>

#### Despatch of the Commander-in-Chief.

Sir Charles Munro, the Commander-in-Chief in India, issued a lengthy despatch on India's War Effort which was published in the *Gazette of India*, 29 July, 19. The despatch touches many phases of the War, detailing India's contributions thereto, and concludes with the following. Concurrently with the increase of the arms the operations of the Indian Munitions Board continued to expand in all directions, the increasing output of its factories stimulating local manufacture and conserving to the best advantage the small residue of imported stocks which remained available in India after three and a half years of war. During the year the average monthly output of the Army Clothing factories rose to three times the normal yearly output before the war and in one month reached its maximum figure of two million garments. Over a million and a half pairs of boots were supplied against army demands in the 12 months preceding the Armistice. The output of Ordnance Factories also showed a steady increase. With the object of setting free the plant of Government factories to meet the immediate and specialised demands as they arose, the outside manufacture of war stores was encouraged as much as possible by instruction in the methods of manufacture and by the provision of raw material, patterns, and specifications. The inauguration of extensive schemes of irrigation and agricultural development in Mesopotamia made heavy additional demands on India during the year and the extension of the railway system in the same theatre continued to make serious inroads on the available rolling stock and material. During the war 1855 miles of railway track, 229 locomotives, and 5,989 vehicles have been sent out of the country. The programme of rivercraft construction allotted to India was completed before the Armistice was signed, by which date 940 crafts of various descriptions had been purchased, constructed, or re-erected in India for service overseas, mostly in Mesopotamia. In this connection much assistance was rendered by the Indian River Craft Board, a voluntary organisation developed under the direction of the Railway Board, and which consisted of representatives of the principal engineering firms at Calcutta with affiliated committees at Karachi, Bombay and other ports. Improvements to the Port of Basrah have continued uninterruptedly and it has now been con-

verted into a base capable of handling 180,000 tons of stores a month.

In the foregoing narrative I have endeavoured to convey some idea of the part played by India during the war, of the wide variety of obligations which were thrown upon her as the scope of the war developed and of her endeavour to meet those obligations, often in circumstances of extreme difficulty. It may perhaps serve to illustrate her effort more graphically if I append a few figures showing the extent of her contribution in terms of men. On the outbreak of the war the combatant strength of the Indian army including reservists was 1,94,000 Indian ranks. Enlistments during the war for all branches of service amounted in 7,91,000, making a total combatant contribution of 9,85,000. Of this number 5,52,000 were sent overseas. As regards non-combatants the pre-war strength was 45,000. An additional 4,27,000 were enrolled during the war and 3,91,000 were sent overseas. The total contribution of the Indian personnel has thus been 14,57,000 of whom 9,43,000 have served overseas. Casualties amounted to 1,06,594, which include 36,696 deaths from all causes. The number of animals sent overseas was 1,75,000. No department has been more closely connected with the war or has rendered heartier co-operation than the Railway Department. The great increase of military traffic produced by the war synchronised with a serious shortage of shipping and this threw upon Indian railways a volume of traffic normally sea borne which they were never designed to carry. Nevertheless by the exercise of the utmost resource, foresight, and initiative serious dislocation to traffic has been successfully avoided and even in circumstances of extreme difficulty the railway administrations have freely surrendered the personnel and material for service overseas. The resources of the Royal Indian Marine have similarly been taxed to the utmost. Not only has this service been responsible for transportation overseas of nearly 9,50,000 men and 1,75,000 animals but it has also been charged with a variety of other duties. Throughout the war the work of the Royal Indian Marine has been accomplished with commendable efficiency and despatch.

In the previous despatch I have expressed my gratitude in the name of the army in India to thousands of loyal and devoted workers who have contributed in various spheres of activity to the prosecution of the war and now that the war has been brought to a successful conclusion I can not do more than reiterate that expression of my thanks. The various department of the Government of India, heads and members of provincial Governments, Ruling Chiefs, railway administrations, Chambers of Commerce, port trusts and municipali-

ties, mercantile marine, numerous associations for the relief of distress and care of sick and wounded—work in which the ladies of India have played a leading part—the great non-official and commercial communities, and a host of individual workers—one and all have laboured with conspicuous devotion. Last and perhaps most important of all I desire to express the great debt which the Empire owes to the troops themselves, British and Indian, combatants and non-combatants who have contributed so largely often with their lives to the attainment of the common end.

# THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE.

January 20, 1919.

There was a Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at Delhi last year when a Committee was formed to draw up a scheme for the development of these annual meetings and their draft proposals were informally placed before the Government of India. This year the Conference commenced on January 20 in the Legislative Council Chamber to discuss matters connected with the States and their Rulers.

## The Viceroy's Inaugural Address.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the conference said :—

The year which has passed since I last welcomed Your Highnesses in this hall has been a momentous one. I allude not only to the great drama which has been enacted on the battlefields of Europe and of Asia where the fate of India was decided in common with that of the Western Nations but also to events which have taken place in India and in which India has a more exclusive interest. The year has witnessed the greatest war efforts which this country has yet put forth and the share which the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India have taken in the victory of the Allies is one of which Your Highnesses may well be proud. It has also seen a further step in the evolution of the relations between this great country and the Empire with which its destinies are linked. The Report on Indian Constitutional Reform has now been public for some seven months. Our principal business will be to consider that report so far as it affects the Indian States. At the outset it will be well to refer to the course of events leading up to chapter X of that report. In closing the proceeding of the last Conference I assured Your Highnesses with reference to the development of these annual meetings, that any scheme which you might put forward would receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of the Government of India. That same afternoon I understand that Your Highnesses appointed a committee to draw up such a scheme and this committee in successive meetings held in November, December and January prepared draft proposals which were informally placed before the Government of India. Communications from various quarters indicated that the

scheme thus formulated did not represent the unanimous opinion of all the Princes but considerations of space made it impracticable at the time to invite Your Highnesses to a full conference and we had to be satisfied with an informal discussion with certain of your number. This discussion was held at Delhi on the 4th and 5th of February of last year, and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India was present at it. A digest of the proceedings was circulated in the following month and Your Highnesses will have noted that at the outset of the meeting I explained that it was not intended to arrive at any final and binding decisions. The discussions were however of very great value to the Secretary of State and myself when subsequently we came to draft chapter X of our report, and now I invite Your Highnesses' considered opinion on the recommendations that we have made in that chapter.

#### Division of Princes.

The first recommendation is that with a view to future improvement of relations between the Crown and the States a definite line should be drawn separating the rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. The question of such a line has arisen in practical form in connection with the issue of invitations to conferences on previous occasions, but Mr. Montagu and I felt strongly that quite apart from this consideration such a dividing line would be likely to be of advantage both to Your Highnesses and to the Government of India as tending to minimise the risk that in the words of the report "Practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also." I am aware that the form in which our recommendation is framed has aroused anxiety among some of those rulers who though invited year by year to past conferences are not entitled to be regarded as exercising full power of administration if the phrase is to be strictly interpreted. All such have been invited to attend to-day and they are thus in a position to represent their claims in person. But in order to clear the air of possible misunderstandings I should like to take this opportunity of examining our reasons for wording the proposal in the form in which it appears in paragraph 302 of the Report. Your Highnesses' committee in the final draft scheme recommended that the Council or Chamber should be composed of: (A). The Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws. (B) All other Princes enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over provided that no State having feudatory relations with any sovereign

State shall be eligible for membership of the Chamber. In a previous draft of the scheme it has been suggested that the Chamber should be composed of the Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws. After full consideration Mr. Montagu and I were of opinion that the Committee's first thoughts were on right lines. We felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation in view of the anomalies which appear to exist, and we held therefore that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder. It appeared to us that if such a distinction is made it must be based on constitutional consideration, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The definition as now worded automatically excludes any States or Estates having feudatory relations with a full-powered State, though I would like here to remark that it would not of course be appropriate to regard mere payments originally of a tributary nature, made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations. I look to Your Highnesses to advise in the first place whether it is desirable that such a distinction should be drawn, and, in the second place, if so, how the phrase "full powers of internal administration" should be interpreted in cases where doubt may arise. I may say at once that in my opinion the question whether a State is full-powered or not should be regarded as unaffected by the fact that the Ruler's powers may be for personal or local reasons temporarily in abeyance or limited, though circumstances might exist in which the imposition of restrictions on a ruler's powers might connote the desirability of his personal withdrawal from membership of the Princes' Conference. The essential question for classification purpose would seem to be whether the ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of his subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials. I am aware that the power to pass death sentence is usually regarded as the most important test of the international independence of a ruler, but where this power actually inherent in the ruler has been held in abeyance by Government, pending the attainment by the State's judiciary of a reliable standard of efficiency, it would not seem necessary that the State should be excluded merely on this account from the full power list. In cases where restrictions still in force were imposed by the treaties or engagements which regulated our early relations with particular States or groups of States, it may well be a matter for consideration by Government whether in some cases these restrictions might now

reasonably be abrogated. A memorandum has been prepared by the Foreign and Political Department showing existing restrictions on the powers of various rulers whose eligibility for membership of the Chamber may be in doubt. Copies of this memorandum will be available for Your Highnesses' confidential information. Before quitting this point I should like to repeat a statement which I made a few months ago at Dhar, namely, that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges and interests of their relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours, and welcome their rulers equally as partners and co-workers.

#### Revision of Treaties.

The next recommendation is that with the consent of the rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined not necessarily with a view to any change of policy but in order to simplify, standardise, and codify existing practice for the future. In his journal written more than a hundred years ago Lord Hastings referred to "The formidable mischief,"—I quote his own words,—"which has arisen from our not having defined to ourselves or made intelligible to the Native Princes the quality of the relations which we have established with them." In the memorandum prepared in January last by a Committee of Your Highnesses this sentence is quoted with approval. I realise that that memorandum must not be taken as conveying the considered opinion of those who did not share in its proposal. Also some concern has been felt by some among your number lest standardisation should involve a diminution of treaty rights. With a view to remove this concern I desire to explain that the phrase "of course only by consent of parties" which occurs in paragraph 305 of the Report means that it will rest entirely with the discretion of individual States whether to apply for the revision or modification of their existing treaties, engagements or, sanads. It would clearly be absurd to imagine that the British Government would try to force upon a disapproving minority revised treatise in a standard from which might seem desirable to a differently situated majority. On the other hand, although direct agreement naturally constitutes the most important source of obligations existing between the British Government and the States, yet it does not supply the full volume of them, and study of long established custom and practice is essential to a proper comprehension of the true character of the bond. The Government of India are anxious that the matter should be most full ventilated because the suggestion has been made that



custom and practice have in the past tended to encroach in certain respects on treaty rights. Since we last met Your Highnesses have all, I believe, through your Residents and Political Agents been invited to bring to notice instances of such encroachment and I need hardly assure you that your representations will receive the most careful examination.

I shall further welcome any general observations which any of Your Highnesses may desire to make during the Conference either on the subject of infringement of treaty rights or in regard to the possibility of revising treaties or simplifying and standardising custom and practice. There is an obvious risk that any over-rigid standardisation might fail to take due account of the peculiar circumstances of the particular States and of the special obligations which we owe to them by treaty. But the advantages of cautious codifications are also clear and the tendency of all progress is towards greater definition. Of recent years we have endeavoured to review our practice under various heads. Sometimes we have done this in consultations with Your Highnesses assembled here in conference, as in such matters as minority administration and succession, proceeded by other means as in the case of our Policy in respect of telephones, tramways, compensation for land acquired for railways, the procedure for the grant of mining rights and so forth. We believe that in all these matters the result of our review has been to bring our practice more abreast of the requirements of the times and to harmonize it with the Durbar's needs. Your Highnesses will, no doubt, advise me whether in your opinion this policy can well be carried further in consultation with Your Highnesses and, if so, in what direction. It is possible that many of Your Highnesses may consider that if the recommendations made in the remaining items of the agenda are eventually adopted, and especially the recommendation in regard to the placing of important States in direct political relations with the Government of India, the desired unification of practice and development of constitutional doctrine will automatically follow. There are other observations which I have to make on the subject of treaty rights and the obligations of the States but I reserve these for a later occasion when we come to discuss the agenda in detail.

#### Council of Princes.

Next comes the proposal to establish a permanent Council of Princes. At the last meeting I expressed the view that if an institution is to meet a real want and to give real help towards the progress of India it must revolve gradually on the lines which

experience may show are best suited to its healthy growth.<sup>3</sup> To this view I still adhere. In any measures you may suggest in pursuance of the scheme Your Highnesses will, I am sure, recognise the wisdom of proceeding with the greatest caution and of avoiding unnecessary restrictions or complications. I desire at this point to make it quite plain that the institution of the Council of Princes will not prejudice the relations of any individual Darbar with Government. It has already been said in paragraph 306 of the report that the direct transaction of business between the Government of India or any State would not, of course, be affected by the institution of the council but it is important to emphasise this in the clearest possible terms. The Durbar of every important States in their written memorandum have said in this connection that it would be more desirable to have a properly constituted deliberative assembly with definite powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally, as well as questions of common interest between British India and the States, and the assembly could be vested with defined powers unless the rulers who compose it are willing in some measure to entrust to a corporate body rights which they at present enjoy as individuals. Such delegation of powers is apparently deprecated by the Darbar because they say later that the preservation of the right of dealing direct with the Government of India should, in fact, be an absolute "sin qua non" of the working of any such general Advisory Council.

In all matters relating to the constitution of the proposed Council it is necessary to realise firstly that attendance and voting will be voluntary, and secondly that each individual State represented in it will retain the right of separate negotiation with Government and the right to expect that Government will consult the Durbar in writing in regard to important matters affecting their interests. Lastly, there is another essential point which, I feel confident, Your Highnesses will bear in mind. We on our part are glad to develop means whereby Your Highnesses may maintain your rights and preserve your Izzat. You on your part will not forget that the British Government is the paramount power in India and that this fact must colour its relations with your Highnesses in respect of the institution and proceedings of this Council as in other matters. With these words I will leave the development of the theme to your Highnesses and I am sure that there will be much thoughtful and fruitful discussion on this all important subject.

Following on the proposal for a Council is that for a standing committee of this body. Of the working of a Council we already

have some experience gained at annual conference in the past. The appointment of a standing committee would be a new experiment and there is therefore all the more need for treading cautiously. I understand that the suggestion has not met with unanimous approval and that some of the Central India Durbars think that a series of local standing committees would be more useful than a central body. Then there is the recommendation for commission of enquiry. I believe that this may well prove one of the most fruitful of our proposals, not only by reason of the differences that it may settle but by reason of the increased spirit of confidence which we hold it may engender. The findings of a judicial tribunal are not always acceptable to the parties concerned in a particular case but the knowledge that a competent and independent court of enquiry may at any moment be called into existence is in itself a valuable asset and should go far to remove any feeling which may exist that the Government of India are both judge and advocate in their own course. It should also obviate any complaint that the reasons by which Government are actuated in their decisions are either not disclosed or only inadequately stated. I have heard it said that some of the less affluent States are afraid that if disputes between them and wealthier States were referred to a commission of enquiry they would be at a disadvantage, since the expense of preparing their case and engaging competent counsel would be prohibitive. The answer to this is that the Viceroy has entire discretion whether to refer a case to a commission of enquiry or not, and he would undoubtedly never do so if there were likelihood that reference to a commission would involve unfair disadvantage to one of the parties. It would never be allowed that the commission of enquiry should develop into an engine of oppression to be used by the richer against poorer States. Your Highnesses will have observed that it is proposed that the court should be a court of enquiry only. It will be obvious, however, that the finding of a court, constituted as we propose, must carry the greatest weight with the Government of India, and in what we hope will be the rare case of the government being unable to accept its findings we propose a right of appeal to the Secretary of State. Next we have the proposal for a commission of enquiry to advise on any question that may arise, we hope but very rarely, of depriving the ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family. This too is based on the recommendation of your committee and I trust that in the definite formulation of this principle Your Highnesses will recognise the desire of the Government of India to afford the amplest

security against any risk of hasty or arbitrary treatment in a matter which must always be one of deep concern to your order.

#### Direct Relations with Government.

The seventh proposal is that as a general principle all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Central Government. In paragraph 310 of the report we have discriminated between the States which are now in relation with local governments and those which are in relation with the Government of India through agents to the Governor-General. As regards the former we said that the future position cannot be determined immediately since both the wishes of the durbars and also the administrative advantages must be considered. We thought that in some cases the Government of India might assume direct relations with these States while in others they might be left for the time being in relation with the provincial Government. There are, as Your Highnesses know, very real difficulties in the way of inaugurating any uniform rule in the matter. In the case of some States their remoteness from Delhi and Simla is a bar to closer relations with the Central Government. In other cases, the administrative interests of British provinces and States are so closely interwoven that any proposal for a change of method requires most careful scrutiny. We may keep the principal of direct relations before us as the objective at which to aim but we must beware of hasty action and proceed circumspectly. The cases of States in relation with local Governments will accordingly be considered in due course with reference to the wishes of the durbars and the administrative requirements of the situation. I turn next to consideration of the principle which would govern communication with States which are or may be in direct political relations with the Central Government. The ideal to be aimed at is that there should be, wherever possible, only one political officer through whom the State should correspond with the Government of India. In paragraph 310 of the report it is stated where the authority immediately subordinate to the Government of India is an Agent to the Governor-General the choice should lie generally between abolishing the office of local political agents or residents while transferring their functions to the Agent to the Governor-General with an increased staff of assistants, and abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor-General while retaining Residents accredited to states or groups of States. A third alternative is that instead of abolishing either the Agent to the Governor-General or the Resident where both officers exist, the Residents of particular states might be allowed

to communicate direct with the Government of India, sending a copy of such communication to the Agent to the Governor General for his information. Before discussion opens as to the feasibility of these suggestions or others that may be put forward, I wish to make it plain that the Government of India do not contemplate the possibility of stereotyping their means of communication with States by sweeping changes which shall be of universal application. Some States have reached that stage of advancement when it would be both convenient and suitable for them to have direct political relations with the Agent to the Governor General should they desire this. In other cases Durbars both need and would doubtless prefer to retain for the present the advice and assistance of an officer living on the spot or near by who is acquainted with local conditions. Again, while it is eminently appropriate that the greater States should be in relation with the Government of India through their individual residents the system is not capable of indefinite extension since over-centralisation is incompatible with wise and sympathetic conduct of affairs. We wish to clear and straighten the channels of communication where they are choked or devious, but this does not mean scraping the distributary system. Groups of States will for a long time to come need the advice and assistance of a senior political officer equipped with a staff of specialists trained in the different branches of administration, while, on the other hand, the Government of India equally need the intervention of such an officer both as a convenient channel of communication and to relieve them of minor responsibilities with which they are not fitted to deal. Co-ordinating influence and external stimulus are particularly necessary when difficulties arise, such as famine or plague, or matters of common obligation affecting many states, or for the solution of local problems not justifying reference to the Central Government. Recent war emergencies have illustrated this very forcibly. The last is a further development for the scheme for a council. Your Highnesses as well recollect that in dealing with the constitution of British India we have proposed in the joint report a Council of State which, to use the words of the report, shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential. What we have in view is to provide means of deliberation between the Government of India and Your Highnesses on matters of common interest by joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of States and the Council of Princes, or between representatives of each body. Such joint deliberation would take place only at the instance of the

Viceroy and it will be obvious that in making use of the provision the Viceroy would attach the greatest weight to any wishes which Your Highnesses might from time to time express in the matter. The arrangement would be permissive only and at the out set I suggest that simplicity and freedom from restrictions will be a supreme merit of a scheme which rightly used may well hold a rich store of benefit for this great country which we all love and in which the Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India.

**January 25, 1919.**

The Conference met again on the 25th January after a few informal sittings and closed its deliberations for this sessions to be resumed in November next.

**Honour to Patiala.**

**The Maharaja of Gwalior said:—**Your Excellency, on account of the mournful event which happened in the Royal family the banquet which was to have come off on the 25th of this month had to be regretfully postponed. As President of the Reception Committee which was formed in connection with the banquet, it is my privilege to request Your Excellency to present on our behalf this sword to our esteemed brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, who so ably represented us last year at the Imperial Conference in London. It is painful for me to recall that a deplorable mishap should have led to an alternation in the plans for the presentation, but I may say that anyhow it will be a great pleasure to His Highness to receive this sword from the hands of Your Excellency.

**His Excellency the Viceroy addressing the Maharaja of Patiala said:—**Your Highness, it is a great pleasure to me to be able to present this sword to you to-day on behalf of your brother princes. I should like to thank you also personally myself for the dignity and self-restraint with which you exercised the functions of a representative of the States at the Imperial Conference and I congratulate you.

His Excellency then presented the sword to the Maharaja of Patiala.

**The Reform Proposals.**

**The Maharaja of Jaipur said:—**Your Excellency and Your Highnesses,—Perhaps it is not necessary to make any introductory remarks in moving the following resolution, which stands in my

name, but on an unique occasion like this, it may not be inopportune to say that whatever help we were able to render in the prosecution of the late war was readily given because we thought that it was our paramount duty to serve our King-Emperor with whole-hearted devotion and without the least idea of claiming privileges and honours in return. It is not our object at the present moment to embarrass the Government which appreciates fully our war efforts, but to co-operate with them in removing certain anomalies which have crept in our relations with the Imperial Government. I may assure them on behalf of my brother princes that we do not approach them in a captious spirit, eager to find fault with them and their officers, but to draw attention to the disabilities we are working under and ask for a solution in a spirit of sympathy and justice. I move the following resolution :—

“This Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs desires to express its sincerest gratitude to H. E. the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India for the solicitude shown by them in their report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms for promoting the welfare of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and safe-guarding their interests. They are especially grateful for the assurance that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, sanads and engagements.

This Conference also desires to place on record its deep sense of appreciation of H. E. Lord Chelmsford's noble endeavour in bringing together the Ruling Princes and giving them an opportunity for free and frank discussion and friendly exchange of views with their brother princes and the Government of India in all matters affecting their states. They are specially grateful for the confidence His Excellency reposed in them where questions of imperial interests were concerned, thus bringing the Princes and Chiefs of India in closer touch with the Imperial Government and encouraging them to take an active interest in the problems not only of India, but of the whole Empire.”

The resolution was put and carried.

**His Excellency the Viceroy said :—**Your Highnesses,—I appreciate very highly the friendly spirit which prompted His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to move this resolution and the sentiments to which it gives expression. It will be a great encouragement to the Secretary of State and to myself to know that our efforts to associate the great Princes of India more closely with the Government of this great Empire and to improve our mutual relations are so gratefully recognised and I can assure you that those efforts will not be relaxed. I thank Your Highnesses most warmly on behalf of myself and the Secretary of State to whom I shall not fail to communicate the terms of this resolution.

**The Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Your Excellency,—Now

that this Conference is coming to an end it is fitting that I should offer on behalf of my brother Princes and myself some observations on matters of general interest as well as on the useful experience which the present session has brought us all. On the first day of our meeting Your Excellency's remarkable address brought home to us more clearly than ever the complexity of the Indian States problem as well as the difficulty of finding for it a suitable solution ; but more of this later. It seems more suitable that I should at the outset briefly allude to certain epoch-making events which by their importance appear to me to claim priority of mention.

The armistice which was signed on the 11th November marked for the allies the happy ending of the greatest war known to history involving a heart-breaking expenditure of blood and treasure. Therefore, this is the occasion for deep thankfulness to the Ordainer of human affairs. We now look forward to the conclusion of a just and lasting peace, a peace which we trust will not only secure tranquility to the British Empire for a long time to come, but will also bring about a fair adjustment of the rights of all races and communities. I refer to the glorious end of the war to recall what has rendered its achievements possible. Bearing in mind the part played in the war by the British Empire, I think it is no exaggeration to say that it was the absolute unity of that composite structure which operated most powerfully towards that end, and if I may raise a further question it will be only to supply an equally obvious answer, "what rendered such a perfect cohesion possible?" It was the personality of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor which has won him an ample and firm place in the affections of his people. It is not the sentiment which only tradition breeds that I express but a deduction from the world's history when I say that hereditary throne is the greatest binding and welding force in the life of nations and communities. We, the Princes of India, rejoice to find on all sides undeniable evidence of attachment to the British Throne, and it inspires us with the brightest hopes for the good of humanity and the peace of the world to find the British Throne, to which we are bound by very close ties, more secure than ever before, and I may say in consequence of the great struggle which has thrown many a crown into the melting pot.

This security which is broad-based upon the affection and good will of the people is, we firmly believe, going shortly to find its counterpart in the adoption of liberal measures calculated to improve the machinery of the governance of India. These measures which are irrevocably promised will bring in their train enhanced loyalty and contentment in India, and the ampler they can be made,



with due regard for the conditions that are obtaining, and the quicker they can be enforced, the greater will be their certain result. I am not using the language of convention but I speak from conviction when I say that both the amplitude and the expedition are assured by the combination which we all regard to be of happy augury, viz., the continuation of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty and the reappointment to the Secretaryship of State for India of the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu.

The recent elevation of our distinguished countryman Sir Satyendra Sinha to the Peerage and his appointment to an office in the British Government is an example of true insight, great political imagination, and what is even more important, of genuine honesty of purpose and we refuse to credit the libel from wherever it emanates that in this measure of simple justice to the people there is even the slightest taint of party or other questionable tactics. The recognition of India's rights is further emphasised by her direct representation in the Peace Conference and in the inclusion of our illustrious brother, the Maharaja of Bikanir, amongst the delegates to Versailles. We recognise the determination to accord to the Indian States their rightful place in the fabric of the British Empire. For all this our heartfelt thanks are due to Your Excellency's insight into the existing conditions, and Mr. Montagu's powerful support, no less than to the sympathy and sense of justice of the British Cabinet. To all of them we are also grateful for the generous appreciation of our services during the war.

#### The Conference.

I come now to Your Excellency's opening address. I propose to deal with it in the order of importance of the points that call for notice. Your Excellency called upon us to remember that the British Government is the paramount power in India. As regards this direct reminder we feel no hesitation in saying and saying it as unequivocally as possible, that the paramountcy of the British Government is a fact that is not open to challenge. It is a fact that is readily admitted and a fact that is recognized as a blessing because it is accompanied with justice. It is perhaps within the experience of us all that side issues have a tendency to confound the more important ones. The bearing of this remark will be apparent when I recall to Your Excellency's mind the origin of the present Conference and of the desire for the formation of a collective body of Princes. That desire was not the result of the impending changes in the administrative machinery of India ; it was the outcome of the feeling that so long as each state sought

the solution of its difficulties or the removal of its disabilities by individual representation, such difficulties, though in many instances common, were all to be treated as peculiar to the state which represented them and while this possible misapprehension prevailed, not only was the realization of the fact that difficulties common to the State were likely to be unduly delayed, but the individual representations could not be accepted to carry the weight they deserved. This was one determining factor. The absence of an organ for the collective expression of opinion was also responsible for bringing about a condition of affairs in which the interests of the States in such matters as affected them jointly with British India were exposed to the risk of being ignored. In addition there were certain crying needs which it has now been sought to meet by the application of plain and direct remedies, and these remedies, such for instance as the appointment of commissions of enquiry for the purpose stated, and the placing of States in direct political relations with the Government of India, are, I may say, so essential that their application does not admit of delay.

#### Treaty Rights.

Allusion was made by Your Excellency to the improvement of the relations between the Crown and the States. With regard to this all that is desired is that the various rights secured to the States by their individual treaties as also their inherent sovereign rights shall be ensured to them and consistently respected, and further that no practice or measure would in future be permitted to come into being which directly or indirectly overlies the expressed or implied intention of the treaties. It will be admitted that no treaties are ever comprehensive documents. Having been drawn up to meet the conditions that existed at the time of their conclusion, and having had for their purpose the attainment of particular objects, they can cover but a very limited field. Their tenor however is unmistakable and their general clauses clearly indicate the enjoyment by the States of a status and position which in the course of time have suffered deterioration in practice. Therefore what the States ask for is that no measure inconsistent with this tenor and those clauses should be adopted by the Imperial Government and imposed upon the States. In any case, to all such measures as are likely to affect in any degree the internal autonomy of the States, their free consent should be previously obtained.

Then again there was reference to the necessity of making a distinction between the more important states and the rest, and Your Excellency remarked that the distinction could only be based upon

constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The fundamental consideration determining the distinction could not have been more aptly described and we entirely concur with the principle.

#### Commissions of Enquiry.

As regards Commissions of Enquiry, in order to allay the apprehensions of some of the less affluent states, Your Excellency thought fit to give a very positive assurance that such commissions would never be allowed to develop into engines of oppression to be used by the richer against the poorer states. The sentiment underlying the assurance is in consonance with the best traditions of the British Government, but if I may venture so to put it, there is also another side to the shield and an opposite and real danger to be avoided. An equal degree of determination should characterise the resolve to see that the accident of wealth is not detrimental to the interests of any state. The fear might not unnaturally be entertained that where there was a clear case for the appointment of a commission the less affluent States—disparity there must be between the means of any two states—might find it very convenient to plead comparative poverty, and by plausibly appealing to the possibility of oppression prevent adjudication by a means unquestionable the fairest. Such pleas often go with a bad case and, per contra, wealth and a good case are quite a conceivable combination in the ordinary law courts. It might sometimes happen that the acumen of the bar may deflect the award in the direction of the longest purse, but before independent commissions, such as those contemplated in the Reforms report, the merits of the case may be safely relied upon to prevail over all other considerations.

#### Results of Conference.

As regards the results achieved by the present conference in respect of the important subjects that are before us for discussion, I will only make a brief reference here on each point. We have decided by a majority that a definite line should be drawn hereafter between the Sovereign states and others. As regards the question of the examination of treaties and the need of codifying and standardising past usage we have appointed a special committee to thrash this question and make the suggestion at our next meeting. We have unanimously decided in favour of the early establishment of an organisation of Princes which is to be hereafter called by the name of "Narendra Mandal, (in English "Chamber of Princes"). We have carried resolutions for the establishment of commissions

of enquiry and for the election of standing committees as outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report but with slight modifications. We have cordially and unanimously supported the propositions of direct political relations between all the important states and the Imperial Government. A Committee has been appointed to deal with the question of precedence under Section 7. We have also decided that this conference recommends that the consideration of the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes should be postponed until the Chamber of Princes and Chiefs has been established, and until the result of the proposals made for the introduction of the reforms in British India is definitely known.

I am afraid I have taxed Your Highnesses' patience rather long but the importance of the occasion and the magnitude of the interests involved rendered this unavoidable. While thanking Your Excellency for the patience and sympathy with which you have guided our deliberations, we earnestly hope that our labours will bear rich fruit in the near future.

#### H. E. The Viceroy.

**H. E. the Viceroy.**—I thank Your Highness for the reply which you have just made to my opening address at the commencement of this conference. The text of the reply only reached my hands a few minutes before this sitting, and you will not expect me therefore in such circumstances to deal off-hand with the important matters which have been discussed in it. I have already alluded to them in my opening speech, but I can assure Your Highnesses that all that has passed in debate here and the views which have been expressed in Your Highness's reply will receive our most careful consideration. I think we all agree that the debates this year have been of special interest, and I am sure that they have been of value to us all. It is always a great pleasure to me personally to have this opportunity of meeting Your Highnesses here, enabling you to discuss with me and with other members of my Government the problems which you have at hand, and I can assure you that we are all of us delighted to see you and discuss things with you. It now only remains for me to wish Your Highnesses goodbye and a safe return to your States, and express the hope that you may be all here once again in November to consider the important matters which we discussed at these conferences. May I say that to constitute a permanent record of this conference a photograph will be taken immediately after adjournment to-day. I now wish Your Highnesses good-bye and thank you for your attendance here and for the fruitful discussions which have taken place.

*CONTINUED IN THE  
SUPPLEMENT*

**PART II**  
**INDIA IN PARLIAMENT**  
**AND ABROAD**

# INDIA IN PARLIAMENT AND ABROAD 1917-19.

BEING A RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS ON INDIAN  
AFFAIRS IN BOTH HOUSES OF THE  
BRITISH PARLIAMENT, AND A  
COLLECTION OF SPEECHES  
AND WRITINGS ON  
INDIA IN ENGLAND,  
AMERICA, THE  
DOMINIONS,  
ETC.

EDITED BY  
H. N. MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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# INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The following pages compiled from Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, are intended to present to the Indian public an account of the proceedings in the British Houses of Parliament of matters Indian, and if possible, to show the trend of events which contribute to the shaping of India's political destiny so far as it is directed and led by Parliament. The volume opens with the now famous announcement of 20th Aug.' 17, declaring, in the carefully worded language of politicians, the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to India. The causes which led to that announcement are now matters of past history which it is not the object here to open. But it may be recalled, in passing, that that declaration was made under a strain which has now passed off. Good intentions are often expressed and resolved upon, alike by Nations as by individuals, under the compelling force of some adventitious unthought of emergency but people do not live in strain for ever ; it passes off, and with it many a good resolve ! That announcement was made when the British Empire was in peril, and not a day too soon or too late. India herself was in a state of ferment and things were so drifting as to throw all thought, all sections, all creeds—Hindus and Moslems, Brahmins and Pariahs, townsmen and village-folk, agitators and merchants—all into an united common stream of thought and action and ideal. Discerning people in high and responsible quarters saw that some remedy was required. Accordingly the War cabinet in England forged a remedy and hurled it over the seven seas to India ! Came the Declaration of August 20th to India and with it the Apple of Discord ! The drift of things into a common channel stopped ; streams rolled back. Lines became distinctly discernible : Extremists, Moderates, Home Rulers, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, etc a thousand sects and creeds of thought ran helter-skelter all scrambling for the apple. So far the announcement was well aimed and it well served its purpose !

## INTRODUCTION.

### Mr. Montagu—the Man.

The central figure in the current phase of India's Parliamentary history is the Secretary of State, the Rt. Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu. His connection with Indian affairs dates officially from 1910 when he was chosen by Lord (then Mr.) Morley to be the Under-secretary of State for India. He has had a thorough grinding in the Morleyan code of Liberalism and whether his present actions reflect some of the haltering and unconvincing principles of that code, history has yet to judge. His earlier speeches in Parliament on Indian affairs, particularly the budget speeches of the four years 1910—13, the period of his Under-secretaryship, however, breathe a spirit of liberalism and exhibit a breadth of heart rare even in those halcyon days of liberalism. For one thing he has ever carried with him an air of warm fellowship with his Indian fellow-subjects, and privately and in the platform, outside office, he has championed the cause of India and sympathised with her woes, as few else have championed and sympathised since the days of John Bright. Office, especially the unenviable office of the Indian Secretary of state with its unavoidable bondage of system and tradition, may and do sometimes appear to have cast a shadow on the real man, but the time is not yet to judge if the man or the machine has out-grown the other. History stores ample proof of cases where the machine breaks the man, system clogs his activity and tradition wrecks society. Mr. Montagu has already shown rare tact and ingenuity in the handling of problems where all that is old and rotten of an old world stand in the path of progress. He has travelled far all over India more than once and his utterances reveal that he has travelled and learned from his travels as only one who has a heart instinct with feeling can learn and understand.

He was for the last time in India in 1917—18 as the special representative of His Majesty's Government in order to discuss with the authorities and representatives of the people here the various questions concerning constitutional changes in the "too wooden, too iron" Government of India. A characteristic of the man, one perhaps flowing from the same rare tact and ingenuity inherent in him which has enabled him more than once to ply through difficult waters, is his knack of keeping himself, his personality and egotism, far away behind the true issues he wants carried. This serves to mark him off from the pattern of junkers of whom India knows unfortunately too well and too many. The power of such a man, be it for God or evil, is far greater than that of a pack of blustering junkers put together, and India requires equal ingenuity and skill to watch the doings and sayings of such a skilful person.

Immediately before he took his seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of State for India, he told his constituencies at Cambridge :—

I take up the work where Mr. Chamberlain left it a few days ago. As a private member of the House of Commons, when I had no sort of notion that I should be asked to fill any vacancy in the India Office, I made a speech on Indian affairs. That speech embodied the opinions I held and still hold. Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons that the reform of the Govt. of India was now under discussion between him and his Council and the Viceroy and his Council and advisers in India. I take up that discussion, I hope, without interruption where he left it, and in due course the Govt. will announce their policy.

The speech referred to is his well known speech in the House of Commons, 12 July, 1917, on the Debate on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report. in which occur that famous denunciation of the Govt. of India which is so often quoted :—

"The Govt. of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too ante-diluvian, to be of any use for modern purposes. I do not believe that any body could ever support the Govt. of India from the point of view of modern requirements.

"I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and *red tape* beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen."

Below is given an extensive extract from that speech from which it may be gathered with what mind he came to the India office. The Mesopotamian affair of 1917, it may be necessary to point out, was a hopeless muddle. Troops were sent without provision, provision was sent without direction, conflicting orders from authority paralysed action, and the man at the spot, General Nixon, had to retire after the battle of Ctesiphon. A Commission of enquiry was issued and it scathingly attacked the Sec. of State (Mr. Chamberlain), Lord Hardinge (the Viceroy), and others of the Government of India. The virulence with which the press in England attacked Lord Hardinge, whom India will ever remember as one of her very few well-wishers and sympathisers, was after all prompted by party tactics. The immediate effect of the storm raised was the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain and the appointment of Mr. Montagu as the Secretary of State.

On the Debate on the Report of the Mesopotamian Commission in the House of Commons, 12 July 1917, Mr. Montagu in the course of his speech said :—

"I will now turn to Lord Hardinge. There can be no doubt in the mind of anybody who is acquainted with recent occurrences in India that Lord Hardinge when he left India left it by the universal opinion of all Indians, people and Princes, as the most popular Viceroy of modern times.

“He is censured by this document (the Report) for what, for the fact that he relied too much upon those who had been chosen to give him military advice. Among the many things we have never decided in this country are the relations between politicians and soldiers. On the same day you may read two newspapers : sometimes, I think, you will read in one newspaper trenchant criticisms against the Government for overruling or disregrading or attempting to hamper the action of their military advisers, and on the other hand you will find peremptory demands that they should so hamper, overrule or criticise their military advisers. The two accusations are not in harmony with one another, and the true relation of the responsibility of politicians and soldiers has never been satisfactorily decided in this country, or as far as I know, by any Government. But the mistake that Lord Hardinge made, if it be a mistake, is the same mistake as my Right Hon. friend made when he relied upon Lord French and Sir Douglas Haig, and the same mistake he is making when he relies now on the advice of Sir Douglas Haig.

“Lord Hardinge’s reliance upon Sir Beauchamp Duff is not different from that of my Right Hon. friend opposite. Lord Hardinge in this regard cannot be treated as an isolated figure. I think the real charge against the Indian Government is a charge in which I want to include Lord Hardinge and my Right Hon. friend opposite (Mr. Chamberlain) and his predecessor in office, Lord Crewe.

“It is so easy to be wise after the event. At the beginning of the war I believe there was too great doubt of the loyalty and co-operation of the Indian people. The *Times* newspaper, day after day for sessions and months past, had articles pointing out that sedition was supposed to be rife. It loomed certainly much too large in the discussions of the House. It misled the Germans into thinking India was disloyal, and the deliberate policy of the Government in regard to India during the War seems to me to have been this : Let us make as little contribution as we can from India : Keep the War away from India ; we will take Indian soldiers and put them into France, and lend Indian civilians to the Home Government. India geographically as a country should be content with defending its own frontiers, and in maintaining order—a very great responsibility—inside the continent of India. Apart from that it was to do nothing near itself in the War. The people of India were not even asked to contribute to the War, although they asked Parliament that they should be allowed to contribute. I am told that volunteers were asked for in Bengal for certain purposes, and afterwards were told they were not wanted. I am talking now of the beginning of the War. The policy was that we did not know

whether India should co-operate in this War or not; we did not trust them; we dare not trust them—I am not criticising them from that point of view—let us keep the War far from India. Then events proved that the Indian people were anxious to co-operate, and the share of the Indian people in this War, from beginning to the end, has always been greater than the share of the Indian Government in this War, and always more willing than the share of the Indian Government. When this atmosphere had been created, when Indian troops had been sent to France, and as Lord Hardinge said, when India had been “bled white” suddenly there comes a change of policy, this expedition to Bagdad, a complete reversal of policy, unaccompanied, so far as I can see, with any big enough effort to put the Government and organisation of India, which was then on a peace footing, on a war footing, for an aggressive war, comparable to the change in policy. Therefore, the machinery was overturned; there was no equipment for war, and when expeditions were sent abroad they ought to have been equipped in a way comparable to the equipment of the expeditionary forces in this country and in our Dominions. As a matter of fact, here comes what I regard a true reduction from this source. The machinery of Government in this country, with its unwritten constitution, and the machinery of Government in our Dominions, has proved itself sufficiently elastic, sufficiently capable of modification, to turn a peace-pursuing instrument into a war-making instrument. It is the Government of India alone which does not seem capable of transformation, and I regard that as based upon the fact that the machinery is statute-written machinery. *The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too ante-diluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view.* I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements.

#### **The Ghost of an Indian Debate-**

“The tone of those Debates was unreal, unsubstantial and ineffective. If estimates for India, like estimates for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Secretary were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons, the Debates on India would be as good as the debates on foreign affairs. After all, what is the difference? Has it ever been suggested to the people of Australia that they should pay the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colony? Why should the whole cost of that building itself, in Charles Street, including the building itself, be an item of the Indian taxpayer’s burden rather than that of this House of Commons and the people



of this country? If I may give one example of the inconvenience of the existing system, I would refer to the Indian Cotton Duties debate which occurred in this House this year. The Cotton Duties had been imposed and there was no possible way of undoing that. That is the attitude in which we always debate Indian affairs. You have got no opportunity of settling the policy. It has been sometimes questioned whether a democracy can rule an Empire. I say that in this instance the democracy has never had the opportunity of trying. But even if the House of Commons were to give orders to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is not his own master. In matters vitally affecting India, he can be overruled by a majority of his Council. I may be told that the cases are very rare in which the Council has differed from the Secretary of State for India. I know one case anyhow, where it was a very near thing, and where the action of the Council might without remedy have involved the Government of India in a policy out of harmony with the declared policy of the House of Commons and the Cabinet. And these gentlemen are appointed for seven years, and can only be controlled from the House of Parliament by Resolution carried in both Houses calling on them for their resignations. The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State. I do not say that it is possible to govern India through the intervention of the Secretary of State with no expert advice, but what I do say is that in this epoch, now after the Mesopotamia Report, he must get his expert advice in some other way than by this Council of men, great men though no doubt they always are, who come home after lengthy service in India to spend the first year of their retirement as members of the Council of India. No wonder that the practice of telegrams backward and forward and of private telegrams, commented upon by the Mesopotamia Report, has come into existence.

#### **Red tape in India Office.**

“Does any Member of this House know much about procedure in the India Office, how the Council sits in Committees, how there is interposed between the Civil Servant and the political Chiefs, the Committees of the India Council, and how the draft on some simple question comes up through the Civil servant to the Under-Secretary of State, and may be referred back to the Committee which sends it back to him, and it then goes to the Secretary of State, who then sends it to India Council, which may refer it back to the Committee, and two or three times in its history may

go backwards and forwards? I say that that is a system so cumbersome, so designed to prevent efficiency and change that in the light of these revelations it cannot continue to exist. I speak very bitterly, and I speak with some feelings on this subject, for in the year 1912 a very small modification in this machinery was attempted by Lord Crewe, and a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. On the motion of Lord Curzon, it was thrown out on Second Reading in another place. Its authorship was attributed to me, and I was supposed to have forged it on my Noble Chief, because I found that the machinery of the India Office was not good for my own purposes. My only desire then, as it is now, was to try and find something which had some semblance of speedy action. Government offices are often accused of circumlocution and red-tape. I have been to the India Office and to other offices. *I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red-tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.* Now I will come to one particular detail of the India Office administration before I pass from this subject. I think the Mesopotamia Report stigmatises the conduct of the Stores Department as in the one respect unbusinesslike. The Stores Department of the India Office is a Department whose sole function—a most important function certainly—is the purchase of millions of pounds worth of equipment for the Indian Army, clothing and such like. It is presided over by a Civil servant; in the year 1912 or 1913 a vacancy occurred in that office, and it was suggested then that the proper man to superintend mere purchasing operations of that kind was a business man, an institution of the policy always associated with the Prime Minister. Great difficulties appeared in the way of the appointment of a business man, and a Civil servant was appointed. But it was agreed then that the next occupant of the office should be a business man. My right Hon. Friend, the Secretary of State, told me yesterday that a Civil servant had again been appointed.

#### **Too Rigid Government.**

“I come now to the question of the Government of India from India. I think that the control of this House over the Secretary of State ought to be more real, and I would say further that the independence of the Viceroy from the Secretary of State ought to be much greater. You cannot govern a great country by the despatch of telegrams. The Viceroy ought to have far greater powers devolved to him than is at present the case. When I say that, I do submit that you cannot leave the Viceroy as it is. Are there four much more busy men in this country than His Majesty

the King, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Speaker of the House of Commons? Yet the analogous positions of these four posts are held by one man in India, and he is expected to be responsible and closely to investigate the conduct of a great expedition like this! You cannot find an individual who can undertake the work. Your executive system in India has broken down because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern Government but you cannot reorganise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State, unless you make it more responsible to the people of India. Really the whole system has got to be explored in the light of the Mesopotamian Commission. It has proved to be of too much rigidity. My Hon. and gallant friend opposite (Com. Wedgwood) in his Minority Report, I think—certainly in the questions he has asked in this House—*seems to advocate a complete Home Rule for India*. I do not believe there is any demand for that in India on a large scale. I do not believe it will be possible, or certainly be a cure for these evils.

**Commander Wedgwood** :—I want that to be the goal towards which we are driving.

**Mr. Montagu** : As a goal, I see a different picture; I see the great self-governing Dominions and provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great principalities, the existing principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and Principalities, federated by one central Government. But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest; some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue; that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from Home because you cannot leave your harassed officials responsible to two sets of people. Responsibility here at home was intended to replace or to be a substitute for responsibility in India. As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home.

**The Will of the Indian People.**

“But I am positive of this, your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. It has been proved to be *not* efficient.

It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people, to make them into a warring nation as they wanted to be. The history of this war shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it! If you want to use that loyalty you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India, and you must give them that higher opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control of the Executive itself. Then in your next war—if we ever have war—in your next crisis, through times of peace, you will have a contented India, an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel, in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbrous machine, then I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire.”

Mr Montagu's liberal ideas are best expounded in his own **speech at Cambridge on Liberslism** delivered on the 28 Feb. 1912, the year of the great Imperial Durbar at Delhi when he was the Under Secretary. In the course of his address he said:—

“The keystone of Canadian loyalty is the freedom of the Canadian people. Canada has not moved a step towards separation or Republican institutions, yet Canada is divided only by an imaginary line from the greatest and most progressive Republic in the world, and the tie of free association within the Empire has held in face of the strongest natural and political attractions. From that the Conservatives ought to have learnt a lesson in Empire-building, but they learnt nothing. When more than fifty years had passed, when Canada was becoming increasingly loyal and prosperous, we came to South Africa. Had the Conservatives learnt anything in Empire-building? The Lyttelton Constitution, rejected by the Dutch, fraught with friction and irritation at every step, was their best performance. When fortunately and by the mercy of heaven the end of their reign came and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, by his application to South Africa of the liberal principles of freedom, laid the foundations of the South African Union, of another Canada in Africa, which in my opinion justified the policy of the British Empire in the eyes of the world, yet the then leader of the Conservative party, Mr. Balfour, called our policy the most reckless experiment of modern times.

#### **The Turn of India.**

Well, then, when these principles of self-government had been applied in their most extreme form, came the turn of India, when Lord

Morley introduced his Indian Councils Act in 1909. Here was no far-reaching scheme, here was no reckless experiment, merely a cautious attempt to associate the governed with the governor and to give expression to popular opinion in India. And we had the late Lord Percy in the House of Commons saying ! "Therefore, although it is our duty to warn the Government of the dangers which in our opinion attend many of the steps which we are recommending, the responsibility of acting upon or neglecting the warning must rest with the Government themselves." And we had the usual carping criticism of Lord Curzon. Well, nobody can doubt the success of the Indian Councils Act, but still the Conservatives have learnt no better. The latest efforts in Imperial workmanship were the far-reaching reforms announced the other day at Delhi as the central feature of His Majesty's successful visit to his Indian dominions. It would be improper for me to discuss these reforms without prefacing my remarks with a word of my own personal belief that the great outstanding triumph of that Indian tour was the personality of King George himself. The good results of his gracious voyage to India will long outlive the pleasure afforded the Indian people by the opportunity of demonstrating their overwhelming loyalty to the British Throne.

#### The Durbar Announcements.

"In the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law dismissed it with two criticisms : firstly, that it would cost money ; and, secondly, that the reversal of the partition of Bengal, as he called it, was a damaging blow to our *prestige*. I would say in passing that the complaint about expense as the first objection to a great Imperial measure is typical of modern Conservatism. To them ideals, poetry, liberty, imagination are unknown ; they reduce Empire to a profit and loss account ; their ideal is one of a cash nexus, and a million or two is to them far more important than the fact that the transfer of capital provides India with a new city, in a historic place, amid the enthusiastic welcome of the whole of a tradition-loving people. And as for prestige—O India, how much happier would have been your history if that word had been left out of the English vocabulary ! But there you have Conservative Imperialism at its worst : *we are not there, mark you, to repair evil, to amend injustice, to profit by experience—we must abide by our mistakes, continue to outrage popular opinion simply for the sake of being able to say, "I have said what I have said."* I have in other places and at other times expressed my opinion freely on prestige. We do not hold India by invoking this well-mouthed word ; we must hold it by

just institutions, and more and more as time goes on by the consent of the governed. That consent must be based on the respect which we shall teach them for the progressive justice of the Government in responding to their legitimate demands. But Mr. Bonar Law knows nothing of India, as he will be the first to admit, and it is to the House of Lords that we must turn for a more exhaustive criticism of our proposals.

### Lord Curzon !!

"In the lengthy speech which he delivered last week in the House of Lords he did lip-service to Parliamentary control, but, notwithstanding the fact that Lord Midleton was sitting next him, notwithstanding the fact that it was Mr. Brodrick, as he then was, not Lord Curzon, who was technically responsible for a large part of the Curzonian administration, he never mentioned the ex-Secretary of State in the whole course of his speech, nor did Lord Midleton speak himself. Lord Curzon has chosen as a point of survey for the work of which he is so proud—a point in which he is in his own light, and his shadow is over everything that he has done. It is not "Hands off India" that he preaches : it is "Leave Curzonian India as Lord Curzon left it." To alter anything that Lord Curzon did would be damaging to our prestige !!!

### Why the Partition was Reversed.

"Next, Lord Curzon stated that our policy involved a reversal of his policy. I trust Lord Curzon will forgive me for saying that he never had a policy at all. (*Laughter and applause.*) He was a mere administrator, an industrious, fervid, and efficient administrator. He was, in a word, a chauffeur who spent his time polishing up the machinery, screwing every nut and bolt of his car ready to make it go, but he never drove it ; he did not know where to drive it to. (*Applause.*) He merely marked time and waited until a reforming Government gave marching orders. If he were to claim that the partition of Bengal was more than an administrative measure, designed as a part of a policy, then I say that it was even a worse mistake than I thought it, for the making of a Mahomedan State was a departure from accepted British policy which was bound to result in the antithesising and antagonising of Hindu and Mahomedan opinion. I had always hoped that this was the unforeseen result, and not a deliberate achievement, of Lord Curzon's blunder. It has always been the proud boast of English rule in India that we have not interfered between the different races, religions, and creeds which we found in the country.

### The New Policy.

"Where the difference lies is in this : that we have endeavoured to look ahead, to co-ordinate our changes in Bengal with the general lines of our future policy in India, which is stated now for the first time in the Government of India's despatch that has been published as a Parliamentary Paper. That statement shows the goal, the aim towards which we propose to work—not immediately, not in a hurry, but gradually. Perhaps you will allow me to quote the sentence in the despatch which contains the pith of the statement : "The only possible solution would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." We cannot drift on for ever without stating a policy. A new generation, a new school of thought, fostered by our education and new European learning, has grown up, and it asks ; "What are you going to do with us ?" The Extremist politicians, who form the outside fringe of this school, have made up their minds as to what they want. One of their leaders, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, has drawn up and published a full, frank, detailed, logical exposition of the exact form of "swaraj," or, as may be roughly translated, "Colonial self-government," that they want. The Moderates look to us to say what lines our future policy is to take. We have never answered that, and we have put off answering them for too long. At last, and not too soon, a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which we propose to advance."

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# House of Commons—20 Aug. 1919.

## THE DECLARATION OF POLICY.

Mr. C. Roberts asked the Sec. of State for India whether he is in a position to make any announcement as to the policy which the Government intend to pursue in India?

Mr. Montagu—The Government of India have for some time been urging that a statement should be made in regard to Indian Policy, and I am glad to have the opportunity afforded by my hon. Friend's question of meeting their wishes.

*The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Govt. of India to consider with the Viceroy the views of the Local Govts., and to receive the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and*



*advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament.*

The same statement will be made today in India.

*Sir. J. D. Rees*—When is it decided that the right hon. Gentleman is to go to India ?

*Mr. Montagu*—During the winter.

*Com. Wedgwood*—May I ask whether in view of this admirable statement, there is any chance of an amnesty of people imprisoned in India ?

*Mr. Montagu*—I cannot add anything to my statement. As my hon. and gallant friend is aware, the responsibility for the maintenance of order in India rests on the Govt. of India.

*Mr. Hewins*—May I ask whether the principles on which the right hon. gentleman proposes to act were correctly outlined by him in the speech he made prior to his appointment ?

*Mr. Montagu*—That speech was made when I was a private member, and represented my own views. I am now acting as the spokesman of His Majesty's Government.

*Mr. Hewins*—May I ask if those views have been accepted by his Majesty's Government ?

*Mr. Montagu*—I do not think I can make an announcement of policy when the decision of the Cabinet is that we should proceed to elaborate that policy by conversations between the India office and the Government of India.

*Mr. Hewins* :—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that statements of policy were put forward by himself on that occasion and also by Lord Islington, and we want to know whether those statements represent the views of the Government ?

*Mr. Montagu* : I have today announced the views of the Government. I do not think I can be cross-examined about a speech I made when I was a private member.

# Mrs. Besant's Internment.

*House of Commons—16 October, '17.*

*Political agitation in India—Mrs. Besant's Internment.*

**Sir J. D. Rees** asked the Secy. of State whether he can make any statement to the House regarding the orders passed in India for the internment and for the release of Mrs. Besant and her associates ?

**Mr. Montagu**—I do not think that I need say much to-day as to the restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia under the defence of India Regulations. But it is important to say this : that the action taken by the Government of Madras in June was essentially precautionary rather than punitive. The Madras Government have repeatedly stated that they had no wish to check constitutional agitation as such, but that they considered that the methods employed by the agitators left them no option but to remove Mrs. Besant and her associates from Madras by recourse to the Defence of India Regulations. But restrictions of this kind must lead to a consideration of the date of their removal, for there was obviously no date set and obviously also they were not intended to last for ever. It would be reasonable to expect that the restrictions would be removed when the Government of India was satisfied that their removal would not lead to the recurrence of practices which they were designed to prevent.

Accordingly when I made the announcement on 20th August last as to the policy of his Majesty's Government in regard to India, I asked the Viceroy whether the Government of India would consider in view of the alteration of circumstances, the question of removing the restrictions imposed upon persons who solely on account of their violent or improper methods of political agitation had been dealt with under the defence of India act. Subsequently I asked that in view of the meeting of Parliament and the possible necessity of laying papers if it was decided to maintain the restrictions upon her, a decision as to Mrs. Besant should be taken as soon as possible.

The action taken by the Government of India was taken on their own responsibility, but we were all anxious to secure a tranquil

atmosphere in the future, and this does not mean that I am not in complete accord with their action.

He then quoted the question and answer in the Imperial Legislative Council, India, of the 5th September, '17 referring the matter in question, and continued :—

Afterwards the Government of India received assurances from influential sources as to Mrs. Besant's conduct which they considered satisfactory, and therefore decided to recommend to the Madras Government the removal of the restrictions on Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, as they regarded the retention of these restrictions as not being necessary in view of the altered situation created by the announcement of policy. The Viceroy received a telegram from Mrs. Besant conveying to him an assurance that she was ready to co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere during my visit.

I would remind the House that although Mrs Besant had been dealt with by the Government of Madras, her sphere of influence and action extended to other provinces, and the removal of these restrictions was thus of more than provincial interest. The course followed in now way implied any criticism of the action originally taken by the Local Government which was in fact approved by the Government of India, and has never been questioned by me.

**Mr. Joynson-Hicks** enquired of the Leader of the House whether seeing that this important matter should be discussed before Mr Montagu left for India, he (the Leader) could give a day—even half a day—to debate this question ?

**Mr. Bonar Law** :—I do not think a discussion would be of advantage at the present moment, but it might be discussed on the adjournment.

**Com. Wedgwood** : May I ask whether the relaxation and amnesty will extend to the Mahomedan Leaders who are excluded on the same terms as Mrs. Besant.

**Mr. Montagu** : I do not know to what Mahomedan leaders my friend refers. There are certain Mahomedan gentlemen who are interned at the present moment but not for the same reason as Mrs. Besant.—They are interned because of their promoting sympathy with his Majesty's enemies, and they cannot be considered as coming under the same category.

#### On the Motion for Adjournment.

**Mr. Joynson Hicks** said :—The points I desire to raise are as to whether Mrs. Besant was rightly interned, and I think that the house will agree that she was ; whether there was any reason to alter the decision, and whether the release is likely to make for peace and quietness in India. I want the House to understand that

she has during the last two or three years, during the strain of this war, deliberately made speeches and issued writings exceedingly detrimental to the peace and well-being of India. Every other section in India, particularly the moderates, have agreed to abstain from all political agitation. In 1916 when the war was well under way, Mrs. Besant started "New India." Her writings were so bad that the authorities compelled the paper to furnish a guarantee of Rs 2,000, and last year that money had to be forfeited. Mrs. Besant appealed and questioned the legality of this action. This was heard by 3 Judges, 2 of whom were Indians and they unanimously came to the conclusion that Mrs. Besant had held the Government up to hatred and contempt, and that her articles had a tendency to disseminate disaffection through out India.

In March last the Viceroy referred to Mrs. Besant's action and quoted from her paper. He said (after reading extracts from her paper) "what is this but to exaggerate the ills of India and to ascribe them all to the Government"? The Viceroy also quoted the C. J. "This seems to me most pernicious writing, and writing which must tend to encourage political assassination." The Viceroy then went on : What are these but stirring up hatred and contempt ; do you suggest that language like this can have no ill effect ?

Upon this decision Lord Pentland came to the conclusion that a stop must be put to Mrs. Besant's activities, and he with the assent of the Viceroy and of the Sec. of State (Chamberlain) decided to take further action against her. He sent for her and personally tried to dissuade her from carrying on his propaganda during the War, asking her for an undertaking not to do so. She declined and then with the assent of the Viceroy he had her interned.

I want to ask my Rt. hon. friend (Montagu) if he will give the House the papers so that we may get the whole of the details. It is quite clear that he did write or telegraph something to India very soon after he entered office, partly in view of his going to India and partly to ask the Viceroy whether he would grant an amnesty to these particular prisoners.

My Rt. hon. friend told us this afternoon that Government had received undertakings from influential friends of Mrs. Besant that she would abstain from violent methods of political agitation during the war. But there has been no undertaking from the lady herself. She has, since her release, been going about India stirring up agitation ; she has openly stated that she has entered into no conditions whatever with regard to her release ; she has conducted a triumphant tour throughout India. In consequence of her action she has been elected president of the National Congress. The action taken by the Right hon. gentleman (Montagu) is presumably

in order that he may have a peaceful progress in India when he makes his visit. But I think that that will have a reverse effect. The whole of Anglo India today is in a ferment. They are strongly of opinion that the release will be disastrous to India.

[ The speaker then referred to various telegrams from Anglo Indians and also to several statements made by the late Sec. of State, Mr. Chamberlain, as to the violent character of the agitation conducted by Mrs. Besant. He continued :—]

I do not want to go back on the Home Rule speeches of the Rt hon. gentleman (Montagu). It is very regrettable, I think, that while the voice of his predecessor is still hot in the ears of the public he should suggest that this lady should be released. He is going out to India as a missionary of peace and goodwill. He is responsible for the Government not only of the Indian Extremists but also of the loyal Indians. He is also responsible for the well-being of the Anglo-Indians.

What I am asking my Rt. hon. friend to do is to make a statement here before he goes to India that he will assuage as far as he can the ferment which has undoubtedly arisen in the Anglo-Indian Community by assuring us that he is not going to India to express any such ideas as Home Rule for India, and that he will show that he has no sympathy with Mrs. Besant or with the extremist agitation.

**Sir J. D. Rees :** I confess I do not know what good, and I do feel that much harm, may result from the speech which my hon. friend has made. What, after all, is it he wants? Does he want the Government of India to cancel the order for the release of this lady and her companions and to shut them up again? Does he want that? If he does not, what is to be the practical outcome of this discussion? I disapprove of Mrs. Besant as heartily as my hon. friend. I think it would have been to the advantage of India if she could be induced to leave India altogether. But there are many other political associations established in India, and you cannot keep them permanently shut up. I never was an advanced reformer, but whenever the question of deportations and internments have been brought forward, the great object of most of those concerned have been to get the prisoners released as soon as possible, for they are more troublesome and more dangerous in confinement than they are outside.

My hon. friend was no doubt right in saying what is the general feeling of Anglo-India on this point, but there is room in this particular case for a difference of opinion. The very paper which is a byword of Anglo-Indian officialism in India, "the Pioneer", says in its issue, 8th Sep. '17.

"It is only fair to acknowledge that Lord Chelmsford is not the stamp of man tamely to submit to acting against his convictions or to be at all likely to seek cheap popularity at the expense of the administration of which he is the head. If he is ready to show leniency to those who have for political reasons been interned, it is because he is honestly anxious to do all in his power to promote that spirit of mutual goodwill and confidence which he realises to be so necessary for the future welfare of India."

There is another point. Part of the gravamen of this complaint is that it is asserted that the Government of India, an independent administration overrode the Government of Madras, as independent administration. That is not the position. The Government of Madras is a subordinate administration. The Government of India was responsible to this House for the internment, and not the Government of Madras. The Govt. of India is responsible for the release. Lord Chelmsford has most expressly, publicly and fully, shouldered that responsibility, and there are some of the strongest opponents of the advanced party in India, like the Pioneer and myself, who think that Lord Chelmsford in this matter had probably good reason for what he did, and should be supported. In a letter to the Times, Lord Sydenham unintentionally misrepresented the situation. He was Governor of Bombay, and, like everyone else, is inclined to magnify his own office.

I presume the position to be this. I take it the Governor Genl. of India in Council considered that some eirenicon was necessary as this new policy was announced. It was announced and decided upon that it should have a fair chance, and if you have got the whole of the Congress Party—let me say they are not my party—in a state of ferment protesting against the internment of this lady, of whom, of course, they have made an absolute idol since she was interned—if that is going on, there is really no fair opportunity for the new departure. I do think that if the House is not to give a chance to the present departure, if it were to accentuate the very great difficulties which the Sec. of state will have going to India to discuss these questions, if we are not to endeavour to produce a "calm atmosphere", what possible chance can they have?

Is it statesman like of us, whatever our individual views may be, to endeavour to put a spoke in the wheel of this all important experiment? If Mrs. Besant and her friends again misconduct themselves, the Governor General in Council can move the Government of Madras, or the Government of Madras with the permission of the Governor General in Council, can again intern them. Until that happens what earthly use can result from my hon. friend raising this matter to-night?

**The Sec. of State for India (Mr. Montagu) :** I have very little to say on this matter ; the answer I gave this afternoon contains a complete account of the circumstances. There is very little for me to defend or to justify. I say again, the action of the Government of Madras was approved by the Government of India, approved and defended in this house by my predecessor, and it never fell to my lot to question it—I had no reason to concern myself with it. When my predecessor was in office my Rt. hon. friend, the Member for Cleveland (Mr. H. Samuel) from the Bench opposite asked him if he would lay papers about Mrs. Besant before the House of Commons. My predecessor said he would consider the matter. When I entered office it was necessary for me to consider carrying out the consideration which he had undertaken. The papers were not complete. With a view to laying those papers, I asked for complete papers (from India). But when the announcement of 20th Aug. was made, which in my view made a new situation, I suggested to the Viceroy, not that he should release Mrs. Besant, but that he should consider the release of all people who had been dealt with for unconstitutional agitation in connection with reforms.

Does my hon. friend (Mr. Joynson-Hicks) suggest that it is wrong for a secretary of state, who receives by many telegrams and letters,—even by suggestions in this House that the relaxation of those restrictions might be considered, is it suggested that it is wrong that I should convey that suggestion to the Viceroy? The situation was this. A large amount of agitation had been going on in India because there was a demand for an announcement of policy. An announcement of policy was not forthcoming. My hon. friend knows and the House knows, that the Govt. of India had been pressing for an announcement of policy for some months. An announcement is made—an announcement with which we were all in complete accord. The Government of India think that the consequences of that announcement will be that there will be a cessation of that agitation and that everybody concerned will lay their heads together to work out the policy which results from that announcement, and therefore a new situation occurs. There is no question of reversing the former policy, but a question of seeing whether the new circumstances will allow a relaxation of restrictions. The justification for that wholly depends on whether the people who are freed from restriction do not offend again. The justification depends on whether they have assurances or not which lead them to believe they will not offend. The Government of India told the Legislative Council and authorised me to tell the House that they have received such assurances. My hon. friend says he has evidence of a recrudescence of those practices. I have not. Surely my hon. friend

does not suggest to me that I should tell the Government of India that I question whether the assurances are satisfactory? Evidence shows that Mrs. Besant and her friends who present a portion of the problem, but only a portion, are willing to co-operate in the discussions which arise. Therefore by her release you have assured the cessation of those practices. This was done by the Government of India, and if it is not impertinent for me to say so, I think that they acted in a wise and statesman like manner.

Regarding the Anglo Indian Community Mr. Montagu said :—

The views of the Anglo-Indian community will of course be considered. It would be monstrous if they were not, for after all they have played an enormous part in building up the material prosperity of India. As regards Home-rule and policy, that is what we are going to discuss in India. I am not going to make any further pronouncement upon it at all, and I am sure my Hon. friend will not press me to go beyond the announcement of 20th August. That is the policy of His Majesty's Government and the policy of the Viceroy and his Government. If the Hon. member will read that announcement over again he will see that many of the dangers which he anticipates are safeguarded by the very words of that carefully drawn up pronouncement of policy, and all we ask is that all those people who in different ways and directions are anxious for the well-ordered progress of India towards the end which is declared in that pronouncement will proceed together to a discussion of this matter, eventually in full publicity, in order that we may lay firm foundations of that future and uninterrupted progress, and get out of the way of the agitation which has been aroused in other circumstances by the action of the Government of India. That seems to me to be a step which no one in the House has a right to quarrel with.

**Commander Wedgwood** said he could not understand what was gained by branding everybody who advocated Home-Rule as disloyal. The people would be far more disloyal to the traditions of Great Britain if they did not advocate Home-Rule. Personally he was glad that the Government has released Mrs. Besant, and he hoped she would continue her Home rule agitation in India, because, he said : "you cannot grant Home-rule to any people without benefitting not only those people but the British Empire. Our traditions are based on freedoms, and one of the most remarkable examples of the confidence and reliance we may place on our freedom is to be found in the case of South Africa."

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# House of Lords.

*Wednesday, 24th October 1917.*

## **The Situation in India.**

**Lord Sydenham** had the following notice on the Paper—

To draw attention to the present situation in India, with special regard to the internment and release of Mrs. Besant ; and to move for Papers.

The noble Lord said : My Lord, it is always an exceedingly difficult thing to say where a line ought to be drawn in checking freedom of speech or of writing, but I think it will be agreed to by everybody that such freedom must be curtailed if it is used to threaten public order or to sow the seeds of murder and of outrage.

In India it is absolutely necessary that restrictions of this kind should be enforced. The mass of the people are ignorant and perfectly ready to believe any false statements that may be made to them ; they are credulous to a degree that can hardly be conceived here. I should like to give one instance of that, of which your Lordships may not have heard. When we first started plague inoculation in India, a story was widely circulated in the Bombay Presidency that a holy man had said that an Indian with white blood would drive the English into the sea, and that we are pricking the arms of Indians in order to find the Indian with white blood and kill him off in good time. Besides that, the peoples of India are very easily excited, and serious disturbances often occur through the passing round of some obvious fiction which in Western countries would not attract a moment's attention. Every one who has lived in India must know many cases of that kind, and when disorders, thus promoted, occurs, then the most hateful duty of Government comes into play, and you have to put them down by force, with the sad result that in many cases some few perfectly harmless people may lose their lives.

But we have more direct evidence than this of the necessity of these restrictions in India. All political agitation in India, from the first, has been accompanied by assassinations, and in many cases

the assassins have themselves named the newspapers and the speakers from whom they drew the inspiration of murder. Mr. Jackson, a most valued Indian civilian, a student of Indian language and literature, and devoted to the people, was shot at an entertainment given to him by Indians, and the young assassin in his trial made this confession. He said—

“I read of many instances of oppression in the *Kesari*, the *Rashtra-mat*, the *Kal* and other newspapers. I think that by killing Sahebs my people can get justice. I never got justice myself, nor did any one I know. I now regret killing Mr. Jackson. I killed a good man causelessly.”

Could a more tragic confession ever have been made? And was that young decadent Brahmin the real criminal? Other murderers have told exactly the same story in different words, and surely all such cases as that show that we can not allow speech and writing which is proved effective in leading young Indians into crime.

Mrs. Besant, who was formerly a student of theosophy, joined the ranks of the extremists and started a Home Rule movement of her own. She wrote a book which contains more reckless defiance of facts that I have ever seen compressed into the same small space, and in her paper *New India*, she appeared anxious to imitate the most dangerous language in which the Indian Press has indulged. She told excitable young Indians that India was a “perfect paradise” for 5,000 years before our advent, and that it had become a “perfect hell” owing to the “brutal British bureaucracy.” Those are her expressions, not mine. She said that India had been “converted into a land of permanent famine and pestilence, and its children into a race of effeminate weaklings”. She accused the British Government of “depriving a weaker people of their liberty, and retaining them under rule in perpetual slavery under the plea of civilising them and bettering their lot.” There are no freer people in the world than Indians under our rule, and such oppression as exists is that of Indians by Indians, and it would be increased a hundred fold if we handed over the reins to the small body of Brahmins and lawyers whom Mrs. Besant is trying to lead. Surely language of that kind is exactly calculated to arouse an excitable people to rebellion. And would not rebellion be fully justified and even become a public duty if the British Government were really inflicting permanent famine and pestilence on India and holding Indians in perpetual slavery?

To those of us who have been called upon to play a part in governing India, and whose only thought has been to do the best we could for the people of India, such expressions, of course, seem

the wildest possible nonsense, but there are millions of people in India who are perfectly ready to believe them. In olden days, pestilence and famine were attributed to be the work of the Gods. It is an Englishwoman who tells Indians that they are due to a Government which has done the utmost with great success to combat both pestilence and famine.

But Mrs. Besant's libels on our countrymen do not end with false assertions of that kind. In a book which is now about to be republished in India to gain the advantage of her fresh access to notoriety, she states that for every wrong done to a white woman in Africa "tens of thousands of Kaffir women are outraged." I think the noble Earl and the noble Viscount who filled with great distinction the office of High Commissioner in South Africa would warmly repudiate that statement.

Mrs. Besant then goes on to generalise. She says that—

"It is there that lies one of our greatest sins; the utter disregard of morality where coloured women are concerned; the shameful disregard of womanhood in every country wherunto Britain has entered and where Britain rules."

That is a specimen of the mental food which Mrs. Besant provides for excitable young Indian students in a country where the treatment of women is one of the great bars to progress. In her purely theosophical days, Mrs. Besant had distinguished herself by violent attacks on missionary bodies in India, and by strong opposition to the teaching of the Christian religion in India. I cannot speak too highly of the British and American missions who are doing to my knowledge a wonderful work in uplifting the depressed classes of India.

Since Mrs. Besant combined theosophy with politics her language and activities and writings have taken a peculiarly dangerous form. Those activities were first brought to my mind by a very distinguished Mahomedan who wrote to me that he could not understand why the Government permitted a propaganda which was having a disastrous effect upon Indian minds. At length the Government of Madras decided to enforce the provisions of the Press Act, and Mrs. Besant was ordered to give security for the good conduct of her paper. As the violence of that paper, *New India*, continued quite unabated, the security was sequestrated. That gave her a right of appeal to the High Court of Madras. The case was heard by three Judges, of whom two were Indians, and the action of the Madras Government was confirmed. I will quote some fragmentary

passages adduced at the trial which may have had an effect in influencing the decision of the High Court.

"When crimes are committed legally ; when innocence is no protection ; when we live in a state of anarchy. We should be better off in a state of savagery, for then we should carry arms and protect ourselves. We are helpless. We pay taxes to be wronged."

There has been no more tranquil province in India than Madras until Mrs. Besant took up her residence there. Here is another passage—

"News of Prussian aggression and German atrocity are communicated to India to bewilder the Indian imagination. They are committed under pressure, under passion, they are common. But what does this mean, this perpetration of atrocity in civic life in peaceful times, in a peaceful province ?"

The German crimes are excused and compared most favourably to the mild and ineffective action of the Government of Madras. One passage in *New India*, quoted at the trial, was written by a notorious extremist who commented on the recent assassination of a every valuable Indian officer in Calcutta. He said—

"No reasonable Indian has ever publicly encouraged these crimes. There was quiet and even courageous determination in the conduct of the assassins. They are idealists, though heroism may, according to some people, be too noble a word to apply to them. In consequence people are not even moved by a spirit of retributive justice towards them. We might recognise them as political offenders."

Well might one of the Judges point out that this was "pernicious writing which must tend to encourage assassination by removing public detestation of such a crime."

The decision of the High Court and the sequestration of the security given produced no effect whatever on the editor of the *New India*, and after further considerable delay the Madras Government resorted to the Defence of India Act, which gives powers of internment. Lord Pentland explained his action in a speech which was calculated to allay any kind of public misunderstanding. It was a most excellent speech, and I am informed it had the full approval of all real Indian opinion in Madras. It has been suggested that Mrs. Besant was doomed to languish in prison, and in a very mischievous manifesto addressed by her, "Brothers and sisters in India," she announced that she was about to be "dropped into the modern equivalent of the Middle Age *Oubliette*." There is a very considerable difference between an *oubliette* and a comfortable residence in the delightful climate of Ootacamund, which Mrs. Besant selected for her internment. At Ootacamund she was free to walk about, see

her friends, and help in working up a violent agitation for her release. But she was prevented by the "brutal British bureaucracy" from continuing to fly the Home Rule flag over her residence.

The Viceroy approved the internment of Mrs. Besant ; and the late Secretary of State in another place, on June 26, also approved the action of the Government of Madras, and stated his opinion that Mrs. Besant's propaganda was dangerous to the peace of India. An eminent Hindu wrote to me these words—

"Ever since her internment a virulent agitation has been going on for her release. The Home Rulers met in conference and decided to carry on passive resistance unless she was forthwith released."

He added—

"If she is released unconditionally without giving any assurances as to the future, the position of the Government of Madras would be extremely critical. I do not think that they could maintain peace and order after such a blow to their prestige."

On July 30 a Joint Conference of the Congress and the Moslem League sent to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State a long resolution, most discourteous and menacing in tone, demanding the immediate sanction of their political proposals and the immediate release of Mrs. Besant and party.

Lord Sydenham then referred to the importance of maintaining the prestige of British officials in a country like India, and continued—

It was declared that the release was decided upon in order to tranquilise the present situation. My Lords, does concessions made to flagrant breakers of the law ever tranquilise any situation ?

The British Community in India is a very small body scattered over vast areas. The services which maintain order and conduct the administration are a mere handful of men amongst 315 millions of people. Their authority and even personal safety depend upon the visible strength of the Government of India. I know very well that the word "*prestige*" is hateful to every true democrat, but in Eastern countries the prestige of the Government is the only possible guarantee of the authority which is required every day for the preservation of public order. What would be the position of the two or three British officers in a far remote country district if they had not behind them the full support of a Government known to be strong ? If the masses of India ever come to realise that the Government can be coerced by the threats of a noisy minority, then India will be launched well on the road to anarchy.

Then he said that India is extraordinarily prosperous (!) just now, and that the extremists have chosen this time for a break down of the Government. They have captured the Congress, he said, and the Moslem league, and are working up a large number of excitable youths. Such conditions very closely resemble Ireland where laxity of Government has led straight to Sinnism. He then drew an analogy with Russia, and said that the masses of the uneducated Russians are a prey to the agitators. He concluded by saying that he spoke not in British interest, "but in the true interests of the Indian peoples for whom, as long as I live, I shall cherish affection" !!!

**The Under secretary of state** (Lord Islington) summarised the debate under two heads : (1) exception to the reversal of the Madras Government's order on Mrs. Besant, and (2) apprehension of the result and effect of the Secretary of State's mission to India.

With regard to (1) he said that the position in India in June when the Madras Government interned Mrs. Besant was different from now. The change came about the time of the Announcement of Policy, 20th August, and the decision that the Secretary of State would visit India. The effect of that announcement, it was believed and desired, would be tranquillising, and it was believed that Mrs. Besant would refrain from her violent agitation. He said further :

My Lords, thousands of moderates all over India saw in the restrictions imposed an attempt to suppress free discussion of questions of self Government, although it was only her unconstitutional methods which it was desired to check. Holding these certainly mistaken view, they were very little likely, so long as the restrictions on Mrs. Besant remained, to accept as made in good faith the Government investigations of possible methods of reform. They would no doubt have devoted their energies to obtaining her release, and to maintain a controversy most distracting to those who are about to investigate and quite inimical to the calm atmosphere which is so desirable. Mrs Besant free will mean greater tranquility than Mrs. Besant interned.

As to the 2nd point, it has been asked why hopes of self Government as the ultimate goal have been excited. In reply Lord Islington assured their Lordships that that course of action has not been entered upon by the Secretary of State on his own responsibility or in any light-hearted fashion. They have not been wilfully provoked by his Majesty's Government. They have agitated for years. Lord Hardinge had to deal with them. Lord Chelmsford in referring to the 20th August announcement to his Council claimed that that policy was practically indistinguishable from that which the Govern-

ment of India had themselves put forward. He (Chelmsford) explained that but for the War the announcement would have been made much earlier and mentioned that he had himself invited the Secretary of State to India ; that Mr. Chamberlain was on the point of accepting when he resigned ; that he renewed the invitation to Mr. Montagu and was very gratified when the Cabinet decided that Mr. Montagu should accept the invitation.

For some time before the decision of the Cabinet the Viceroy had written and telegraphed constantly that agitation was increasing and would increase in the absence of a declaration of policy and that the situation was getting more and more grave in India. Mrs Besant and her Home Rule propaganda were a symptom of that unrest. Her cause attracted adherents and her influence was dangerous because of this silence and uncertainty. The announcement of August 20th cleared the air, and enabled the Government of India and other Indian authorities to know where they stood and gave them freedom to explain the promising position, the tranquilising of India, and to ask for cessation of agitation and for a calm atmosphere.

With regard to Lord Sydenham's request for papers, Lord Islington said that it is undesirable to lay the papers as desired, for there were naturally in those documents much that were of a highly controversial character which could not but give rise, if published, to much further discussion. It was the avoidance of such discussion which was desirable and he hoped the noble Lord would not lend himself to the creation of difficulties.

After Lords Middleton, Crewe, Carmichael, Lansdowne and Curzon had spoken the motion of Lord Sydenham was by leave withdrawn.

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*House of Commons—Wednesday, October 31, 1917.*

**Silver Currency Policy in India.**

*Mr. Gersham Stewart* asked the President of the Board of Education, as representing the Secretary of State for India, whether, in view of the fact that for some time the price of silver had been above the equivalent of 1s. 4d. to the rupee, the Indian Government had incurred any loss in supplying the necessary rupees for military operations in Mesopotamia and other places and, if so, could he state the amount of the loss and how it would ultimately be met; whether the Indian Government had drawn on its reserve of rupees coined before the rise in silver, replacing them in India by a currency of notes of a low valuation; could he state the amount of the new issue of small notes; whether this form of currency was as acceptable to the native population as the metallic currency to which they had been so long accustomed; and whether the Indian Government was prepared to consider the advisability of joining in any movement to stabilise the price of silver and mitigate the constant oscillations and gambling in this currency medium.

*Mr. Herbert Fisher*: The purchases of silver above parity have been very recent. There is no reason to believe that rupees coined from such silver had gone to Mesopotamia. This being so, the second and third parts of the question do not arise. As the proposed notes for 2½ and 1 rupees have not yet been issued, the answer to the fourth part is in the negative; and the fifth and sixth parts cannot yet be answered. With regard to the last part, the Secretary of State for India would, of course, consider anything put before him from a responsible quarter.

*Mr. Stewart*: Will the right Hon. gentleman endeavour to persuade the Government of India to modify the hostile attitude towards silver which they have adopted of late years?

*Mr. Fisher*: I was not aware that there was any hostile attitude.

*H. of Coms.—Monday, November 5, 1917.*

**The Madras High Court.**

*Mr. Snowden* asked the President of the Board of Education, as representing the Secretary of State for India, if the Imperial Government had deviated from the policy laid down in the Charter Act that the appointment of judges to the Madras High Court should rest with His Majesty; if these powers had been delegated to the Governor General in Council; and, if not,



why two of the four temporary judges acting since 1914 had been placed on the permanent strength of the High Court of Madras.

*Mr. Herbert Fisher* : The Government of India Act, 1915, empowers the Governor-General in Council to appoint temporary additional judges for a period not exceeding two years. Four additional judges had been so appointed and were serving in Madras when the Secretary of State in Council decided to increase the permanent strength of the Court by two judges. The two persons whom His Majesty has been pleased to appoint permanently to the Court, under the provisions of the Indian High Courts Act of 1861, were at the time of their appointment serving as temporary assistant judges. There has been no deviation from the policy laid down by Parliament.

#### RAID ON HOME RULE LEAGUE OFFICE.

##### Lajpat Rai's Book "Young India."

*Commander Wedgwood* asked whether the office of the Home Rule for India League in Robert Street, W C, has been raided; whether the aims or methods of this League are considered or suspected of being seditious or illegal; and whether legal proceedings are contemplated?

*Sir G. Cave* : The Office of this league was searched by the police on the 3rd November for copies of a book containing statements which encouraged sedition and assassination. The papers seized are under examination, and I am not at present prepared to express any opinion upon the aims or methods of the league, or whether criminal proceedings are likely to be taken.

*Com. Wedgwood* : Was not the book seized the book to which I wrote a preface?

*Sir G. Cave* : Yes : I think that the Hon. and gallant Gentleman did make himself responsible for it.

*Com. Wedgwood* : Am I to be prosecuted as well as anybody else? It is a travesty to say that any such suggestion was made in that volume. Was this search undertaken after consultation with the India Office or not, or is it held to be in support of decent relations between Anglo-Indians and Indians in India?

*Sir G. Cave* : It was taken after consultation.

*Mr. King* : As it has taken over a fortnight to decide whether the Hon. and gallant Member's references are seditious, will the right Hon. Gentleman say when he will come to a decision?

*Sir G. Cave* : I do not say that the writings of the hon. and

gallant Gentleman himself are seditious, but the book in itself encourages sedition.

*Commander Wedgwood* : It certainly does not.

*Mr. Lynch*. Why do the public spirit and virtue of the right hon. Gentleman evaporate at a certain grade of society ?

*H. of Coms.—November 22nd, 1917.*

*Com. Wedgwood* asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware that charges have been made by the Home Secretary against an hon. Member of this House of supporting a publication which advocates assassination as a political weapon in India ; whether he is aware that the charge is unsupported by any evidence but is made to discredit the Indian Home Rule movement in the interest of the Anglo-Indian irreconcilables, contrary to the wishes of the India Office, by a Home Secretary insufficiently acquainted with the gravity of Indian politics ; and whether he will allot time to have this charge against the honour of a Member of this House discussed ?

*Mr. Bonar Law* : I cannot agree with the suggestions contained in this question, nor do I think it necessary to give a special opportunity for the discussion of the subject.

*Com. Wedgwood* : Am I to understand that a charge of such gravity can be made against a Member of this House by the Home Secretary without any further proceedings being taken and without any opportunity being given of showing that it was without a shadow of foundation ?

*Mr. Bonar Law* : I have read the question and the answer, and I have not drawn that inference from it. After the answer which I have given, perhaps the hon. Member would address his question to the Home Secretary ?

*Com. Wedgwood* : I beg to give notice that I will raise the matter on the adjournment to-morrow.

*Com Wedgwood* asked the Home Secretary (1) if he will state on what date the Home Office or police intimated to the India Office their desire to have the office of the India Home Rule League raided : whether the India Office concurred verbally or in writing ; in view of his accusation against a member of this House, will he lay Papers showing the responsibility of both the India Office and the police for the raid and for the assassin charge ; (2) whether he will indicate the passages in the book "Young India" by Lajpat Rai, with an introduction by the hon. Member for Newcastle, which he holds to advocate assassination ; whether he read these passages before making the charge or whether he was merely stating the opinion of Sir Archibald Bodkin ; (3) whether the idea of the raid

on the Indian Home Rule League originated with the Home office, the police, or the India Office ; (4) whether the India Office recommended the Home Office, or the police to raid the offices of the Home Rule for India League ; whether he was cognisant and approved of the raid before it took place.

*Sir G. Cave* : On the 31st October, the India Office notified my Department that the British branch of the Home Rule for India League were publishing a reprint of a book called "Young India," by one Lajpat Rai. The India office pointed out that this book had been prohibited in India, and that its importation in this country had also been prohibited, and expressed the view that its circulation was undesirable. I personally examined the book, and came to the conclusion that it contravened the Regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act and contained passages sympathising with extreme revolutionary methods (including the use of the bomb and the revolver) and condoning crimes of assassination which had been committed in India. I will give the hon. and gallant Member a note of some of the passages upon which my opinion was formed. The decision to have the premises searched, and the book seized was thereupon taken with the concurrence of the India Office. I may add that there is (as I am informed) cause to suspect that the author is subsidised by German agents in the United States of America, and it is certain that he uses language regarding British rule in India which is indistinguishable from that found in enemy propaganda.

The hon. and gallant Member will perhaps allow me to add that I have never suggested or for a moment believed that he would give his countenance to a publication which he knew to be of the character which I have described; and I am confident that, when he expressed his approval of the book in question, he had not realised the nature and tendency of some of the passages contained in the book.

*Com. Wedgwood* : May I ask whether the Right Hon. Gentleman read the book or whether it was read by Sir Archibald Bodkin ?

*Sir G. Cave* : I read the book from cover to cover.

*Com. Wedgwood* : Is the right hon. gentleman aware that 1,000 copies of the book were printed, and that they were sent to the Members of this House and to members of the House of Lords ?

*Sir G. Cave* : I am aware that the edition published in this country was a small one—1,000 was given to me as the number—

but you could not pass over even this small edition without it being said you could not suppress the rest.

*Com. Wedgwood*: Is it worth while in order to show the powers of the Home Office under the defence of the Realm Act to antagonise all those people in India who are pressing for Home Rule, and at a time when the Secretary of State for India is about there for this country?

*Sir. H. Craik*: Is it not the fact that Lajpat Rai was himself about ten years ago dealt with for seditious conduct in this country?

*Sir G. Cave*: Yes.

*Com. Wedgwood*: Is he not at the present moment free in India?

*Sir G. Cave*: I believe not.

*Mr. Chancellor*: Are any steps to be taken against the publisher, so that he may bring the matter before a Court—is he to be prosecuted?

*Sir G. Cave*: That is not in my province?

*Mr. Outhwaite*: Were those steps taken in order to make the world free for democracy?

*Mr. Fisher*: Free from assassination!

*Com. Wedgwood*: If you read the book, you would not talk rot like that.

*H. of Coms.—November 26th, 1917.*

### "Young India".

*Com. Wedgwood* asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that "Young India" by Lajpat Rai, was published more than two months ago; and why the notification of the alleged dangerous character of this book to the Home Office was postponed till after the Secretary of State's departure for India?

*Mr. Fisher*: The India Office was not aware of the publication of the book in this country until some days after the Secretary of State's departure for India.

*Com. Wedgwood* asked in what country Lajpat Rai is at present; and whether he is at large?

*Mr. Fisher*: Lajpat Rai is in the United States of America. So far as is known he is at large.

*Commander Wedgwood* asked the Home Secretary whether he has any documentary evidence that Lajpat Rai is subsidised by

German agents in America ; if this evidence comes from the American Government ; and if it can be shown to the hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme ?

*Sir G. Cave* : It would obviously be against the public interest to answer the first two parts of this question. The third part therefore does not arise.

*H. of Coms.—November 28th 1917.*

**DEFENCE OF THE REALM REGULATIONS.  
YOUNG INDIA.**

*Com. Wedgwood* asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State in India or the Viceroy has been communicated with respecting the raid on the Indian Home Rule League's premises ?

*Mr. Fisher* : Not before the event. The Secretary of State was on the high seas when the India Office notified to the Home Office the fact that the book, the importation of which into this country and India was prohibited, has been published in England.

*Com. Wedgwood* : He was not on the high seas, as I understand, when the raid was sanctioned.

*Com. Wedgwood* : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the book was sent to Mr. Montagu personally, and to all Members of the House when it was first published, and can he explain how it was that the India Office was not acquainted with the fact ?

*Mr. Fisher* : I do not know whether Mr. Montagu reads every book he receives.

*Mr. Pringle* : Will the Government now withdraw the ban upon this book, in view of the fact that the hon. and gallant Member who wrote the preface is now an official of the Government ?

*Com. Wedgwood* : I will raise this question at eleven o'clock to-night.

*Com. Wedgwood* asked the Secretary of State for India if he will state in what country Lajpat Rai is at present ; and whether he is at large ?

*Mr. Fisher* : Lajpat Rai is in the United States of America. So far is it known he is at large.

*Com. Wedgwood* : Has the Government of the United States been communicated with with a view to the internment of this

extremely dangerous person who, according to Sir Archibald Bodkin, advocates sedition and assassination ?

*Mr. Fisher* : Not so far as I am aware of.

*Mr. Adderson* asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the German Government, whilst extensively circulating amongst their troops and their people complacent official literature dealing with the War and War aims suppress or subject to severe censorship all leaflets and pamphlets of an independent character bearing on the same question ; and whether he can take steps, with the help of the War Aims Committee, to place before the British people this example of the effects upon liberty of opinion of Prussian militarism ?

The under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord R. Cecil) ; I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the facts stated in the first part of the question. The second part is not a matter which concerns the Foreign Office.

*General Croft*. Is the Noble Lord aware of the fact that pacifist utterances in this country are very freely circulated in Germany in order to encourage the troops ?

*Lord Cecil* : Yes, Sir ; that is so.

#### DEFENCE OF THE REALM REGULATIONS, YOUNG INDIA.

*Com. Wedgwood* asked the Home Secretary if he can state how many copies of "Young India," by Lajpat Rai, were seized in the recent raids ; and whether other owners of the work may expect the attention of the police ?

*Sir G. Cave* : Six bound copies of this book and a number of unbound sheets were seized. Any copy of this book is liable to be seized under Regulation 51, but it is not proposed to take action with regard to copies that may be in the possession of innocent holders.

*Com. Wedgwood* asked the Home Secretary whether his advisers have yet come to any decision as to the prosecution of the publishers of "Young India" ; and has the India Office been consulted in the matter ?

*Sir G. Cave* : No criminal proceedings are at present contemplated. The India office has been consulted in the matter.

The remaining Orders were read and postponed.

## COMMANDER WEDGWOOD'S SPEECH IN THE.

*H. of Coms.—December 5, 1917.*

I explained before that there is no objection, from my own point of view, to this book circulating in any country in the world, but seeing that it was limited to an edition of 1,000 copies, circulated only to Members of this House, and to Members of the House of Lords, I think the seizure by the Home Office was an act of pure obscurantism and of the most lamentable unwisdom—Prussianism. Here is a book which puts before the responsible public of this country the Indian point of view so far as the British Government of India is concerned. Surely we realise that before any assembly is capable of judging such matters as the government of India it ought to have both sides put before it. We are capable of judging whether or not the book trenches on dangerous ground. It is bad enough for the Home Office to try to decide what the people shall read, but when it comes to trying to decide what Members of this House shall read it is going beyond the limits set by any previous Government in this country. Listen for one moment to what the "New Statesman" says of this particular volume. They say,

This is emphatically a book to be read by the Secretary of State for India himself as well as by members of the Council and the clerk's in the India Office. It ought to be pondered over by every Indian civilian."

That is exactly the conclusion I came to after having read the book carefully; that it ought to be in the hands of every man who goes out to help govern India. They should see the other side, in order to be capable of assisting the administration. By shutting your eyes to the native point of view, by accepting the doctrine of Rudyard Kipling, you enormously handicap the administration of the country. I have been told that by writing a preface to this book I have been responsible for encouraging sedition and assassination.

*Sir G. Cave.* No!

*Com. Wedgwood :* I am quoting.

*Sir G. Cave :* Not quoting but misrepresenting.

*Com. Wedgwood :* I have been told that I was responsible for a book which recommended assassination and sedition. The Home Secretary has been good enough to send me a list of passages which he regards as recommending assassination. Unfortunately, his Office has been careful to send me, not passages but a series of pages—sometimes ten at a stretch—which he regards in that light. It is impossible for me looking through these pages, to define exactly what he means by encouraging sedition and ass-

assination. I want the House to understand the nature of this book. It is a passionate plea for self-government in India. Is there any Member of this House who is capable of writing a passionate plea for the independence or autonomy of any country in Europe who would not make out as strong as possible a case against the existing administration: You cannot agitate without painting in the blackest permissible colours the existing administration, and Lajpat Rai who is incapable of advocating assassination, has undoubtedly painted in such colours the whole administration of India by the British.

One passage to which the Home Secretary calls my attention described the method by which the British Administration was spread throughout India in the eighteenth century but that passage was simply milk and water compared with passages which might be quoted from Edmund Burke dealing with exactly the same period: The next passage to which the right hon. Gentleman calls my attention is the description by a modern Indian of the six Repressive Acts passed in 1909. I myself in this House, and with the sympathy of this House, denounced them and I can honestly say that the description by Lajpat Rai of these six Acts by no means exceeds the justifiable criticism which any Liberal might pass on those Acts. Listen to what he says in the passage described by the Home Office as being tendencious in the worst degree:

"The penal code has been amended to make the definition of sedition more comprehensive. The criminal procedure code has been amended to facilitate conviction and to accelerate trials. The Seditious Meetings Act has been enacted to make open propaganda impossible. The Press Law has been passed to muzzle the press-Spies and detectives have been employed out of number."

Hon. Members who have read the memoirs of Lord Morley could quote from those memoirs statements about suppression of the freedom of the Press, equally violent and equally tendencious. Surely it is monstrous to say that a passage such as that, a mere statement of fact from the liberal point of view, about suppression of the freedom of association and freedom of the Press, should be condemned in this House, without any opportunity for defence in a Court of law, by the Home Secretary.

The gravamen of the charge against this book is that in the last half it proceeds to describe sketchily, photographically almost the various grades of Indian reformers and Nationalists. It takes those who believe in revolution—who do not advocate assassination but revolution; then it refers to such men as Arabinda Ghose and Savarker, men in whom politics are blended with a kind of religious



fanaticism: then it deals with the terrorists, who believe in the bomb and the daggers; then with the Constructional Nationalists of whom Lajpat Rai is one; then with the Congress Party, the reformists of the Gokhale kind. It deals with them and puts before the people of this country the different classes of Indian reformers, with the ideals they have and the methods they employ. If you are once to pronounce that it is not permissible to state in print in this country the facts about the various parties in India, or in any other part of the globe, you are obstructing the best opportunities we can possibly have of governing India not only in the interest of Indians, but of the British Empire itself. I wish to illustrate in one word what Mr. Gokhale himself said about Mr. Lajpat Rai, because, to my mind Lajpat Rai is an enormous asset to this Empire and ought rather to be encouraged than to be reprobated as an encourager of assassination. This is what Mr. Gokhale said in a speech delivered in the Council of the Governor General after his Lajpat Rai's deportation.

“Lajpat Rai was a religious, social and educational reformer who was loved and respected by large classes of his countrymen all over the country.”

It is the misfortune of all great reformers and all agitators—such as I myself am—to be reprobated and denounced by those in authority; but at least we might ask authority to use language which is in some measure governed by the responsibility of their position, and at the same time by the moral character of those who advocate more extreme doctrine than the Government of the day is willing to recognise.

### Home Office Denounced.

I do not mind in the least about accusations against myself in this matter. The House knows me better, and is quite capable of assessing at its true value any charge against myself. What I am here to denounce and deplore is the attitude, of the Home Office, and I suppose the attitude, one might say, of the India Office, as it is bereft of the Secretary of State for India—the attitude of these two Government Departments, on which so much depends, towards a legitimate movement for self-government in India.

I think it is unnecessary for me to say anything about the constitutional question in India. Everyone here knows that India itself is in an extremely touchy state at the present moment. You have a raid like this carried out by the Home Office with the consent of the India Office, but in the absence of the chief of the India

Office. You have this carried out regardless of the effect that it will have on public opinion in India. I say that it is a lamentable thing to be done irresponsibly by the Government of the day, which does not really recognise its responsibility towards India at present. Anyone who has any connection with India knows that it is of the greatest importance at the present time that the mission of the Secretary of State for India should meet with the warmest and most accommodating reception not only from the Indian people, but from the Anglo-Indians of India as well. We have here this irresponsible Government throwing into the midst of this amicable association in India this stupid bombshell of the arrest and seizure of a book which was only circulated to members of the Legislature of this country. Beyond the Indian question altogether surely we have here an illustration of the employment of the Defence of the Realm Act which is utterly unjustifiable at the present time. The Defence of the Realm Act is meant not to have any influence whatever upon the future government of our great Indian Empire. It is meant to have influence on the conduct of the War itself. How does the seizure of a book dealing with the future Government of India affect the conduct of a war in this country? This book does not get to India. There is no fear of that. No Sir. This is a case where the authority, having got a brief control of the police of this country, so far as it affects opinion in this country, has used that authority madly in order to put down anything of which the holders of that authority for the moment disapprove.

#### **Anti-Jacobin Legislation.**

It is impossible to conceive that if we had a Liberal Home Secretary that we should have had this book seized under the Defence of the Realm Act. It is impossible to conceive that if we had a Liberal Home Secretary we should have had the Defence of the Realm Act extended so as to deal with a purely Indian question which has no effect whatever upon Germany or the War at all except in so far as it is an example of Prussianism in our midst in this country. The book in question may be an example of all that the Home Secretary said. It may be that the book is a pernicious book but every one here who has had any education in British history and in British traditions knows that to strangle a book because some people in authority think it is bad is neither good politics nor good ethics. The advertisement which this book has got from this prosecution is far greater than it would get from any number of reviews at the illimitable expenditure of somebody's money. I believe this book was published at the expense of Lady Delaware. She was

not prosecuted, no-body will be prosecuted. But it is not merely that this prosecution involves an advertisement for a book which the Home Office believed to be seditious but that this prosecution is a return to the days of the anti-Jacobin legislation of this country. It is a return to the days of Lord Eldon and Lord Erskine.

#### GERMAN MENACE AND THE ROUTE TO INDIA.

*The following are extracts from two very remarkable speeches of Mr. Mc Callum Scott in the House of Commons delivered in March, 1918, when the Russian Revolution and the Vote of Credit were discussed. They throw considerable light on the reasons which led to the Imperial War Conference at Delhi held on the 27th April, 1918, in which the Viceroy read messages from the King Emperor and the Prime Minister to India calling forth help against the grave situation of the Empire and the imminent menace to India.*

We were suffering severely from the evils of our centralisation, and the movement for decentralisation was coming here and coming strongly, though gradually. In Russia it has come like a flood, a deluge; it has shown us what disasters may occur when reforms are delayed. It is part of the genius of the people of this country that they know how to take occasion by the hand, and make the bonds of freedom wider still. It would be well to recognise that the great movement which has started in Russia is something cognate to the highest objects we have in the War and also to the essential reforms which are due in this country, reforms that would bring under the direct control of the people those matters which affect their daily and domestic life. I have been led to develop this aspect of the subject rather more fully than I had intended. My first reason for objection to Japanese intervention is that it will lead us into dangers with which we are not confronted at present. My second reason is that it will not meet the danger actually threatened in the East. The Hon. member referred to Vladivostock. I wish Vladivostock were the only danger with which we are threatened in the East. As to the stores and munitions accumulated there, that is a small matter relatively to the grave dangers that face us. Even if we lost the munitions, even if they were put on the railways and transported straight to Germany we would know exactly what we had to face. But that is insignificant in comparison with the great danger with which our whole campaign and our whole strategy are threatened in the East. The question

of these stores and supplies could easily be solved by landing a few battalions and providing shipping for their transport ; they could easily be brought away. But that has nothing to do with Japanese intervention on a large scale in Siberia. The real danger threatens not Siberia at all ; it lies in the fact that the Germans are on the North West Frontiers of India and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Persia. The real danger lies in the fact that the Germans have got two railway lines in direct contact with these frontiers—the Trans-Caucasus Railway and the Trans-Caspian Railway. We know that in the past our statesmen and our soldiers have had many anxious moments on account of German intrigue and German menace on the North West Frontier of India. That menace has now matured in an urgent form. But a Japanese occupation of Siberia would not help us in the slightest in regard to it ; even though they advanced as far as the Urals it would not affect either of these two railways.

I do not want to pose as a strategist. I believe there are two schools with regard to the nature of this War : the Western school and the Eastern School. Personally, I have always belonged to the Eastern school ; I have regarded the War as an Eastern War, not merely because there we can make the most effective attack on German ambitions and cut Germany off from her objects but because in the East is our Achilles heel. The Eastern Front is the British Front not the western. I do not believe' that this War can be ended on the Western Front. I do not believe any blow can be struck by either party which will determine it. Germany holds that front strongly in well-fortified and very short lines compared with the lines she has hitherto held, and at the present time she is able to take over new territories unchecked by anything we can do on the Western Front. Unless we are prepared to deliver a blow that will force her hand, unless we are prepared to do that and force her from sheer necessity to withdraw large numbers of troops from the Western Front and send them Eastwards to save her Empire, we shall not determine the War. An Hon. member asked me where that blow should be struck, and, although I do not pose as a strategist, I have no objection in telling him where, if I were Commander-in-Chief, or Prime Minister or if I had the power, I would act. I would send the troops to Mesopotamia and the North-West Frontier of India. I believe it is on those fronts that the Empire can be saved. It is no use saying it is difficult, and that there are transport difficulties. The question is, is it necessary and are we threatened there in a vital manner ? If we are, then we should send the troops there.

We have heard much talk about an alternate Government and the difficulty of finding one. I do not believe there would be any difficulty. You could constitute twenty or thirty alternative Governments out of this House, Nothing would be easier. What is wanted is an alternative policy and, I am sorry to say I do not see any sign of such a thing on the part of any alternative Government. It has been freely rumoured for long that the Prime Minister holds the Eastern view, that he regards the Eastern Front as our vital front, and that he has been in favour of making far larger efforts in the East. That has been stated time and again, and never, so far as I know, has it been contradicted. The Noble Lord, the Minister for Blockade, believe this is the vital front where a knock-out blow could be delivered, then he ought not to remain in his present positions if he cannot succeed in inducing the Government also to take that view. I hold this view so strongly that, if I could see any alternative Government prepared to pursue it, I would be willing to give it my support.

#### "THE ROUTE TO INDIA."

Towards the end of 1915, after Serbia had been crushed, there appeared in the "Daily Mail" a map, which was entitled "**The Route to India,**" and which excited a great deal of attention. I am not accustomed to taking political guidance from the columns of the "Daily Mail," but I thought this map was an important document. It showed the connection of Berlin and Vienna with the Baghdad railway and the Persian Gulf. It showed that the narrow corridor between Germany and Asia Minor, through the Balkans and through Constantinople, which had hitherto been blocked by a hostile Serbia and a neutral Bulgaria, had been burst through, that the area was clear, that Germany was in direct communication with Bagdad, and that the war was open to her, in her drive towards the Persian Gulf, towards Persia and towards Afghanistan. Of course nobody is ignorant of the geography of the situation, but this map did really show the route, and figuratively and picturesquely it showed the German purpose. It was my opinion then, and it is still my opinion, that this map was one of the most valuable documents published since the War began. It incurred very grave censure at the time from the Front Bench. It was referred to almost as a treasonable document, as a dangerous document, which might stir up alarm amongst the people, which would give comfort and consolation to the King's enemies, and which would be an occasion for jubilant propaganda by them. I

wish it had stirred up more alarm. The real cause for alarm lay not in the map itself ; but in the facts of the situation which it revealed in the German purpose, in the route that lay open to Germany to achieve her purpose, and on the nakedness and defenceless state of the Empire, as we then stood against that menace. Unfortunately, it caused very little alarm save on the Front Bench. They were alarmed lest the people should be alarmed. I doubt very much whether the "Daily Mail" was alarmed. I think probably it was only a piece of topical sensationalism which they forgot about the next day. If the "Daily Mail" had only pursued this subject it might have achieved useful results in awakening public opinion in this country to the real nature of the danger to which the Empire was exposed in the East. If there had been that stirring of public opinion whether it was wise or foolish, they would have been moved to give further consideration to this aspect of the world War than they have done in the past.

#### THE THREE PHASES.

This menace, dimly apprehended by the people, divined only by a few of our statesmen and soldiers, has been inherent in the situation from the very beginning of the War, and since the beginning of the War it has passed through, three phases. Three phases really sum up the War in the East. There was, first of all, the Balkan Baghdad phase, then there was the Persian phase ; and then the Russian phase. The possibilities and the danger of a German drive through the Balkans towards Baghdad and the Persian Gulf were realised by few of our statesmen ; and it was to meet this menace that the Dardanelles Expedition was first planned. That was an attempt to defeat that menace by cutting through the narrow neck of the German enterprise, but cutting through the corridor, at its narrowest. That attempt failed. It failed for the simple reason that the Western view prevailed. It was held that the first call upon all our resources in men and material must be for the purpose of maintaining a great attempt to break through on the West ; and that only after the predominant claim of the offensive campaign on the West had been met would such forces as could be spared be available for the East. Accordingly, the attempt in the East was made with inadequate forces and failed. For the same reason the proposals which were made, and made with the same object, to go to the aid of Serbia, in the early days of the War, or to effect a landing at Alexandretta and cut through the Baghdad railway at another portion, failed to materialise because the Western view prevailed. And for the same reason also the

expedition to Salonika has been neutralised and stultified ; and with the crushing of Serbia and the withdrawal of our forces from Gallipoli the triumph of Germany in this phase of the Eastern menace was complete.

*Sir J. D. Rees* :—In order to follow the argument of the Hon. Gentleman, will he say what he means by cutting the Baghdad railway at Alexandretta, which is some hundred miles from it ?

*Mr. Scott* :—What does one mean by attacking the Germans in France ? You must begin somewhere. There was no object in landing at Alexandria unless it was to advance and attempt to cut the Baghdad railway. The next phase of the Eastern menace is what I think may be called the Persian phase. After Germany had succeeded in bursting through the barrier of the Balkans and maintaining unfettered communication with Baghdad, then we had to do something at the other end of the road. It was then that the first advance towards Baghdad was commenced and the expedition was sent forward and pressed without adequate preparations so that it ended disastrously at Kut. At that time the Russians had failed to advance from the Caucasus through Armenia, our own expedition had capitulated at Kut ; and Caucasus and the lower waters of the Euphrates fell into their hand, and through that gap there was unfettered communication between Germany and Turkey and Persia. Through that gap German agents, German arms, material, and German propaganda were constantly pouring. German influence penetrated and permeated Persia. It reached Afghanistan and the frontiers of India.

### THE THIRD PHASE OF THE DANGER.

Here I may be thought to be treading on delicate ground, but I have nothing to say on this subject except what has already been said in another place by present Ministers and late Ministers. I have here one or two extracts from the Debates in another place which show to what extent this danger had gone, and to what extent it was reaching India. On the 20th February 1917, there was a Debate in the House of Lords, inaugurated, I think, by Lord Bryce on the subject of Sir Percy Sykes's expedition to Persia. Lord Curzon said :—

"At one time there were quite 100 of these German Agents, good fellows of the baser sort, scattered about in different parts of Persia, terrorising the peaceful tribes, and offering bribes to their chieftains. They further succeeded in attracting to their side a number of seditionists from India..... They carried their operations as far East as Persian Beluchistan, in the neighbourhood of the British Indian border and they even penetrated in small well-organised

groups, into Afganistan, where they were heard of at Herat and at Kabul where a German deputation was kept for some months in the hope of seducing the Amir of that country from his loyalty to ourselves."

On the 12th July last year there was a further Debate in the House of Lords, with special reference to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Mesopotamia expedition. The Marquis of Lansdowne said :—

"Persia was passing more and more rapidly under German influence. The attitude of the Amir, which in the end proved so satisfactory was at the time doubtful, and it is very hard indeed to say whether Lord Hardinge would have been able to give your Lordship the satisfactory account which he gave the other evening of the temper of the Indian people, if we had shown at the very outset that we had not sufficient courage to strike a blow where a blow was likely to be most effectual."

In the course of the same debate the Marquis of Crewe, who was justifying the attempt to advance on Bagdad, which ended disastrously, made these observations :—

"At that time the Russians had not advanced in Asia, nor had they proved that they could advance. There was nothing apparently to prevent the Turks from directing a force on Kermanshah and obtaining control in Persia. If Persia had gone Afghanistan might have followed suit. The Amir has shown the most signal loyalty to his engagements and a wise understanding of the situation. But he might easily have been swept off his feet, and it is impossible to say what a blaze might have been created. At Bagdad a force would have been on the flank of any such advance by the Turks into Persia which supplies a further reason for making the advance."

That was the form which the Eastern menace had taken at that time, the same menace that has existed from the beginning—German penetration of Persia and through Persia to Afghanistan and the agitations on the Indian Frontier. The menace of a rising of the wild tribes on the Northern Frontier has always been the nightmare of Indian statesmen. We have prevented it in the past on any very large scale by preventing arms and munitions reaching those tribes. We have kept them disarmed by means of the patrol which we have exercised in the Persian Gulf and adjacent quarters to prevent gun running. That patrol was useless at this phase of the War; and there was a constant stream of weapons, machine guns and rifles, and of skilled German agents, penetrating through Persia up to Afghanistan and the north-west frontier. It was to meet this menace that the second expedition was sent forward on a larger scale and pressed forward to Bagdad and beyond, in fact almost until it joined hands with the Russians who had advanced through the Caucasus and through Armenia. The gap was closed, and there, for the time being, was the end of that particular phase of the



menace. The misfortune was that we treated it merely as a local danger, as a temporary threat, and we were content with stop-gap measures. The third phase of this danger has come with the collapse of Russia, and it is by far the most dangerous menace.

#### ROADS THROUGH WHICH GERMANS MIGHT PENETRATE.

The roads through which the Germans might penetrate through Persia to the north-west were wild tracks. There were no bridges and no railways, but a long and arduous and dangerous journey. But through Russia they are now in direct railway communication with the frontier and Afghanistan. There are two railway lines, either of which they might use. There is the Trans-caspian railway and another railway line. Any one who knows the country will know how dangerous they are. They are military railways, designed for technical purposes. The Transcaspian Railway runs from Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, skirting the northern frontier of Afghanistan.

*Sir J. D. Rees.* A desert.

*Mr. Scott:* Yes, but a railway. It is all very well to say, "a desert," but a railway bridges a desert. The port of Karsnovodsk is directly opposite the port of Baku, which is the terminus of the Caucasus Railway. It is in direct communication with Batum, and the whole journey from Berlin is direct by railway to the port of Batum. There is only steamer transport across Caspian, and then you have railway communication direct to the Afghanistan frontier. Do you think the Germans are going to remain oblivious to the possibilities of that railway communication? Why, only in Wednesday's papers we can see what it means. I find in the "Times" this morning a message from the Berlin semi-official agency referring to what is called the economical-political appendix to the treaty just concluded between Russia and Germany. There it is stated that by the establishment of free transit direct commercial communication is secured via Russia with Persia and Afghanistan which was hitherto barred. But that railway communication is not all. On the South something has happened also. The Russian forces, cut off from all supplies, cut off from all external aid, have not been able to hold their own in Armenia and the Caucasus. They have fallen back. The gap is still open. Northern Persia is unmasked; and through that gap once more rifles, machine guns, supplies and German propaganda are permeating Northern Persia. Along the whole Southern frontier, along the Western frontier, they

have practically encircled Afghanistan. They have proved themselves most loyal in the past. I believe they are still, and I believe they will remain so. But it is easy to see that their hands may be forced. The rule of the Government of Afghanistan over the wilder tribes is a shadowy and a vague rule. If these tribes are armed with weapons of precision and they are subject to the incitement of German agents, there is no saying what may happen. The Afghan Government may be overthrown. Why not take it into consideration? It has been suggested in the House of Lords by His Majesty's Ministers; and if it is suggested there why not suggest it here, and ask for adequate consideration?

#### Frontier rising in India.

Do they realise that we are now faced with the imminent possibility of a frontier rising in India on an unprecedented scale?

*Sir J. D. Rees* : There is no sign of it.

*Mr. Scott* : There have been many signs of it, and I can quote statements from His Majesty's ministers to justify it. I want to know whether the Government are alive to that danger. I do not ask what measures they are taking to provide against it. It would not be proper for them to disclose in this House what are the measures whereby they propose to meet it. I believe adequate measures can be taken. If it were not that I thought it would be an improper aspect of the subject to discuss in this House I would suggest now the measures which I think ought to be taken, can be taken, and which would provide against the materialising of the danger.

The last point which I wish to make is this; that this Eastern menace is the greatest danger to which we are exposed in this War. It is the vulnerable flank of the British Empire. There is a great difference between the two; and I believe it is that margin which will meet the situation in the East. I have no expectation of a breakthrough ever being achieved on the West. The forcing of trench after trench, mile after mile one behind the other, there is no chance of a breakthrough; but on the East there is a danger that while we are lavishing our strength on the fruitless effort to achieve an impossible task we may ourselves be exposed to a blow which will be fatal to our continuance in this War.

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## THE SUBRAMANIA LETTER.

*House of Commons—3 June '18*

**Mr. Joynson-Hicks** asked the Sec. of state (1) whether his attention has been called to the letter of Sir Subramaniya Aiyer to President Wilson; whether this letter was grossly defamatory of British rule in India; whether any action been taken against him under the Defence of India act; (2) whether he was among those making representations to him (Montagu) during his recent visit.

**General Croft** asked a similar question and also enquired if the gentleman (Sir S. Aiyer) has fallen under the influence of Mrs. Besant; and what action is proposed to be taken with a view to putting an end to such propaganda?

**Mr. Montagu**—The disgraceful letter is correctly described. Its impropriety is all the more inexcusable because of the position of the writer. But the assertions in the letter are too wild and baseless to receive notice from any responsible authority. No action has as yet been taken but I am in communication with the Viceroy.

**Sir. J. D. Rees**—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that this member of a short-lived race is already upwards seventy-seven years old, and that this is a senile production?

### Debate in the Lords.

In the House of Lords, on the 18th June, Lord Harris was:—  
To ask His Majesty's Government whether their attention has been called to a letter alleged to have been addressed by Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyer, K.C.I.E., late Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, to President Wilson attributing to the British Government in India misrule, oppression, the grant of exorbitant salaries, the refusal of education, the sapping of the wealth of India, the imposition of crushing taxation, the imprisonment of thousands of people, and the deaths of civilian prisoners from loathsome diseases; and if so, whether they propose to take any steps in condemnation of the same; and if they have not had their attention called to it, whether they will make enquiries.

**Lord Harris said**:—My Lords, my question has been deferred, at the suggestion of my noble friend Lord Curzon for, so long that answers have been given in another place (H. of Commons) which practically dispose of any obscurity there may be in it; but I shall take the liberty, thanks to the elasticity which is accorded to questions in this House, of offering a few remarks upon the reply of the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State has stigmatised this letter as “disgraceful and improper,” but notwithstanding that the Government of India has decided to take no further notice of it than the reproval which had been described by the Secretary of State—namely that “they ex-

press their surprise and regret at the letter"; yet, "in view of Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyar's age, health, and past services, they do not propose to take any further action, but warn him not to do it again." In the meantime the Secretary of State does not propose to interfere with the discretion of the Government of India. I take leave to deprecate that inaction. This person is an ex-judge of the High Court of Madras. He is a pensioner, and it seems rather odd that he should, in his letter, take exception to exorbitant salaries and large allowances when he is drawing a very handsome pension, towards which, I imagine he has not contributed as an Indian Civil Servant would have contributed.

I should like to call your Lordships' attention to a comment in the "Madras Mail."

"We merely wish to draw attention to the existence of the Defence of India Act, which makes it criminal to spread false reports or report likely to cause disaffection or alarm, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with Foreign Powers or to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects."

The ex-Judge of the High Court of Madras who ought to be learned in the law has disregarded the law according to the opinion of the "Madras Mail" and, at any rate, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, has behaved "disgracefully and improperly." As I have said he is a pensioner, but the Government of India do not propose to take any further action than this mild reproof; therefore the Indian tax payer is to continue to contribute to a person what is probably handsome. Now, I have known of a case—and I dare say the noble Earl has known of others—where an Indian Civil Servant, who during a very long service had been contributing to the pension he was to receive, has been mulcted of a portion of his pension because he had, in the opinion of the Government of India, behaved improperly. That is the penalty which is meted out to an Englishman if he misbehaves in India. But apparently the Government of India do not think it necessary to penalise an Indian who, although he is a lawyer, ignores the law, and behaves "disgracefully and improperly."

I deprecate this inaction because I am certain that it will be a discouragement to the loyal and law-abiding subjects of His Majesty in India, and I have very little doubt that those who follow and support Mrs. Besant, and others who entertain opinions similar to hers, will claim this reply of the Secretary of State as a triumph for their policy. The British Raj may be vilified and the law may be disregarded by a lawyer, and the only action that is taken by the Government of India

is something like what one would say to a little child—namely, that he is a naughty old man and is not to do it again. So much for the Government of India and its inaction.

But the Viceroy exercises other authorities than those in participation with his colleagues. He is Grand Master of the Indian Empire, and this individual is a Knight Commander of the most eminent Order of the Indian Empire; and if the Viceroy contemplates giving some condonation to him what it amounts to is this, that in his opinion the Knights of the Order ought to be prepared for all time to accept this individual—who has, as the Secretary of the State says, behaved disgracefully—to accept him during his life as a comrade and brother of the order. If this man has behaved disgracefully he has certainly disgraced his knighthood, and if the Viceroy contemplates taking no action in the matter—not submitting any proposals to the Sovereign—all I can say is that I should imagine that there are other members of the Order besides myself who resent that we should be compelled to accept the comradeship of a man who has been breaking the law in the way I have described, and who has acted disgracefully. As my noble friend knows quite well, and a great deal better than I do, if this man disobeyed any of the rule of his caste—I do not know what his caste is—certainly if it is an honourable caste—he would be compelled to do some penance. The man has offended, according to the Secretary of State, against the honourable and chivalrous rules of his Order—in other words, of his caste—and I hope sincerely that the Viceroy may regard it as a duty to his Sovereign and to his Order to take some notice of it.

**Viscount Haldane**—My Lords, before the noble Earl answers, there are one or two observations which I should like to make. My noble friend opposite has proposed, in the case of Sir Subramania Aiyar, that his pension should be taken away or reduced, and that his name should be removed from the Order of K. C. I. E. to which he belongs. Now, there is no doubt that the letter in question was a very foolish and very improper one, and it has been stigmatised as such in unmistakable terms by the Secretary of State. No doubt it was very wrong to write such a letter as that to the head of a foreign State. On the other hand, these things are done in politics all over the world and I am not sure that things of the same kind have not been done in this country. Among ourselves they have certainly been done, and done with perfect freedom with no penal clause, however strong may be the stigma of public opinion attaching to them.

What is the situation? The situation is that the Government, on the 20th August last, announced a policy. The Government which the noble Earl opposite represents here announced a policy of the extension freely and progressively of responsible Government in India.....It is desirable while this is under discussion, as it is likely to be for some time to come, that as far as possible bitterness and action which can provoke violent reaction should be abolished. The learned Judge whose name is associated with what has been done is a very well known man in India. He is a retired Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, and has to my knowledge rendered very distinguished services on the Bench. As to his pension, that perhaps he regards as part of the contract into which he entered when he undertook to serve the Government of Madras as a judge.

*Lord Haris*—What about good behaviour?

*Viscount Haldane*.—Every Judge is appointed on those terms, but you cannot remove him except for grave misconduct—for what is, in effect, a breach of some very binding public rule. A retired Judge has perfect freedom to take part in politics—if he expresses himself decently if you like—and you would take away his pension only for gravest matters coming within the Criminal Law. To remove him from the order to which he belongs is again to make a declaration of war which I think is at this moment highly inexpedient in India. To my mind the most material circumstance of all is that the Viceroy advised the Government not to take any action, and in those circumstances I should be very sorry if the Government were to depart in any way from the line taken by their representatives in the other House of Parliament. However reprehensible it is, and however bad, violent action is not calculated to make things any better but probably a good deal worse.

*The Lord President of the Council* (*Earl Curzon* of Kedleston):—My Lords in the regrettable absence of the Under-Secretary of State for India I will reply on behalf of the India Office to my noble friend, and I think I shall be able, in what I have to say, to throw some further light upon the incident to which he has referred. The worst parts of the language of the retired Judge are contained in the quotation which appears in the Question as put upon the Paper by my noble friend. As regards the language all of your Lordships will agree that it is, to use the adjectives which my noble friend quoted from the Secretary of State, disgraceful and improper in the extreme. I think that the noble and learned Viscount opposite did not by any means err on the side of severity in the

manner in which he spoke of that language. I think, indeed, he might have spoken rather more strongly than he did. These statements undoubtedly contain a series of outrageous calumnies against the British Government in India—calumnies which would be culpable if they emanated from a person of the age, experience, and authority of this ex-Judge, no one can possibly be found to excuse. It is quite true, as my noble friend Lord Harris points out, that the author of these remarks was a Judge of the High Court of Madras for twelve years and ended by being Acting Chief Justice, and that he received as a recognition of this long, and up to this point meritorious career the high honour of a Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire.

Now, what are the actual facts connected with this deplorable publication? This old man—he is now in very advanced years—I think nearer eighty than seventy—retired in the year 1907. He then fell under the influence of Mrs. Besant, who is very active in her operations in the Presidency of Madras, and under that influence he became President of the Indian Home Rule League. This letter by the retired Judge, although it came to our cognisance in England only a few weeks ago, was written as far back as the 4th June 1917. I have the whole letter here, a portion of which only has appeared in the Press in this country. The first part of the letter contained a plea, couched in not improper language, for Home Rule in India; the latter part consisted of an eulogy of the services of Indian soldiers in France and other theatres of war, but in the middle part of the letter occurred the passage which appears in the question of my noble friend and which no language could be too strong, in my judgment, to condemn.

The writer of this letter which was addressed to President Wilson, entrusted it to an American Gentleman and his wife travelling in India who were known as lecturers and authors in their own country, to be handed to President Wilson on their return to the United States. It was communicated at Washington to the British Embassy, by whom it was transmitted to the Foreign Office here. It was passed on by them to the Secretary of State for India, who was as much astonished at this incident as could be any member of your Lordship's House, and who took it out with him to India. The Secretary of State, I think quite properly, did not want himself to be responsible for bringing about the publication of the letter, which had not then appeared in any form in print; still less did he want to advertise the culpable folly of its author. Accordingly when he went, in the discharge of his mission, to Madras in com-

pany with the Viceroy, they sent for the writer of the letter—this is an incident which was, of course, not known to my noble friend—and administered to him a severe reprimand. That was, I think either at the end of last year or in the early part of this year.

At a latter date—in May of the present year—the letter appeared in the Indian Press, and from there it was communicated to journals in this country. The noble Lord probably saw it, as I did for the first time in the columns of the “Times.” How it got into the Indian Press, who communicated it we do not know. There is some reason, I am told, to believe that it got in the first place into the American Press and may have been copied from there into the Press in India. Now my Lords, when we first saw the publication while there could be no two opinions as to its character the question naturally arose whether his act was to be treated with the extreme severity which no doubt the language in itself merited or whether it was to be regarded rather as a melancholy aberration on the part of an old man who had in the course of a long career rendered considerable service to the State, who is now in advanced years, in the enjoyment only of feeble health, and whose utterances on a matter of this sort, I believe are devoid of any influence and can carry no conceivable weight with any respectable class of his fellow countrymen.

This was a question which, feeling it difficult ourselves to solve without more local knowledge than we possessed, we naturally referred to the Government of India. They replied in the general terms which were quoted by my noble friend—namely, that they were addressing the Judge, through the Government of Madras, informing him that his action in writing to President Wilson in the manner he had done was regarded with regret and surprise by them, but that in view of his great age, failing health, and past judicial services they did not propose to take any further notice of his action. At the same time, the old man was warned that any repetition of such conduct could not be passed over by the Government of India. The noble Lord is dissatisfied with that notice. He thinks it was insufficient for the circumstances of the case. I believe that there were—and I think I can easily show to the House that there are good subsidiary reasons for taking the line that the Viceroy and his colleagues did.

In the first place, there was no direct evidence, as I pointed out just now, that the retired Judge was himself responsible for the publication. Again, as I have also pointed out, the letter had already been made the subject of a severe personal reprimand.



mand by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Further, although I would not wish to lay too much stress upon this, it must be remembered that there had been an interval of nearly a year between the original writing of the letter and its publication, whether accidental or not, in India and in this country. There is another consideration which is always present in the minds of the Government when they are dealing with cases of this sort, and that is the inexpediency of doing anything which may convert a person relatively harmless into a political martyr, and may arouse political agitation at a time when such a thing is extremely undesirable.

The noble Lord raised the question of the pension enjoyed by this person, and of his membership of a great and distinguished Order. As regards the pension, the Statutory Rules for High Court Judges in India do not provide for the withdrawal of pension, and it was felt by the Government of India that the forfeiture of his Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire, which would furnish him with an advertisement that the Government of India were not at all anxious to give, would strike an unfortunate and discordant note in the midst of the successful and loyal war effort in which the Government of India had invited the people of that country to take part, and to which they are responding with so much alacrity and success. These were the reasons my Lords that led the Viceroy and his colleagues in India to stop short at the action which I have already described. It is regarded as adequate by the Secretary of State for India. In a matter of this sort, knowing both ends of the scale, I should be very reluctant to interfere with the discretion of the Viceroy or his colleagues and I am disposed to concur with the Secretary of State in thinking that the action which has been taken is in all circumstance of the case, sufficient and adequate.

**The Marquis of Crewe** :—My Lords, my noble friend Lord Harris always takes somoderate, and if he will allow me to say, so reasonable a view of Indian administration that a motion of this kind brought forward by him, must necessarily engage the attention of your Lordships' House, but I am bound to say that in this instance the answer which the noble Earl, the leader of the House, has given does satisfy the reason of those who consider the question. There can, of course, be only one opinion about the language used by this old ex-Judge whom I remember, in my time as Secretary of State for India, as having a high reputation as a member of the Madras Bench, and as being regarded as a dis-

tinguished figure, what we should call in this country a somewhat extreme politician, although not extreme in the Indian sense where the term is used somewhat differently from what it is here.

I am not quite sure that I agree with my noble and learned friend behind me that at a time when a great policy of the amendment of the Constitution is impending you ought, therefore, to pass over language or action which at any other time you might deal with severely. I confess that this particular argument never appealed to me in connection with India or with Ireland. But I do think that in dealing with utterances of this kind the one main point which the Government has to bear in mind is what the effect of the language is likely to be in view of the state of the country and of the authority of the person who uses it. In this instance having regard to all the conditions and to the fact that the old ex-judge is of an age which would be advanced here but is in India very advanced indeed, I cannot believe it can be supposed that any real encouragement is given to sedition by such language as this. It can, I think, be passed over with some thing of a shrug of regret that a public servant of some distinction, possibly with some decay of mind, has become imbued with these ideas, which, as we know, are the common place of ordinary Indian disaffection, and I think probably that the Government of India and the Secretary of State are wise to leave the matter there.

I do not believe that either by attaching part of the pension of Sir Subramania Aiyar, or by removing him from the Order any genuine purpose would be served. As the noble Earl, the Lord President of the Council, has said some people might be tempted to regard him as a martyr to liberal ideas, and I cannot think that those who belong to that Order are seriously affected by the presence of that ex-Judge in their ranks. In all these circumstances I am therefore disposed to believe that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have taken the more sensible course.

**THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON.**

*Madras, India, 24th June, 1917.*

To His Excellency President Wilson.

Honored Sir: I address this letter to you as Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India, an organisation voicing the aspirations of a United India, as expressed through the Indian National Congress and the All

India Muslim League. These are the only two bodies in India to-day which truly represent the political ideals of that Nation of more than three hundred million people, because the only bodies created by the people themselves.

Over five thousand delegates of these two popular assemblies met at their annual convention in Lucknow last December, and they unanimously and co-jointly agreed upon identical Resolutions, asking His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self Government on India at an early date, to grant democratising reforms, and to lift India from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self Governing Dominions.

While these Resolutions, Honored Sir, voiced India's aspirations, they also expressed her loyalty to the Crown. But though many months have elapsed, Great Britain has not yet made any official promise to grant our country's plea. Perhaps this is because the Government is too fully occupied with the heavy responsibility of the War.

But it is the very relationship of the Indian Nationalist Movement to the War that urges the necessity for an immediate promise of Home Rule—Autonomy—for India, as it would result in an offer from India of at least five million men in three months for service at the front, and of five million more in another three months.

India can do this because she has a population of three hundred and fifteen millions—three times that of the United States and almost equal to the combined population of all the Allies. The people of India will do this, because then they would be free men and not slaves.

At present we are subject Nation, held in chains, forbidden by our alien rulers to express publicly our desire for the ideals presented in your famous War Message: "... the liberation of peoples, the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their ways of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."

Even as conditions are, India has more than proved her loyalty to the Allies. She has contributed freely and generously of both blood and treasure in France, in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary of State for India, said: "There are Indian troops in France to this day; their gallantry, endurance, patience and perseverance, were shown under conditions new and strange to them." Field Marshal Lord French said: "I have been much impressed by the initiative and resources displayed by the Indian troops." The London "Times" said concerning the fall of Baghdad: "It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the force which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry [which hung on the flanks and demoralized the Turkish army and chased it to the confines of Baghdad must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end masters of the Turks, included Indian units, which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt."

If Indian soldiers have achieved such splendid results for the Allies while slaves, how much greater would be their power if inspired by the sentiments

which can arise only in the souls of free men—men who are fighting not only for their own liberties but for the liberties of mankind! The truth is that they are now sacrificing their lives to maintain the supremacy of an alien Nation which uses that supremacy to dominate and rule them against their will.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the official Government in India utterly failed to get a response to its recent appeal to Indians to volunteer for military service. Only five hundred men came forward out of a possible thirty million.

It is our earnest hope that you may so completely convert England to your ideals of world liberation that together you will make it possible for India's millions to lend assistance in this war.

Permit me to add that you and the other leaders have been kept in ignorance of the full measure of misrule and oppression in India. Officials of an alien nation, speaking a foreign tongue, force their will upon us; they grant themselves exorbitant salaries and large allowances; they refuse us education: they sap us of our wealth; they impose crushing taxes without our consent; they cast thousands of our people into prisons for uttering patriotic sentiments, prisons so filthy that often the inmates die from loathsome diseases.

A recent instance of misrule is the imprisonment of Mrs. Annie Besant, that noble Irish woman who has done so much for India. As set forth in the accompanying statement signed by eminent legislators, editors, educators and pleaders, she had done nothing except carry on a law-abiding and constitutional propaganda of reforms; the climax being her internment, without charges and without trial, shortly after printing and circulating your War Message.

I believe His Majesty, the King, and the English Parliament are unaware of these conditions and that, if they can be informed, they will order Mrs. Besant's immediate release.

A mass of documentary evidence, entirely reliable, corroborative and explanatory of the statements in this letter, is in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner, who would esteem it a privilege to place it at your disposal. I have entrusted this letter to them because it would never have been permitted to reach you by mail. They are loyal Americans, editors, authors and lecturers on educational and humanitarian subjects, who have been deeply interested in the welfare of India. They have sojourned here off and on during the last ten years, and so have been eye-witnesses to many of the conditions herein described. They have graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey this letter to you personally in Washington.

Honoured Sir, the aching heart of India cries out to you, whom we believe to be an instrument of God in the reconstruction of the world.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

**S. Subramaniam.**

**Knight Commander Indian Empire, Doctor of Laws;  
Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India;  
Co-Founder of the National Congress of India in 1885;  
Retired Judge and frequently Acting Chief Justice  
of the High Court of Madras.**

## NOTE.

This letter profoundly convulsed America from one end to the other. It was delivered to President Wilson about Sep. '17, and he sent it at once to his Sec. of State, Mr. Lansing, with a note to look into it carefully. The next day a printed copy of the letter was placed on the desk of 533 Senators and Congressmen. A graphic account of the offer of ten million men was flashed all over the vast continent by the Press. There was a great sensation, 1500 Newspapers with their 20,000,000 readers took up the cry. England was strongly criticised. Military men were strongly impressed with the plea. American Labour at once wanted Home rule for India as in Canada and Australia, and pressure was applied on the British Govt. to consider the proposal favourably.

The immediate effect of the letter on India's Cause is not clearly known. But people in India witnessed some unwonted and phenomenal change in the '*angle of vision*' of the stolid Indian Govt: (1) the release of Annie Besant by the Imperial Govt. (2) the shame of the crest-fallen Lord Pentland's Govt. of Madras, and (3) the visit to India of the Sec. of State. In reality however there is nothing to connect these with the Letter.

Immediately after the discussion of the Letter in Parliament where the venerable Indian ex-judge and Congress-President was wantonly insulted—not on his face but behind his back, in the comfortable dovecot of a house where India is not represented—Sir Subramaniam issued the following Press communique which will be read with interest.

## Subramania's letter to the Press.

Feeling that I should not allow any lapse of time to take place, I proceed at once to offer such explanation as is in my power in the present circumstances with reference to the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 3rd inst. The matter may seem personal at first sight, but in reality is one of supreme public importance. Of course I refer to the Secretary of States answer to the question by Mr. Hicks regarding my letter to President Wilson. Though there has been a great deal of discussion on the subject in the Press all over India, particularly in the Anglo-Indian journals, I have thought it my duty to refrain from saying anything myself about the said letter. Even had I adopted a different course, I could have added nothing worth the attention of my countrymen, having regard especially to the complete light thrown on the subject by what appeared in "New India" some weeks ago and which has since been made easily accessible to the public in the shape of a pamphlet under the title. "An Abominable Plot. But silence which I had imposed on myself must now cease and the strange utterance of the Secretary of State on the 3rd instant in reply to Mr. Hicks question makes it obligatory on me to take notice of it. In doing so, it is only necessary just to advert as briefly and accurately as I can to what took place in December last during the visit of H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to this city and to a communication received by me from the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government bearing the date 8. 2. 18.

### The Interview with Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy.

Most are aware that I was among those who sought and obtained an interview with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. At the time appointed I presented myself at the Government House, and on taking my seat, the interview was begun by His Excellency the Viceroy in a spirit and warmth which absolutely startled me. In referring to what was said by the august personages and my humble self in connection with the letter in question at the interview, it is surely necessary to say that I am not violating any confidence. The interview was neither expressly nor by implication understood to involve any secrecy, and even had it been otherwise, the Chief Secretary's letter to me alluded to above removes any seal of privacy that may by any stretch of imagination be taken as attaching to what transpired at the interview.

To return to what fell from His Excellency on the special point dealt with here. The very first words, addressed to me in a tone which I most respectfully venture to describe as plainly exhibiting much temper, were in regard to the letter. I felt I was being treated harshly and not fairly for I was there to discuss political reform and not to answer to a charge of misconduct in addressing the President of the United States and I felt that I should not have been taken so unawares and made to defend myself without the least previous consideration and reflection. I did not, however, think it right to protest against the course adopted by His Excellency, but unreservedly placed before him that explanation which it was in my power on the spur of the moment to offer on the subject. In short, I told His Excellency that I found myself in a very peculiar position at the time the letter was written, and in addressing it I acted entirely 'bona fide,' and in the hope of securing through the influence of the President of the great nation that was in perfect amity with His Majesty the King-Emperor, nay more, in utter sympathy with the aims and objects of the Allies cause, that relief which we Home Rulers then stood imperatively in need of. I told His Excellency our position was this: Of the four chief officials of the Home Rule League, three of them, namely, Mrs. Besant the President Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, the Secretary and Treasurer, had been interned in the course of that very week, and the fourth official, myself, as Honourary President, every moment expected to be dealt with by the local government in a similar fashion; that it was widely believed that the action of the Government in the matter had the sanction of His Excellency, and possibly of the then Secretary of State. I urged with all deference, that it was hardly otherwise than natural and fair and just that I should avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the visit just then intended to be made by Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner to America, where I knew they had influential friends who would and could interest themselves in the welfare of India and her people, and in particular exert themselves towards the release of Mrs. Besant, well-known throughout that Continent and held in high estimation by many thousands among the citizens of that free American nation. I added that if it were necessary I could substantiate every

important allegation in the letter as regards the defects of the rule in this country by unimpeachable evidence and offered to submit to His Excellency, if permitted, copies of certain letters then in my possession as regards the inhuman treatment to which the internees in Bengal were systematically subjected, as a proof in support of one of the points urged in the letter with special reference to which His Excellency expressed his strong condemnation.

#### Madras Chief Secretary's Letter.

It is unnecessary to enter into further details. Suffice it to say that His Excellency conveyed his displeasure at my conduct in the most unmistakable manner in the presence of and with the express approval of the Secretary of State, and acting, if I may say so, on behalf of the latter also for the moment. Of what took place subsequently between the Indian Government and the Madras Government in relation to my letter I am unaware, save the intimation which I received from the Chief Secretary in a letter which runs as follows:—

Fort St. George,  
Madras, 8-2 1918.

D. O.

Dear Sir,—His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has recently been placed in possession of printed copies of a letter purporting to have been sent by you to the address of the President of the United States. The letter is dated the 24th June 1917, and contains the statement that it was transmitted through the agency of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner (who are known to have left India within a few days of the date), on the ground that it would never have reached the addressee "if sent by Mail." It has been intimated to His Excellency in Council that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State personally questioned and rebuked you for your conduct in this matter. In these circumstances His Excellency-in-Council has decided to take no further action.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) Lionel Davidson,  
Acting Chief Secretary.

One would think that this letter put an end to the matter. Unfortunately, however, things are shaping themselves in a way hopelessly injurious to the interests of the Empire in special reference to India under the unwise guidance of the War Cabinet, and the Secretary of State very shortly after his arrival in this country, became a pitiable prey to the machinations of the bureaucracy, the Anglo-Indians, and Sydenhamites. He found himself incapable of acting with that dignity and responsibility befitting a Minister of the Crown at this critical juncture, and is apparently a tool in the hands of those who are exerting so bane-

ful an influence upon him since his return to his place in the Cabinet. Such is the inevitable conclusion which the events of the 3rd June point to.

### I Waive all Opposition to Future Action.

Now it was admitted by His Excellency in the course of my interview with him that my letter to the President had been forwarded by the Cabinet to him some time previously. The Secretary of State could not therefore have been ignorant of the fact at the time of such transmission. Assuming that he was ignorant of it at first, he subsequently was a party to the rebuke administered to me, in the language of the Chief secretary's letter, expressing the final decision of the authorities on the subject and it could not have emanated without the full consent and sanction of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State likewise. Be this as it may it is only right that I should add that I do not for a moment intend to claim any exemption on the score of that letter from any action which may be taken in furtherance of the Secretary of State's answer on the 3rd instant. I waive all opposition to such future action if any. I go further and say that I court it with that eagerness and sincerity which my duty to the Motherland demands of me. It is superfluous to say that the case involves nothing personal, and that my cause is the cause of the whole country. In furtherance of that cause all that is mine, my name, my liberty, and every thing else, must be sacrificed and willingly sacrificed. Internment or externment, deportation and the like, have no terror for me; and at this time of my life, with no earthly expectations to realise, I feel I can have no more glorious fate to meet in pursuance of gaining Home Rule for India than to become an object of official tyranny.

The view I take of the situation is this. The internments of June last year were a step designed by those unseen Spiritual Powers who are seeking to uplift India and save the British Empire from certain destruction by the unwise rule of the bureaucracy here, and elsewhere. That step had the intended effect to a certain extent. It roused the country as nothing else could have done to a sense of its duty. It is evident however that we were lapsing into a stupour inimical to all our best interests, and a further rousing is necessary. In all humility I take it, I am the fortunate person, autocratic action against whom would afford the necessary stimulus now needed again.

I most earnestly hope that this view of the situation will commend itself to the minds of my countrymen throughout the length and breadth of the land and make them once more rally round the standard of liberty for India as an integral part of the Empire, and persist in that ceaseless agitation on constitutional lines, and only on those lines, until the goal is won or lost, which latter contingency can come about only with the disruption of the British Empire and solely through the inconceivable folly of those who are guiding its destinies at this hour of peril.

It only remains to add that I would be descending to a level that decency would prohibit were I to bandy words with the Secretary of State with reference to the ungracious and ungraceful language, which he thought fit to employ, in replying to Mr. Hick's question—language which I am afraid was prompted altogether by petty party tactics. Surely he could have fully and adequately discharged his duty and with candour, had he told the House what had been done, when he was in this country, by way of censoring me.

I must however not flinch from protesting against the view that there was



anything in my position, past or present, that in the slightest degree rendered it discreditable to me to submit my representation to President Wilson.

### Most happy to renounce the Knighthood.

The telegraphic summary which alone is before me throws no light on what the Secretary of State had in mind in referring to my position in the course of his remarks. If it was my membership as a Knight Companion of the Indian Order that he was thinking of, all I can say is, none can agree with him in supposing that the possession of this title debars me from criticising misrule in this country. It is worthy of remark that titles like these are conferred on His Majesty's Indian subjects without their consent, and however unwilling one may be to become the recipient of these official favours etiquette understood in this country precludes him from refusing to accept them. For my own part I shall be most happy to renounce this Knight Companionship and return at once the insignia thereof, which on my death my heirs have to return, or remit the value thereof, if the retention of the title and the insignia should in any way hinder the exercise of my right of citizenship to complain of wrongs and seek redress against the consequences of maladministration.

I doubt whether even half a dozen among my friends or enemies now know the history of my Knighthood. Needless to say it was not a reward for any liberal use of wealth which is the royal road to such distinctions, for the simple reason that I have never had money enough to make such use or show of it. Nor was it the reward for any special service, public or private, but due to a mere accident if I may put it so. Having acted as Chief Justice for a month and a half about August, 1899, on the retirement of Sir Arthur Collins, the announcement of the honour in my case followed on the 1st of January next as a simple matter of official routine, it being the practice to make every Indian High Court Judge that officiates as a Chief Justice for however short a time a Knight, as compensation, I take it, for the disability of such judges to be a permanent Chief Justice. How I came into possession of the insignia of the Order is also worth chronicling. Later on, when I was on leave and was staying in my cottage on the Palani Hills, I was called upon to state when and how I wished to receive the insignia. I replied to the effect that it would be most convenient to me to get it through the post. This was apparently unacceptable to the official that had to dispose of the matter, and one morning the acting Collector of the District came in with his peon and unostentatiously handed me the little casket that contained them. I was thus saved undergoing the ordeal which now awaits most of the members of my order. Such are the facts of my Knighthood which it will so gladden the heart of the Editor of the "Mail" to see me deprived of.

I would respectfully suggest to him to devote the next article on the subject that he should therein formulate the process by which my desknighting should be carried out. A Darbar of course would be indispensable, as well as a mourning costume to be worn on such an occasion. The rest I humbly leave to the ingenious brain of the Editor, among whose many noble qualities refinement and courtesy, non-vindictiveness and Christian charity, are not the least prominent.

I believe the truth about these titles was never more tellingly expressed than in an incident described in a book on Sweden which I read long ago. When titles were first introduced in that country, two friends who had just

received them met and exchanged congratulations. Then one of them put to the other the question "Brother, is your shadow longer now?" The thoughtful silence which ensued furnishes the necessary answer.

One cannot help observing that among Western inventions, none operates more seductively and to the detriment of public interests than these titles. They will verily be a delusion and a snare to be sedulously avoided by every honest man if by accepting them he is to be debarred from the legitimate exercise of his civic rights.

### My Pension.

Next, if what the Secretary of State had in mind with reference to my position, was receipt of a pension by me, my answer is equally strong and clear. In the first place, the payment is made to me out of the revenues of the land of my birth and not from any foreign sources. In the next place, neither the original grant of it nor its continuance depended or depends on the good will and pleasure of any individual or any executive body. The right to the pension accrued under the authority of a statute of the Imperial Parliament, and none can deprive me of it save by legislation of that same Parliament.

It may not be out of place to add that in retiring on the partial pension which I receive now, I acted with a sense of duty that should protect me against taunts like those made in the columns of certain Anglo-Indian journals with special reference to my being a pensioner. For had I only thought of my own personal interest and continued to serve but eight months more, two of which would have been vacation time, I should be drawing the substantial sum of Rs. 5,000 per annum more than I do now. But I preferred to act otherwise lest the discharge of my duties as Judge even during that short period, should be in any way inefficient, and sent in my resignation notwithstanding the despatch of the then Secretary of State which entitled me to put in that additional service as a special case.

Lastly I say that I would more readily lose my pension than deprive myself, by reason of my continuing to draw it, of any right of my citizenship. And I say to writers in the Anglo-Indian journals who throw taunts at me with reference to my pension, that I do not mind in the least if they could succeed, in depriving me of the wages which I am enjoying as the fruit of the most laborious and conscientious discharge of my duties as a Judge in the highest Court in the land, and leaving me to find my own food and raiment. Let them know that these I shall get from that association of Sannyasins with whom I stand related, which entitles me to their care and protection, and therefore no pretended humane sentiments need deter my detractors from depriving me of my life-provision by the State. Let me add that that association is not the Theosophical Society, the present President whereof has been atrociously libelled as receiving vile German gold.

### SIR. J. D. REES.

Just a line by way of a postscript in reference to Sir John Rees' observation that my letter was a senile effusion. He reminds me of a felicitous remark of Sir Fitz James Stephen: "Artful liars tell probable falsehoods." Undeniably the Honourable Member's suggestion as to my alleged senility is an absolute falsehood, thought to be probable only because of my age. I venture to say

that my intellects was never more acute or clear, and in the suggestion to the contrary, there is as little truth as in the suggestion that Hon. Member's career in the House of Commons from its commencement down to this day was ever marked by sanity and good sense.

#### RENOUNCEMENT OF TITLES.

Subsequently Sir Subramaniya Aiyar wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Govt. renouncing his titles. He wrote :—

After the contemptuous terms which so responsible a Minister of the Crown thought fit to use towards me from his place in the House of Commons it is impossible for me with any self-respect to continue to avail myself of the honour of being a title holder. I therefore feel compelled to renounce my title of K. C. I. E., and Dewan Bahadur. I have accordingly resolved not to receive any communications addressed to me in future with the prefix Sir, and affix K. C. I. E., or Dewan Bahadur and, hereby intimate such resolution to my correspondents."

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

##### MR. AND MRS. HENRY HOTCHNER IN INDIA.

*Colonel Yate* asked the Secretary of State for India: Who were the Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner who were described in the letter addressed by Sir Subramaniya Aiyer, K. C. I. E., to President Wilson as having graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey the letter to President Wilson personally in Washington; what position Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner occupied in India; of what nationality they were by birth; whether they travelled from India to America on a British passport; whether they were not engaged on propaganda work on behalf of the Home Rule for India League in America or elsewhere; and whether they were to be permitted to return to India.

*Mr. Montagu*; I understand that Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner are United States citizens by birth, who lived for some time at Adyar, in Madras, and co-operated in Mrs. Besant's theosophical work. They appear to be giving theosophical lectures in the United States. Mrs. Hotchner is said to be at the head of the American section of the Temple of the Rosy Cross or the Brotherhood of the Mystic Star. Presumably they travelled last year with a United States pass-port vised by the authorities in India. The question of allowing their return to India would be considered by the Indian Government, when they applied for a passport.

## GERMAN PLOTS AND INDIA.

*Sir J. D. Rees* asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether he was aware that the trial of the German Indian conspirators concluded in May in San Francisco, clearly established the fact that the German consulate at that city instigated, aided, and abetted an Indian revolutionary movement in the United States and in many other parts of the world for the overthrow of the Government of India and the obstruction of Great Britain in the conduct of the war, and that proof was forthcoming at the trial of the payment of no less than £400,000 to one Bengali conspirator; and whether any statement would be made regarding the German plots in India on any occasion during the present Session.

*Mr. Montagu* : The statement of my hon. friend is substantially accurate, though I cannot vouch for the exact amount of the large sums of money undoubtedly paid by the German authorities in the hope of fomenting sedition in India. I will consider the question of making a statement if the House desires, but there are obvious difficulties in giving a comprehensive account of the matter.

## REFORM PROPOSALS.

*Col. Wedgwood* asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether any steps were being taken to embody in draft Bill form the proposals for Indian reform, or if that stage must await Cabinet approval of the scheme in detail.

*Mr. Montagu* : Yes, sir ; the steps to which my hon. and gallant friend refers are now being taken.

*Mr. Whyte* : When does the right hon. gentleman propose to set up a Standing Committee of this House on Indian affairs ?

*Mr. Montagu* : I cannot answer that question until the Government have decided what policy they will adopt.

*Mr. Whyte* : That is part of my right hon. friend's policy ?

*Mr. Montagu* : It is a part of the policy which His Excellency the Viceroy and I recommend to his Majesty's Government.

*Colonel Wedgwood* : Will the right hon. gentleman say whether this draft Bill will or will not be finished within three months' time ?

*Mr. Montagu* : I cannot say yet. My hon. friend will realise that it is a very complicated Bill to draw up, but it is being proceeded with as quickly as possible.

*Mr. G. Texrell:* May I ask whether the Bill for giving Home Rule to India is considered a war measure ?

*Mr. Montagu:* I don't understand that. I am not drafting a Bill for Home Rule for India.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

**Viscount Midleton** asked whether it was proposed to invite the House to discuss in any form the Indian proposals of Mr. Montagu before the adjournment.

**Earl Curzon** said he had not had an opportunity of consulting either the Secretary for India or Lord Islington, and he would hesitate to give a definite reply. So far as he knew, it was not in contemplation on the part of the Government to seek a discussion on this matter. He should have thought that it was not very urgent to have a discussion at this moment and that on the whole it would be better to wait and to see what reception the proposals met with in this country and in India.

#### DR. NAIR AND MR. TILAK.

**Lord Lamington** put a question to the Government as to whether there is any precedent for debarring an elector of this country who has committed no offence against the law from speaking in public, and whether they will not reconsider their decision prohibiting Dr. Nair from addressing public meetings or writing to the Press. His lordship said that the question was founded on a report which appeared in "The Times" on July 8. He had had no communication with Dr. Nair whom he had never seen. He understood Dr. Nair came to England for private reasons and for medical treatment, and when he arrived he was informed that he would not be allowed to address any meetings or publish any writings as to his views on Indian reform. Dr. Nair was known as the leader of the non-Brahman movement in South India, and as the editor of "Justice." In view of the stoppage of the Home Rule deputation, he was informed on reaching this country that he must give an undertaking not to address public meetings or write to the Press. It was unfortunate that he should be debarred from expressing his views in admiration of our rule in India.

**Lord Sydenham** spoke of Dr. Nair as a loyal Indian moderate.

**Lord Islington**, Under-Secretary for India, detailed the circumstances under which Mr. Tilak was allowed to proceed to England in connection with his libel suit against Sir Valentine Chirol. •A

condition was imposed that he should confine himself to that case, and not express any views on Home Rule in India. Dr. Nair, who was stated to have announced publicly his intention of coming to England to combat the views of Mr. Tilak, in the event of Mr. Tilak holding meetings here in favour of Home Rule, actually came for the purpose of receiving medical advice after being granted an unconditional passport by the Government of Madras. On grounds of justice and fair play, he was, on landing here, asked by the Secretary for India to sign an undertaking to observe the same reticence as had been imposed on Mr. Tilak. This course had the Prime Minister's approval. Lord Islington proceeded to examine three alternative courses of which the Government had had the choice, and contended that though the line of action taken might be open to criticism, it was that which for the time being and in the present juncture presented the least objection.

**HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Wednesday July 17.**

**The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.**

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*Mr. Denman* asked the Prime Minister: Whether having regard to the fact that each month's delay in granting constitutional reforms to India added to the difficulties of granting them and diminished their value when granted, he would allow an early discussion of the Secretary of State's Report.

*Mr. Bonar Law*: I cannot add anything on this subject to the answer I gave on the 10th instant to the hon. Baronet the Member for West Denbigshire.

*Mr. Denman*: Does not the right hon. Gentleman recognise that the continued neglect by this House of Indian subjects has a very bad effect in India, and while it is recognised that the Government can give no immediate reply, would not a Debate in this House give valuable ventilation to the whole subject?

*Mr. Bonar Law*: I think it is a matter of opinion. In the first place time is very limited and I do not wish to give up time unless it is necessary. Then the subject is really a very complicated one and one must have time to study the documents.

*Mr. C. Roberts*: Does that answer cover the case of a Debate on the Indian Budget and does the right hon. Gentleman wish to convey the impression that he desires to shelve this Report and the urgent questions connected with it?

*Mr. Bonar Law* : I hope my answer did not convey that impression. It was certainly not what I intended. Everyone recognises the importance of this subject. I have myself tried to look at this Report, but I could not attempt to deal with it now. I think the same thing is true of all the members of the Government and I fancy it would be true of most Members of the House of Commons.

*Sir H. Craik* : Is it not absolutely necessary to receive opinions from all parts of India, which must take some time to reach this country ?

*Mr. Bonar Law* : I really do not think there need be much discussion in question and answer on this subject. I have already said if I found there was a general desire in the House to have it discussed I would find time. As a matter of fact I think nothing would be gained by discussing it before the Recess.

*Mr. Roberts* : Has not the right hon. Gentleman already received a formal request for a discussion on the Indian Budget and has it been granted ?

*Mr. Bonar Law* : I do not think I have received such notice.

*Mr. Pringle* : Has the official Opposition asked for a day ?

*Mr. Guiland* : I made a representation to the Noble Lord (Lord E. Talbot) asking for a day.

*Mr. Bonar Law* : I have no doubt what the hon. Gentleman says is true. Very likely it came to me, but I have forgotten it if it is so. It is a question of time.

*Mr. Roberts* : Is it not really neglecting India that we cannot spare a single day ?

*Mr. Bonar Law* : I really think to make that suggestion is itself to do the evil which the hon. Gentleman wishes to avoid. There is no such feeling in any part of the House. It is a question of the general arrangement of the business of the House.

*H. of Commons—Monday July 22.*

#### ARMY COMMISSION TO INDIANS.

*Colonel Wedgwood* asked the Secretary of State for India : what were now the regulations as to Indian citizens obtaining the King's commission in the Indian Army.

*Mr. Montagu* : The King's Commission will be granted to Indians under four categories :

(1) A certain number of substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have specially distinguished themselves in the present war.

(2) A certain number of King's commissions conferring honorary rank in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service not necessarily during the present War, and who, owing to age or lack of educational qualifications, are not eligible for substantive King's commissions. Such honorary commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension.

(3) A certain number of temporary but substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the Army.

(4) A certain number of King's commissions to Indians on qualifying as cadets at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. For this purpose ten Indian gentlemen will be nominated annually during the War for cadetships.

*Colonel Wedgwood* : Does that answer mean that Indian students in this country will be able to get temporary commissions, or will they be debarred unless they go to Sandhurst—under the third head ?

*Mr. Montagu* : Under the third head they will be nominated in India.

*Colonel Wedgwood* : Even if they have obtained the qualifications in this country by being at Oxford or Cambridge they will be eligible for commissions ?

*Mr. Montagu* : No commissions will be given without adequate training.

*Mr. C. Roberts* : Is there any provision for the military training of these officers, or candidates for that rank, in India as well as in England ?

*Mr. Montagu* : Yes, Sir. No substantive commissions will be granted to anybody without adequate training. It is intended to provide that adequate training under Category 3 in India.

*Colonel Wedgwood* : Is it impossible for Indians to get into officers' training schools in this country ?

*Mr. Montagu* : I would rather not go into the details of the Regulations in answer to questions because I have not them before



me, but I will lay the Regulations in due course upon the Table of the House.

*Colonel Wedgwood*: Then we may take it that this decision is a victory for those who consider that Indians are not fit to go into officers' training schools in this country?

*Mr. Montagu*: No, I think the answer I have given shows that commissions are going to be given to efficient soldiers subject to His Majesty's approval.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

In reply to Lord Sydenham regarding the grant of Commissions to Indians, **Lord Islington said**—The scheme which was already published marked the close of a long-standing controversy. Successive Secretaries of State, Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief, besides many statesmen and distinguished military Officers, now urged trying the experiment. A united Indian people also favoured it. The Commander-in-Chief fully appreciated the delicacy of some of the issues involved, and the importance was not overlooked of ensuring that there should be no falling-off in the quality and quantity of British Officers in the Indian Army. It was not intended to grant an Indian a Commission merely because he was an Indian but only when he had earned it, as in the case of British Officers, by proving himself fit and qualified to occupy the position. The war had unquestionably proved that there were many Indians available who fully fulfilled those fundamental conditions; and now in opening the door to Commissioned ranks gradually, there would be no ground for any apprehension. He hoped that British Officers entering the Indian Army would realise that this fresh departure in no way lessened the need for continued effort to do their utmost to maintain the high traditions of the Indian Army and would follow a career not less honourable because henceforth it would embrace comradeship with Indian fellow-subjects. He hoped that this measure would be regarded as the first step in the inevitable advance, which would more and more bring Indian and British fellow-subjects to a proper and natural relationship as comrades in arms, engaged in the common cause of the defence of India and the maintenance of the security of the British Empire.

In course of his speech, Lord Islington mentioned that three candidates recommended for temporary Commissions had served in the ranks in British regiments in France. One of them was a grandson of the late Dadabhoy Naoroji.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Tuesday August 6, 1918.*

### MR. MONTAGU'S BUDGET SPEECH.

Mr. Montagu, in moving that the House go into Committee on the East India Revenue accounts, reminded the House that the one outstanding feature of last year's finance was India's contribution of Rs. 100,000,000 towards the cost of the war. The intention was to raise as much as possible of that loan in India and to liquidate the balance by the Government of India taking over the required amount of the British war debt, meeting the interest thereupon, and gradually discharging the principal. The response to the loan raised in India far exceeded any anticipation. The estimate of a loan under previous circumstances was something like £4,000,000. The loan last year realised £35,000,000, which was in due course transferred to the Imperial Government; and at a later date in the same year the Government of India succeeded in raising for its own needs Rs. 30,000,000 in the form of Treasury Bills for the purpose of financing war expenditure in India. The applications for War Loan from all classes were most satisfactory, and large subscriptions were obtained not only in British India, but in the Native States also. It was hardly necessary to remind the House of the poverty of the people of India, of the undeveloped condition of its natural resources, and that contributions to loans of this kind could only be made, not by denying luxuries, but by severely restricting expenditure on such vital necessities, as education, sanitation, and the development of industries. This year a new War Loan had been issued, the proceeds of which also would be paid to the Imperial Government. The estimated yield was £20,000,000. Already, some weeks ago £16,500,000 had been realised, and therefore, it was obvious that of the £100,000,000, promised, well over £50,000,000 had already been raised in India itself. Everybody would agree that this was a very remarkable result.

#### India and the War.

In 1917 1,383,000 tons of wheat were exported by the Government of India for the needs of Great Britain and her Allies. Special measures were taken last autumn to increase the wheat area, and 44,688,000 acres of wheat were planted; but he feared that the esti-

mated exportable surplus would not be reached, because the monsoon for the first time for many years, was not progressing favourably. Two hundred million lb. of tea were exported last year, and arrangements had been made to export 250,000,000 lb. this season. Thirty one million pounds worth of jute and jute goods were exported for war purposes, £2,250,000 worth of wool, large quantities of Army blankets, and the tanned hides needed for the uppers of 60 per cent of the boots manufactured in this country were provided from India. Indian troops had played, and were playing, by far the larger part in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa and at the beginning of the war they played a very large part in France. This had been possible solely by the increase in the number of recruits. Before 1914 the annual intake of recruits for non-combatant purposes was about 15,000. Last year the figure exceeded 285,000, and reckoning non-combatants, 440,000. This year it was proposed to raise 500,000 combatants, besides a large number of non-combatants, and those responsible for recruiting had no doubt that India would obtain the men necessary to complete the new establishment which had been sanctioned by the War Office. The recruiting figures for June reached the record figure of 50,000 and it was remarkable that Provinces from which recruits had never come before—races which had never yet shown martial instincts, or only to a small degree—were providing their contribution to those numbers. The new recruits were not being asked to come to the war only as privates. They were to have an opportunity, comparable to the opportunity given he thought to every other soldier raised for combatant purposes for the British Empire, of securing His Majesty's Commission.

It had been stated in the house the other day that the military members of the Army Council differed from the policy of the Government of India and of the Cabinet on the subject of Commissions in the Army. Without entering into controversy, he would say that if they asked a man to fight in this war—in this war above all other wars—then, surely, he should be given every opportunity of winning by gallantry any position in the Army, whatever his race. It was said sometimes that it was an intolerable thing to risk British soldiers being commanded by Indian officers. Those racial considerations were, wholly out of date. When Indians were eligible for the highest positions in their own country in civilian life, when Indian officers commanded large hospitals in Mesopotamia at this moment, it was idle to say that racial considerations should continue to debar Indians from becoming officers in his Majesty's Army. That controversy, which had extended through many years, was,

at last settled with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

#### Indian effort in Mesopotamia.

In regard to Indian effort in Mesopotamia, the railways which conveyed our troops in both Mesopotamia and Palestine had been largely constructed from materials supplied by the Indian railways, and were worked mainly by Indian labour. Seventeen hundred miles of track, 200 engines, and nearly 6,000 vehicles had been provided by India for the various theatres of war. The river flotilla on the Tigris and the Euphrates was composed mainly of vessels drawn from Indian rivers. The plant which now lit Basra and Bagdad was nearly all drawn from India, and was worked by Indian officers. With the help of expert advice, modern irrigation, and up-to-date agricultural machinery, a very large proportion of which came from India, the former fertility of Mesopotamia was being gradually revived. Those resources provided by India were gradually changing the appearance of the country, and eradicating the blight of Turkish misrule.

#### The Reforms—its Responsibility

The principles of the reforms which they had recommended were the logical and inevitable outcome of over a hundred years of Indian history. The demand for Indian Self-Government had been quickened by the war. A statement of our own ideals from our own Ministers and Allied ministers, the natural searching of men's hopes and aspirations for a better time to come, had added their impetus, and made an irresistible appeal for some further step in the development of self-government. The determination of the Government to do something more started in the time of Lord Hardinge. He (Mr. Montagu) inherited the situation from Mr. A. Chamberlain. It had been said that the whole movement was his conspiracy, and that he had led an unwilling and unfortunate Viceroy. That was a travesty of the facts. Lord Chelmsford and he were together responsible for their policy. They had both walked together, and neither was unwillingly harnessed to the other. Reading the announcement of Government policy made on August 20 last, he said that that was their terms of reference; it was the principle to which the Government stood committed. The House might, if it wished, tear up the specific proposals of the Report he had referred to, but they could not, without the grossest breach of faith, depart

from the announcement of August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they did not want responsible government for India then they were denying the principle enunciated on August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they wanted to do it at once and to have a stereotyped timetable taking it out of the hands of Parliament and the responsible Government, then also they were denying the principle of August 20. He could not conceive that there could have been any other answer to the history of India than that given in the Government proposals.

He said that if the idea was that the Indian Government was to be one of subordination and subjection, then Lord Morley's reform and the grant of high office to Indians, the actual inclusion of Indians in the Imperial War Cabinet itself, were all out of harmony with the announcement of August 20. They could not devote centuries to the tilling of the soil and then refuse to plant the tree. If they were going to institute responsible government in India, the first thing they must do was to give the people the vote and to exercise them in the use of the vote. They could not instil the customs, habits, restraints and conventions upon which representative institutions depended until they gave people the vote and the people used it. Nor could they teach people to use the vote wisely if the vote was to achieve nothing. They must give to the person voted for something to do, so that he could be trained in administration, and so that the person who possessed the vote would think it worth while to give it. Therefore, since they wanted responsible institutions in India, they ought to give the vote to the people on as broad a franchise as possible, and at the same time they must give the representatives elected by those votes real and responsible work to do.

#### House of Commons and India.

This is the rough outline of the scheme proposed. It was suggested that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the Votes of the House of Commons. There was nothing very novel in that—it was an old proposal—and nothing very revolutionary. It was proposed simply for the reason that the authors of the scheme desired that the control over Indian affairs, exercised by the Secretary of State, which could only be exercised in the name of this House, should be brought into proper relation to the House itself. He was not now talking of the financial unfairness which saddled the cost of his salary on the Indian taxpayer. Every other Minister's salary, with the sole exception of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was borne on the Votes

of this House and paid by the British taxpayer. He hoped he should not be considered lacking in respect to the House when he said that Indian debates suffered from their unreality. It was therefore also proposed that there should be appointed at the beginning of every Session a Select Committee of the House of Commons which should report to the House of Commons on Indian affairs for the past year before the debate took place on the salary of the Secretary of State for India. He pleaded for the acceptance of that reform. The experience of members who had lived in India was invaluable, particularly when they remembered that it was possible that conditions might have changed since they left the country. If there were in the House a body of members willing to devote themselves from Session to Session to the affairs of India, thus becoming acquainted with the broad outlines of its administration and its problems, India would gain by that real, sustained, and upto-date Parliamentary interest, and Parliament would be able with less effort to devote itself to its great Indian responsibilities. It had been said in answer to this suggestion that it would bring India into party affairs. He could not in the least understand that argument. It seemed to him that nothing was more likely to keep India out of party affairs than to have a Select Committee for considering Indian matters drawn from all parties in the House.

#### Indian Legislatures.

It had often been complained that the Secretary of State interfered too much in Indian affairs. On the other hand, it had often been complained that he did not interfere enough. The Secretary of State interfered in the name of Parliament, and he and Parliament were trustees for the Indian people and as responsible Government in India grew, it followed that the control from here must be relaxed. He had been criticised for saying that. But was there any reason to fear it? Had not the history of our Empire throughout shown that control from home had gradually, or suddenly in some cases, been replaced by control on the spot, by the people of the country themselves? Had it ever weakened the Imperial connexion? Had it not been the source of the Empire's strength? Then as to the Government of India itself it was suggested that the Government of India was not a suitable sphere in which to start the first step towards responsible government, and that for the present, until it was seen how responsible institutions were growing in India, it was desirable to keep the

Government of India responsible to Parliament and to Parliament alone. So it was proposed to maintain the powers of the Government of India. But they could not, he submitted, leave things as they were in the Government of India. They could not call a Legislative Council, which contained only 27 elected members, a sufficiently representative body to constitute a Legislative Council for India suitable to the present day. Thirty seven members was not enough ; they must enlarge it in order to make it more representative. Since it was suggested that the council should be enlarged, and since it was suggested that the Government was to enforce its will when it wished, it seemed to him that they were inevitably led to the consideration of a Second Chamber. That was the proposal contained in the report. The advantage of this machinery seemed to him to be that it did make the Legislative Council far more representative than it was at the present time, and it did ensure representative criticisms in Delhi and Simla, and that it could easily be developed from time to time into the ordinary bicameral legislative machinery. It was suggested that there should be another body composed of the Princes of the Native States. It seemed to him that if they had this germ of a Second Chamber they also indicated a way by which in due course the Princes, now rather isolated in the Constitution, might join for joint deliberation of common affairs, and only for common affairs, with the Upper House.

#### The Provinces.

It was in the provinces that they suggested the first steps towards responsible government should be taken. This would enable them to differentiate between province and province according to their readiness for responsibility. In dealing with the provinces they had only three choices. They could go on as they were with an Executive Government wholly responsible to the electorate, but that was not a step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. Or they could have complete responsible government in the provinces. He believed they would hardly find a single instance of a province which was ready today for complete responsible government. Therefore there was only one other alternative left, and that was responsibility in some subjects and the reservation of others. That was the system which they ventured to submit to public opinion for criticism. They could transfer more subjects in one province than they could in another, and they could, as time went on, increase the number of transferred subjects—and he had little

doubt it would go faster than many people supposed—until they got to the time when there were no subjects to transfer and all had been transferred. Then they would get full responsible government in the provinces. That was the principle of the provincial proposals.

The one provision to which both Lord Chelmsford and he attached great importance was the periodic review of the working of the whole scheme by a tribunal appointed by this House every ten or twelve years. It would be the authority working in the name of Parliament which would decide upon the increase in the number of transferred subjects. The knowledge that this review was destined to come at stated intervals would make for the smooth working of the machine. The official and the non-official elements would all realise that they could take their grievances for remedy to the High Court of Parliament itself at stated intervals, and he believed this necessary transitional machinery could only work if there was this periodical review.

#### Reply to Criticism.

At every stage of the whole proceedings his colleagues and he had almost daily discussions on all the recommendations that were made to them by public and private individuals. Not only that, but at each stage those who came from England sat in informal conference with the whole Government of India, and there were constant sub-committees of two sets of people to consider the details. Besides that they received innumerable deputations and had innumerable and long interviews from early morn till late at night with anyone who had anything to contribute. There had been a suggestion that this work should be done all over again by another Committee. He did not think that that was possible. He did not believe they would ever be able to convince the Indian people that they (the House) were in earnest if they adopted such a proposal as that, but both Lord Chelmsford and he were absolutely sincere when they asked that the Government should publish this Report for criticism. It was not a finished document which they sought to translate unaltered into an Act of Parliament. It must be sifted and tested. Did it carry out the principles which it professed? For example, they had stated their objections to communal representation. He did not go back one single hair's breadth from what had been said on that point. If they wanted to build up community of interests, to get over racial antagonism and antipathies, surely the worst way to begin was to send people to different polling



booths, making them into different constituencies for returning their representatives. They had also been accused of trying to divide the people of India in order to rule. If they established communal representation on a large scale there would be some justice in that criticism. The whole success of the scheme depended upon getting an electorate thoroughly representative of all the peoples of India. The report itself said that it was not, and ought not to be, their aim to hand over the Government of India, or any part of the Government of India, to the representatives of any particular section. They wanted an electorate as representative as possible. And for that reason, although they recognised right through that it was upon the development of a successful electorate that the whole scheme depended, the scheme would not be complete until that electorate had been devised. It was recommended that two committees should be appointed at once to consider the electorate and the differentiation between the reserved and transferred subjects, and also what should be the Government of India's concern and what should be Provincial. Until those Committees had reported the scheme was not complete and therefore, in order to complete the scheme, His Majesty's Government had assented to the immediate appointment of those committees to recommend to them what electorate was possible. Those who thought that communal representation was the only way to obtain a representation of all the peoples of India would have an opportunity of arguing that as an open question before the Committee which would sit in India. He should regret very much if it was proved that that was the only way. He felt convinced that the way to beat your enemy at the poll was to fight him and not to ask for special representation of this sort. It seemed to him that if responsibility for certain subjects was transferred to Indian Ministers we must ensure that we had given them the machinery which would enable them to discharge their responsibility. Similarly, if responsibility for other subjects was reserved to the existing Executive Council, we must ensure that we had given them the necessary machinery to discharge their responsibility. He thought the report did this by means of Councils of States and Grand Committees. He invited the assistance of every one who would accept the announcement of August 20, and who would offer not destructive but constructive criticism. He did not think it was necessary to be argued that the Indians, who were anxious to embark upon this experiment were imbued with a patriotism and a love of their country which he did not think had ever been equalled in the history of the world, a patriotism which was almost a religion, and which was becoming slowly a national patriotism.

India, the defence of India, the working for India, pride in India—these were all emotions which animated those who accepted the announcement of August 20. There were some who did not accept it, not because they did not believe in eventual responsible Government, but because they did not like the progressive stages proposed.

#### Nature of the Limitations.

All the limitations which were to be found in the scheme were limitations not of distrust or fear but of facts and of time. It was useless to expect that Parliament, proud of the India that Englishmen had done so much to make, were going to give up the control of Indian affairs to an Indian electorate which did not exist. It was impossible to pretend that all the disabilities and obstacles to democratic progress which were presented by illiteracy, by caste distinction, by communal antagonism, did not exist. They did. They were only pointed out by the true friends of India because they believed that with the development of free institutions they would tend to disappear. He did not mean for one moment that caste would disappear, but the features of caste which made it impossible to regard India as a democratic nation might, with the flow of time, disappear. As these antagonisms between communities disappeared, and as education spread, the reasons for the limitations would disappear with them, and India would have a right to claim from the House through these periodical reviews that the limitations imposing these conditions should be swept away. We must create, train and exercise an electorate before these things could happen. Therefore it seemed to him that people had no right to reject this proposal because it did not give them to-day things which could only be got to-morrow. What they were entitled to ask was that they should be placed upon the road and that they should have access to Parliament at stated intervals for the hearing of their case. It seemed to him that there was no other course. Agitation could produce chaos and revolution and that was one way of proceeding. But these things had always imperiled liberty and retarded progress, and they had always caused misery untold and hardships unfathomed to those who had lived through epochs of that kind. If we were to set out to build a free, self-governing, responsible India under the aegis of the British flag, and as an integral part of the British Empire, with fixity of purpose and determination, it seemed to him that we should do well to start now. We are piling up work for ourselves after the war. Ought not we to do what we could to-day? Was there a better time for doing this work than now, when we were face to face with the re-

cord of India's share in the war, when we were able to point on the one hand by looking at the lack of ideals that have made Germany the enemy of mankind, and on the other hand, by looking on those unhappy events which had made Russia the object of all men's compassion?

### INDIAN BUDGET DEBATE.

#### Speech of Mr. Charles Roberts.

*The following is taken from the speech of Mr. Roberts on the occasion of the Indian Budget debate.*

The debate had revealed so far a singular unanimity. There might be reservations, and there might be slight criticisms, but one had the satisfaction of seeing that Sir J. D. Rees agreed with Mr. Cotton. And yet the amount of unanimity which had prevailed might perhaps give a wrong impression, for he could not but remember that his right hon. friend had not at the present time his Government behind his proposal. To-day he made a very welcome announcement. He said he was prepared to take a very notable step in setting up two committees. He (Mr. Roberts) did not want to press that unduly, but it clearly did commit not only himself, but the Government of which he was a member, to further steps along this road. He did not suppose it would be fair to assume that they had done more than accept the Report on its general principle. He hoped that might be so. At all events, they had not rejected it as being inconsistent with their declaration in August last, and the fact that they wished to see it worked out and proceeded with was an omen of their intentions of which they should take note. He did not wish at this present stage to put inconvenient questions. They were told by the Leader of the House that the pressure of business had been too great for the Government yet to make up their minds. One understood their preoccupation, but at the present moment they remain of course bound by their declaration of August last year, and after the holidays it would be their duty to press them a little further about that declaration, for as his right hon. friend made it clear, that declaration did commit them to taking substantial steps as soon as possible, and if those substantial steps were not the acceptance of his right hon. friend's report, then they would have to ask what were the substantial steps which they were going to take? The words, "as soon as possible", were also words they could not forget.

They certainly did not mean the latest possible date, and although they gave a reasonable time, yet this was one of those matters to which the story of the Books of Sibyl was applicable. He admitted the scheme is difficult to grasp as a whole. It was not merely that the details were somewhat complicated. They were novel expedients in the art of government perhaps, but it was a balanced scheme, and different speakers had already laid stress upon different parts of it. Sir J. D. Rees was satisfied with the safeguards. He found that there were satisfactory assurances for the maintenance of British power, and he himself thought there were safeguards in the scheme. But the existence of those safeguards did not prevent this measure in reality from marking a great transition from a bureaucratic and autocratic system of government to the popular government on which the Government of India will have to rest in the future.

#### First stages of responsibility.

It began the first stages of the responsibility of Indian Ministers to an enlarged Indian electorate, and it provided statutory machinery for extending that measure of responsibility at recurring intervals. It did give to the Indians a place consistent with their own self-respect in an ultimately self-governing India which would form an integral part of the Empire. They would be in the future no longer mere passive subjects of Imperial rule, but conscious partners in an Empire which, in spite of differences of race, creed, and language, existed for ideals of freedom and civilisation which appealed to Englishmen just as much as to Indians.

There had been a great deal of agreement as to principles expressed in the discussion up to date. And yet the reluctance of the Government to commit itself to the principles of the Report at the present time joined with hostile voices that had not only found expression in that House, but had also found expression in the Press, were a real danger signal to impatient idealists who, whether in this country or in India, were not content with the rate of progress which was being proposed. It was always a mistake, in judging of reforms, to measure them by a standard of theoretic but unattainable perfection. It was rather wiser to consider whether in practice they did represent substantial improvements on the existing state of things, and he denied anyone of honest purpose, who would take the trouble to grasp the scheme in its general principles and in its details, to fail to see that, in spite

of the safeguards which were provided, it did give a very substantial and marked advance of self-government in India. He said this because he noticed a letter in a leading journal within the last few days which, on behalf of unofficial Indians in this country, complained that though they did not wish the Report rejected, yet it gave little or nothing of real value to them. It was very difficult to summarise. He admitted it did provide—and rightly provided—during a great transition, during the evolution of popular government, power to maintain law and order. It left the Government free with full power to discharge its Imperial responsibilities. But if they look—he would not say to changes in relation to the Secretary of State, to Parliament, or to the Indian Parliament—but taking the actual changes in India, it was impossible to say that there were not substantial improvements from the standpoint of any one who wished to see self-government carried into effect or to see India marching upon the road to self-government.

#### Stages in the scheme.

The stages in the scheme towards self-government in India were popular control over local government (in districts and towns); the extension or rather creation of electorates, mainly on a direct territorial basis; a largely increased measure of autonomy for the provinces, as distinct from the Government of India; the institution of Executive Councils in four additional provinces, the placing of an Indian member on those Councils in all the eight provinces concerned; the enlargement of provincial councils, the increase of the elective majority, and their control of certain departments to be transferred to them; the establishment of Indian Ministers, who could, together with the Executive Council, form part of the provincial government and would have to administer the transferred departments; the accountability of these Indian Ministers primarily for the first five years to their constituencies, and thereafter their full responsibility to the provincial councils; the separation of all India and Provincial finance, and a much freer hand to the Indian Ministers and to the Provincial Council to propose and carry new taxation and to raise loans; in the sphere of the Government of India the addition of a second Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council of six, and the enlargement of the Viceroy's Legislative Council with a view to making it more representative of Indian opinion; and the institution of a statutory machinery for the enlargement of this measure of self-government at recurring intervals. He could not understand anyone who

wished to take an honest view of this subject, not realising that it did mark a very substantial advance. But his right hon. friend said that he was prepared to vary details. It was not quite clear whether that might not open a somewhat dangerous prospect. Certainly none of these details was regarded as having any special sacrosanctity. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, for instance, thought there was too great complexity. He did not think he would find it, if he gave his mind to it, very easy to frame a simple system to carry out the declaration of August last. Full responsible government was not a very simple form of government if they try to set out on paper all the unwritten conventions and understandings on which it rested. Bureaucratic and responsible government they knew, but the hybrid between the two—a transitional form of government, which was to be neither the one nor the other, but to lead from one to the other—could not be very simple, and he thought his hon. friend tried to solve this riddle by arguing that it would be very much more simple to have the Cabinet system with which they were familiar in this country. That, of course, was going far beyond the limits to which that House was prepared to proceed.

He had a very honest and sincere desire to see this great adventure of instituting self-government in India succeed. He believed it was possible. He did not see any reason why the Indians should not succeed in this task, on one condition—that they would give themselves the necessary training time to master what was involved in learning the practical art of self-government. Given that, he saw no reason why they should not succeed, just as did our Allies the Japanese, who also had no historical basis for the Western institutions, which they had been able to blend with their own traditional principles of government in a way which had produced marked success, and led to the greatness of their country. He would like those who might be impatient, who might wish to see a greater rate of progress than his right hon. friend was prepared to admit, to be warned that there might be dangers which they would have to face in carrying their point, and that unanimity in that House at the present stage did not get them over their difficulties. They would find that this scheme—or some thing like it—was, under present conditions here and now, really the limit of what was attainable. He did not see conditions in the immediate future which would enable them to obtain a greater measure of reform. He was of course not forgetting the recurring intervals at which the present proposals for reform might be increased by means of the Statutory Commission. It would be wise for those who had the

difficult task of judging how much it was well for them to ask to remember that if they wanted reforms they could only get them by purdient and energetic concentration upon them, and that those who had not the statesmanship to accept a good offer when it was made generally paid the penalty by many weary years of waiting in an arid and possibly storm-swept wilderness.

Several other Members also spoke, of whome—

*Mr. Ramsay Macdonald* declared that the Secretary of State's Council should be abolished. There could be no satisfactory system of representation for India under the present system of education and unless agriculturists and workmen had their share. The Civil Service should be given a task commensurate with their great political capacity.

*Sir John D. Rees* urged a speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Report. If the establishment of democracy in India led to a period of Brahmin oligarchy that should not be greatly deplored—Brahmins were the natural leaders of the people of India. The reception of the proposals by Extremists such as Mr. Tilak and Mrs Besant showed that the proposals were not likely to give away British power in India.

*Mr. Cotton* wholeheartedly supported the Report. He urged action now.

*Captain Lloyd* suggested the setting up of a Parliamentary Committee to examine the proposals.

*Mr. Chamberlain* commended the very satisfactory character of the debate and said the Cabinet had not had time to arrive at a detailed conclusion regarding the Report. The Committees mentioned by Mr. Montagu would be appointed and would proceed to India as soon as possible to deal with the questions which were essential to the drafting of the Bill. There need be no apprehension that the Government would go back in letter or in spirit from the declaration of August 20th. He did not pretend that the immediate result of the changes contemplated would be to increase the efficiency of Government of India. Progress in India must be through mistakes.

*Commander Wedgwood* declared that the Report was based on a genuine desire to see India become a nation. He was glad that the House had unanimously received the proposals as the right thing to do.

*Mr. Denman* regretted that no progress was possible until the Committee reported and suggested that the main fabric of the structure should be set up and the details filled in by an Order in Council.

In winding up the debate *Mr. Montagu* said that the wholehearted acceptance by all speakers of the principle of Self-Government for India was a remarkable fact in the history of the House and India. He did not see how it would be possible to introduce legislation this year owing to the necessity for giving an ample time for discussion and the difficulty of drafting the Bill. He hoped that the reports of the two committees to be appointed would be received early next year. He emphasised that the Government though it could not hurry, would not pause in carrying out the policy contained in the announcement of August 20th.

#### *House of Lords—August 6, 1918.*

#### Debate in the House of Lords.

*Lord Sydenham* drew attention to the report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on Indian reforms, and moved for papers. It was most unfortunate that before the present Secretary of State assumed office he made some caustic and not very well-informed criticism of our rule in India, and the result was that his official declaration was quite naturally coupled with his previous unofficial utterances. This has aroused the most exaggerated expectations throughout India. He could not help thinking that the visit of the Secretary of State to India at a time when this country was fighting for its life was a real misfortune. It had the effect of stimulating throughout India a very dangerous agitation, and incidentally of lowering the high office of the Viceroy in the eyes of the Indian population. He also regarded the manner of the presentation of the report as somewhat irregular.

He warmly welcomed some parts of the report. The reconstruction of the India Office was long overdue, and any proposal in that direction should be carried out at once. He believed that to give a federal form of Government to India was essential to the self-government of India. The arrangement of electorates and seats and the reconsideration of the franchise in certain cases were the most important and necessary steps and ought to be taken at once. He was sorry to see that the report ignored protests and warnings



from many parts of India, which deserved consideration. Surely the report might have devoted at least one paragraph to the working classes of India, who represented the majority of the people of India. As far as he could see a quarter of a million of people wished to rule the millions of India. Was that democracy? The report said that the war had accelerated the demand for Home Rule. That was so, *because the little band of Home Rulers had through German influence tried to raise trouble in India.* It was difficult for the people of this country to follow the events in India owing to the meagreness of news due in a large measure to the war. The moral seemed to him to be this that owing to the weakness of Government in recent years in India, the margin of safety was now very small. There never was a time when it was more necessary to carefully scrutinize any proposed changes of Government. The scheme set up a system which would have the effect of destroying the present high standard of the Indian Civil Service. If that deteriorated he did not see what we should have left to keep our hold on the affections and respect of the masses of India. He believed the position of Governor would become quite intolerable, and that no man who understood the situation would accept the office. The general effect of this very complicated scheme must be a long delay in public business, frequent conflicts between the two Houses, and a weakening of the high position of the Viceroy. There would be enormous opportunities opened out for intrigues. In his view of the Report under it the authority of the British Government would be weakened all over India at a time when that authority was more than ever needed. Have we any right to force on India a form of democracy which the greatest democracy in the world would not tolerate?

#### It Would Cause Chaos.

The main fault he found with the whole of the Report was that it ignored the genius of the Indian people and was mainly a *concession to a denationalized intelligensia.* Mr. Tilak had said of this scheme that "it was entirely unacceptable and would not satisfy anybody." These proposed reforms would be *abhorrent to the gallant Indian soldiers* who had fought in this war when they came home and yet it was on the achievements of these fighting men that the intelligensia based their claim to rule. He firmly believed that these proposals would cause chaos. The Report contained some admirable sentiments which might divert attention from some of its dangers. Excellent advice was given to every class in India. The pity was that it would never reach those classes and would not have the

slightest effect if it did. The authors of the Report could not have realized the chasm which separated the Hindu, the Moslem, and the Brahmin and others, a chasm which was formed hundreds of years ago and was still deep. They believed that representative institutions would tend to soften the rigidity of the caste system; but that system went back a thousand years and had been intensified in our own day. The castastrophic possibilities of this contention among a population of 315 millions did not seem to have occurred to the authors of the Report. Russia was now giving a most appalling object lesson as the result of the break-up of centralised authority, and the effect of the weakening or destruction of British rule in India must be even more disastrous, because the antagonisms—social, religious, and racial—were far deeper. It was only the authority of the British rule which now stood between the people of India and the welter of bloodstained crime caused by the breck-up of the Mogul Empire. The difference between Russia and India to-day was British rule and nothing else. He hoped the Government would hand the Report over to some competent examining body. He moved for the following papers:—(1) The opinions of the local Governments on Indian Reform; (2) a selection of addresses—giving opinion on both sides—to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State; (3) the Report of Mr. Justice Rowlatt on Sedition in India.

Lord Carmichael said whether we liked it or not, the demand for political reforms and for self-government would go on in India, and whether we liked it or not, there would be political changes, and he had no hesitation in saying that the changes would be in the direction of self-Government. In his opinion India was not fit at this moment for self-government but many Indians were fit for it, and we should do right if we did our best to make all Indians fit for it. India was not like this country before the first Reform Bill, nor like our Colonies were before we gave them self-government. Many difficulties lay before us, but it was something to know that in facing them we were all agreed that the path of progress was to be in one direction. We were pledged to start in that direction as soon as possible. There could be no swerving from the path which led to responsible Government. But it seemed to him that first they wanted to know what the scheme of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy was. Until they knew that in greater detail they ought surely to refrain both from condemning or approving it. Indians generally were of opinion that a solemn declaration made on behalf of the Government was meant to be acted upon. If we rejected the scheme which was a fair presentment of the Indian view, without putting forward arguments

which the people of India would understand, what would be the result? It would be said that we had flouted the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and the Leader of the House. Many Indians would consider that we had committed as bad a breach of faith as any Government had ever been guilty of.

**The Marquiss of Crewe** said that he listened to the speech of Lord Sydenham with some feeling of depression. The noble Lord seemed to view the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in a spirit of almost unrelieved gloom although he admitted there were passages in it which he regarded with sympathy. His lordship had remarked that the Report involved a departure from the principles which were laid down by Lord Morley in 1909. It appeared to him unjust criticism to say that the Morley-Minto reforms introduced nine years ago had failed. The circumstances had been altered by this world cataclysm in a manner no human being could foresee. Lord Sydenham had made various polite references to the advance towards self-government in India but he had not indicated in terms any plans by which he desired to move in that direction. He was prepared to run the risk of attempting some freedom of provincial government in certain circumstances. He was prepared to allow people to make their own mistakes to some extent, provided that these mistakes were not made on a scale or at a cost which would be serious to the people of India as a whole. He did not deny that there might be a sacrifice of efficiency and some cost. That might be the penalty which had to be paid for entrusting people with the management of their own affairs. He thought that Lord Sydenham took too gloomy a view when he foreshadowed something like a permanent hostility to the Government on the part of the Legislature with its elective majorities. He had always rather dreaded the principle of veto. The veto was a weapon which could rarely be used, if it could be used at all. No doubt it could be used more in India than in Australia or South Africa. But it was a weapon which became blunted by use. The Report was undoubtedly complicated in appearance, but he thought that those who studied the various alternatives would begin to favour it more the more they went on. It was no doubt in one sense a leap in the dark, as all great propositions for reform must be. And he could well understand any man who loved India, and who knew what India owed to the British Crown, asking himself whether if the main lines of the Report were followed, we should be travelling on a road which led towards the separation of that connexion. It was not to be supposed that any Englishman who believed in our service to India, or

any Indian of moderate opinion who held a similar view, would desire to proceed on that road. All the Indian reformers with whom he had the honour at different times of discussing this question had expressed themselves, absolutely convinced that so far as it was possible for a man to look ahead the idea of the separation of India from British influence, and to a large extent from British control, was a possibility that they would regard with horror and which they did not believe existed. He regretted that Lord Sydenham took a view so unfavourable to the visit of the Secretary of State to India at the request of Lord Chelmsford. As his noble friend knew, the Secretary of State was not responsible for that; the original invitation was addressed to Mr. Chamberlain. He could not think that the studious care that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Montagu) took all the time he was in India to play second fiddle, and the fact that he accompanied the Viceroy to some of the great centres, would have done anything to depreciate the unique position of the Viceroy. Without committing himself to any particular proposal or paragraph in the Report, he could say with the utmost confidence, having studied the subject with some degree of care, that it had his full concurrence.

Lord Harris speaking of his experience in India, recognized that reforms of some kind were absolutely necessary. The Government had before them the proposal of two officials, who no doubt had taken a great deal of evidence in India, but surely they were bound also to take into consideration the views of those voiceless millions, who, so far as they knew at present, had not had the opportunity of expressing their views as to what would be the effect of such a wide-reaching idea as that underlying the Memorandum. The authors of the Memorandum had jumped over local affairs and gone into the more advanced sphere of government. He should have thought it would have been possible to give wide powers in the direction of reforming district councils. Such a reform would have educated the people of India by degrees up to a capacity for administration of more important affairs. We ought not to stand in the way of giving to India such a reformed system of government as she is capable of enjoying for the benefit of the masses of her people.

Lord Lamington said that he had thought that the Secretary of State went out to India with preconceived views, and that the Report was framed in such a way as to reconcile itself to his views; but he confessed that having now had time to read the Report, it did not seem to contain so many dangers as he had

at first thought. Personally he would be only too glad to see the day when, under proper conditions, they could safely entrust a far greater share of the administration of India to the Indian people themselves.

**Lord Islington**, Under Secretary for India, speaking on behalf of the Government, said he thought that an examination in detail of the scheme at the present juncture was not really desirable and would not serve any useful purpose. There were outstanding questions of such importance as the system of the franchise to be adopted in India for the election of members to the proposed revised legislature, the character of the services which it was proposed to transfer to Ministers nominated from the Legislative Council, and the amount and extent of the modification of control exercised by the Secretary of State and by the Government of India. Any scheme which left still undetermined provisions on such vital points as these can for the time only be regarded in the light of a skeleton scheme. Then the Government, owing to the war, had been unable up to now to give consideration to the scheme, and he was not, therefore, in a position to state the opinion of the Government on the Report. The issues involved in the scheme were of great importance to India and to the Empire. Its success depended on the close consideration of the provisions both in principle and in detail. He trusted, therefore, that a reasonable period for consideration under the circumstances would not be mistaken or misrepresented in India as any attempt on the part of the responsible authorities in England to postpone it, or that it would be thought they had exercised dilatory action. The Government, after consideration, had authorized the Secretary for India to appoint two committees to deal with the subjects outstanding in the Report, in paragraphs 225 and 238. Those two Committees would consider first, questions of franchise and constituencies, and, secondly, which services were to be transferred to the provinces and which were to remain under the Government of India. Only by reforms undertaken at an early date could we retain the loyalty of the people of India. All responsible authorities in India were unanimous in thinking that, whatever else took place, it would be fatal to put off any longer an unmistakable declaration in India of our future policy. It was incumbent upon the Government, if they were not to be charged with the greatest breach of faith in the history of the Empire, to adopt a scheme of constitutional reform in India at the earliest possible date. He admitted that some of the proposals were

susceptible of improvement and modification. As soon as it was decided by the Cabinet that Mr Montagu should go to India to consult with the Viceroy, a committee was set up in the India Office to work out the outlines of a scheme consistent with the announcement that had been made. That committee consisted of the highest officials in the India Office, of members of the Council of India, and of more than one official in England at that time who occupied a high position in the administration of India. The recommendations of that committee constituted the starting point of the discussion in India and formed the material for what was now known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. In their deliberations Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy were continuously and closely assisted by members of the Government of India and members of all the various local Governments. The Report was really the result of the collaboration of gentlemen intimately connected with the affairs and the sentiments of India. He believed that it would be found that this scheme in its broad outlines, subject to modifications and improvements, would present fewer difficulties and carry out in closer fulfilment the announcement referred to, than any other scheme likely to be devised. The proposals of the Government should not be regarded as a reward to India for her services in the war. Such a view as that would be deeply resented in India itself. They should rather be regarded as the inevitable consequences of the recognition of the new position and status which India had attained within the Empire during the war. It was not overstating the case to say that some of the campaigns essential to our victory in this war could not have been successfully conducted without India's supply of men and materials.

Lord Donoughmore said he had been privileged to take part in most of the discussions in India on which the Report was based. Lord Sydenham was very extreme in his condemnation of the scheme, though he thought the Government could congratulate itself that the course of the debate had not followed on exactly the same lines, and that the noble Lords who were not favourable were at least ready to suspend their judgment. He was convinced that the statement of the two Committees would have excellent effect.

The Marquiss of Salisbury said that they had been told that the Report had not been approved by them. He desired to say on his own behalf and that of his friends that they must reserve complete liberty of action not merely as to details, but as to the principle of the Report.

Earl Curzon replied that his noble friend was entitled to make the reservations that he had made. He did not think the situation was really open to misunderstanding. Lord Islington made it clear that the Cabinet had not had time to discuss it. Their inability to make up their minds was not merely due to the great pressure resulting from the war, but was due to the fact that they had not yet received informations to enable them to make up their minds. For instance they had not had the opinions of the local Governments of India. They would also have the reasoned opinions of the Indian Government, and there were in addition important sections of the religious communities in India who would pronounce upon the scheme. Further, in this country there were important associations which in the next few months would acquaint them with their views. The two committees were really appointed to carry out the work which the Secretary of State and his colleagues would have done had they had the time.

*The Earl of Selborne* suggested that when the Government were prepared with their recommendations to Parliament for consideration it would be a convenient way of dealing with the matter by the aid of a Select Committee of the two Houses.

*The Earl of Curzon* said that the suggestion of the noble lord was one worthy of consideration. It had been before the minds of the Government and no doubt at a later stage an announcement would be made on the subjects.

The motion of Lord Sydenham was, by leave, withdrawn.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS.—July 31, 1918.

## Indian Currency.

*Mr. R. Gwynne* asked the Secretary of State for India: What was the current price in rupees to-day paid for a sovereign in Bombay and for an ounce of silver bullion.

*Mr. Montagu*: According to the latest information received the bazaar price of sovereigns was about Rs. 19, and the quotation for bar silver Rs. 115 per 100 tolas fine.

*Mr. Gwynne* asked whether the Indian mints were now coining Indian silver bullion or bangles; and on what terms.

*Mr. Montagu*: The Indian mints are coining silver bullion. Bullion is at present being purchased for coinage at the equivalent of one dollar per ounce, 1,000 fine, both in America and Australia. The output of the Bawdwin mines in Burma is being bought under contract at the same price. In April last the Government of India bought up the available stock of bar silver in Bombay at prices ranging from Rs. 109-3 to Rs. 113 per 100 tolas fine, the rupee fineness being eleven-twelfths. No bangles have been bought.

*Mr. Gwynne* asked whether the Indian mints were now coining a gold currency for India; and whether such a currency was opposed to the Report of the Indian Currency Commission of 1913, and calculated to increase the drain of our gold to India.

*Mr. Montagu*: The Royal Commission saw no objection in principle, either from the Indian or from the Imperial standpoint, to the establishment of a mint for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. The special circumstances which have led to the minting of a gold coin other than the sovereign were explained in the answer which I gave to the question of the hon. member for East Nottingham on June 26.

*Mr. Gwynne* asked how much gold India had imported from the United States of America in the past two years.

*Mr. Montagu*: During the two years ending March 31, 1918, gold to the value of £3,371,652 was imported into India from the United States of America.

*Mr. Gwynne* asked how much gold India had imported in the twenty years since her standard of value was changed from silver to gold in 1898, and how much gold did she import in the period 1878 to 1898.



*Mr. Montagu* : £253,625,656 worth of gold was imported into India during the period 1898-1918, and £52,563,303 worth during the preceding twenty years.

**HOUSE OF COMMONS—October 17, 1918.**

**Rowlatt Commission's Report.**

*Sir John Jardine* enquired about the Report of the Seditious Committee.

*Mr. Montagu* stated : The Report is dated April 15, 1918. It gives an account of the connected conspiracies in countries outside India. I greatly regret the delay which has occurred in presenting the Report, and I am sure that the House will accept from me an assurance that their was every desire to furnish Parliament at the earliest possible moment with this most important document. Indeed, the suggestion that there had been any reluctance to publish in London what had already been published in India cannot be seriously entertained. The Report was addressed to the Government of India, and when I heard in July last that that government had decided to publish it, I instructed to them by telegraph to send me 2,000 copies for presentation to Parliament. I was informed that they would be ready for despatch in August. In reply to a further enquiry in September, I was informed that 1,000 copies had been despatched on Aug. 16. It was only last week that I heard that though the Controller of Printing had made over the copies on the date named for despatch through some unfortunate oversight they had not, as a matter of fact, been actually sent. I immediately arranged for the Report to be reprinted here with all possible expedition, and I hope that it will be ready for presentation in the course of the next week or two. I am not reprinting the maps which are included in the Report as published in India, but they will be obtainable in the copies of the Indian edition when received. In publishing the Report, the Government of India, in the public interest, made a few small omissions which do not in any way affect the arguments or conclusions of the Report. The nature of the slight changes is explained in a resolution of the Government of India which will be published with the Report. The reprint of the Report will follow the Indian text.

*Monday, October 21.*

**Indian Commissions in the Army.**

*Mr. Cotton* asked the Secretary of State for India if he could state how many commissions in His Majesty's army had been granted up to the present to Indians; whether it was proposed to add to the number, and, if so, when and to what extent; what were the names of the recipients and the class and provinces to which they belonged; and what were the conditions as to training which had been decided upon.

*Mr. Montagu*: I presume that my Hon. friend refers to the scheme for the grant of King's commissions to Indians which the Government of India announced in July last. The first avenue to such commissions is through distinguished service in the War. I understand that with a view to selections enquiries are being made from the various theatres of War in which Indian troops have been or are being employed, but recommendations have not yet reached me. In other cases, the award of commissions will depend on the results of probationary training. The Government of India are engaged in selecting candidates for ten cadetships at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and are nominating probationers for admission to the special military college which they have established in India for training for temporary commissions. So far some forty-four probationers have been nominated.

*Sir J. D. Rees*: Is it not intended that this concession shall be of a wider character than indicated by the number of forty-four, which would not amount to very much spread over the whole of India?

*Mr. Montagu*: That only applies to temporary commissions from among those who have not been in the Army. I have not the figures yet about the recommendations from among those who have been in the Army.

**Indian Prisoners of War.**

Replying to questions by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Alden, Mr. Hope said: I am informed by the India Office that there are 2 Indian officers and 513 rank and file at present prisoners of War in German hands, 2 officers and 13 rank and file have been exchanged, and 9 officers, of whom 8 have since been repatriated, and 60 rank and file, of whom 2 have since died and 16 have been repatriated.

have been transferred to a neutral country. I am informed that the great majority of these prisoners have been transferred to Roumania, the remainder being interned in various camps in Germany. On the whole, their treatment appears to be satisfactory. The number of Indian officers and men prisoners of War in Turkey is 217 and 6,659 respectively, and the number who have been repatriated on grounds of health is 6 and 1,170 respectively. None have been transferred for internment to neutral countries as there is no agreement in force with the Turkish Government for this purpose. The only recent reports on camps in Turkey are those by the representatives of the Netherlands Minister at Constantinople referred to in my reply of the 17th instant to my hon. and learned friend, the Member for Bassetlaw, on seven working camps and hospitals in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Only a few Indians were interned at these places, the greater number being in the working camps on the Bagdad Railway, in the Taurus, and to the south-east of the Taurus. The latter camps are, unfortunately, not within the districts which the representatives of the Netherlands Legation are entitled to visit. I may add that under the exchange of prisoners with Turkey which is fixed for next month, 700 Indians are entitled to be released.

*Sir J. Butcher* : Would it be competent for any neutral Power to send representatives to the Taurus to visit the camps there and report ?

*Mr. Hope* : Up to the present that has been refused, but a further request will be made.

*Sir J. D. Rees* : Have any representation been made as to the supply of warm clothing to the Indians now in the uplands of Asia Minor so that they do not suffer in the coming winter ?

*Mr. Hope* : Oh, yes ; that has not only been ordered but provided, and will, I understand, go out at the first opportunity.

*Mr. Cotton* : Will the hon. Gentleman be able to publish the reports of which he spoke in reply to my question ?

*Mr. Hope* : There is always a difficulty about these because of the conditions laid down, and which have been mentioned on previous occasions.

*Mr. Roch* : Up to what date do the figures apply as to prisoners in Turkey ?

*Mr. Hope* : I cannot say that offhand, but I think it is up to quite recently.

*Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck* : When will be the first opportunity of sending this clothing ?

*Mr. Hope* : When the repatriation ship sails from Alexandria.

**Riots in India.**

Replying to Sir John Jardine Mr Montagu gave details of riots in Madras and Calcutta in September last. He characterised the article (in the Indian Daily News about Islam) which caused riots in Calcutta as foolish and offensive.

**The Indian Army.**

Replying to Mr Yate, Mr Montagu stated that he had endeavoured to secure that officers returning to duty in India from the expeditionary force had received a notice in time to make their own arrangements for remitting money to their families. He would again draw the attention of Govt. of India to that point. He could not undertake to extend to Indian army men serving in India concessions whereby Indian army men serving with the expeditionary force are permitted to take family allowances through the India office because this would involve a heavy increase of work in the accounts dept. of India office, the staff of which was depleted.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Montagu stated that Genl. Allenby's forces included over 100,000 Indian troops. All accounts testified to the courage, discipline and endurance of all ranks. It was particularly gratifying that new Indian units which replaced European troops sent to the western front rivalled the conduct of even veteran troops and fought in a manner worthy of the high traditions of the Indian army. Mr Montagu recalled the fact that Genl. Allenby himself telegraphed him that Indian cavalry and Infantry had taken a leading and brilliant part in fighting. He was proud to say that the Indian cavalry figured prominently in a long distance ride which led to the fall of Damascus.

***House of Lords—Oct. 23, 1918.*****Debate on Indian Reforms.**

Viscount Midleton calling attention to the Report on Indian Reforms moved "That it is desirable that a Joint Committee of both Houses be appointed to consider and report thereon." He declared that a proper examination of the question had not been made. Public opinion here should have been made aware whether the Government did or did not approve not merely the principles of progress, but, in some degree, the principle adopted or suggested by the Secretary of State and Viceroy. To this day they had no indication of whether the principle of this scheme commended itself to the Government or not. In the meantime the attention of the people of this country was being focussed upon the scheme put

forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford—whether it was going to be accepted by the Government or not—as if it were the only scheme that the Government would consider. It was obviously a case for examination by experts and by a committee. The Government were putting themselves in a position in which, before they had made up their minds as to whether the position were sound or not, they would have to occupy it and not be able to go back upon it. They had a right to press upon the Government one of two courses; either to take into consideration at once the principle of this scheme and declare that it was the only one which they could present to Parliament, or—and this was the alternative he suggested—they should allow the public enquiry to take place in this country, which was almost foreshadowed by the Leader of the House on August 6, and make it possible for such an authority as a Select Committee of both Houses to consider and report upon the scheme. This was an attempt to adapt Western methods, where they were inapplicable, to Eastern sentiments and habits. In order to promote national spirit they were acquiescing in the restarting of abuses which they had spent a century and a half to stamp out. He regarded that as an impossible proposition for this Parliament to undertake. He was anxious that the Government should consider whether there were not some means of achieving the result devised without the same sacrifices. It was desirable to consider whether, in the case of an Empire like India, they should not keep the central power unimpaired in the hands of the British majority, and draw a distinction between the central power and the provincial assembly. He did not take a gloomy view of the future, although he recognised that this attempt to hand over certain subjects entirely seemed to him to be fraught with the greatest danger. If they went so far as granting the franchise, then they must educate those who were going to use it. There was an enormous scope for development of sanitation, and India must deal with this question as well as that of education. He suggested that the Committee should consider whether some of the steps it was proposed to take might not prove to be reactionary. Let them also consider whether there were not other means by which they could associate Indians with their institutions. He begged the Government to consider whether this was the moment for pluming themselves on replacing institutions which had worked well, merely because they could be called bureaucratic by other institutions. After the War there would be great development in this country, and he hoped there would be great developments in India also. It would be tragic if we won the

War in the West and yet be witted with having failed to give freedom in the East. In order to give that freedom they must proceed with caution, and therefore he invited the Government to reconsider the situation by allowing the report on Indian Constitutional Reform to be examined by a Joint Committee of both Houses.

**The Marquis of Lansdowne** said the argument for further consideration appeared to be irresistible. The proposals spelt, in fact, revolution in Indian Government. What the House was asked to agree to was no mere development of a system already in existence, no mere natural progress along the path of reform, but an abrupt transition from the old to the new. And the proposals were made at a very critical time in the History of India, when the margin of safety in the country was none too wide and they were presented while they were still in ignorance on many important points. He complimented the authors of the report on the manner in which they had handled their work, for he had never read a more interesting document or one compiled with greater skill or which contained more interesting suggestions. One of the most attractive characteristics of it was the absolute frankness and sincerity with which many passages admitted the difficulties which lay in the way. But how far were the Government committed to the scheme ?

He associated himself with the sentiment in the report that Indians should be more closely associated with the Government and with the development of Self-Governing institutions. But his doubts began with the third limb of the policy of 1917. They found at the end of the announcement this intimation that the goal at which we should aim was the earliest realisation of full representative government. That was an intimation which SEEMED TO HIM TO BE FULL OF DANGER. India was to have full representative government which would entitle her eventually to be on an equal footing with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth, and machinery was to be set up by which the whole system was to be examined and overhauled after an interval of time, in order that it might be tested by the democratic standard and tuned up to a democratic feeling. That seemed to him to amount to an invitation to place ourselves at the top of an inclined plane with the full knowledge that at the bottom of it we should find unmitigated democracy. He viewed with the utmost apprehension the idea that we should accept a proposition of that kind. He profoundly distrusted the idea of imposing Western democratic institutions on motley congéries of peoples who had very little in common except that they were Eastern and not Western peoples.

They were, to use a phrase which was not his own, Asiatics apart, dominated by Asiatic ideas. Towards the end of the report there was a very attractive picture of a great British Empire in which eventually India was to find her place alongside the Self-governing British Dominions.

Self-governing Dominions were British to the back bone and would remain British; India was Eastern to the back bone and would remain Eastern. She would remain a country to be judged by Eastern standards and compared with other Eastern countries, and she would remain unmoved, except on the surface, by Western democratic ideas. Caste was one of the greatest difficulties which Indian reformers had to encounter, and he found nothing in the Report taking that into account. Could they imagine the Self-governing institutions prevailing in Canada or Australia working as smoothly as they did if they had anything like the caste system of India? Another weak point in the scheme seemed to be the manner in which the Native States were dealt with. They were told that this great boon was to be given to India as a reward for practical co-operation in the war. He yielded to no one in his admiration for the manner in which India had played her part in the great struggle. But he was not quite convinced that the way to reward those who had been fighting so gallantly for us was to reward them with democratic institutions.

In the pursuit of this great democratic goal—they ran the risk of losing sight of a very different goal—the goal for which great Indian administrators of the past had always striven. He meant the goal at which they found peace and prosperity, contentment, freedom from risk of invasion, freedom from pestilence, and protection against the tyranny of the usurer. That was the goal of the old Indian administrators, and that was the goal which to his mind mattered most. He did not believe that they would get any nearer to that goal by attaching great patches of European veneer to an Oriental system. There were one or two danger points in the proposals. The outstanding danger point seemed to be that the whole object of the reform was to convert these legislative councils, armed as they were now with the powers of discussion and criticism, into Parliaments on the European model. He placed no great confidence on the safeguards which had been provided. Such a plan always meant the same thing, giving something with one hand and trying to take back a great deal with the other. If they succeeded in taking a great deal back, they created indignation. If they did not get it back

their safeguards were not worth the paper they were written upon. He could not conceive an arrangement more likely to lead to the general embarrassment of all concerned—the Viceroy, local Ministers, and the Legislative Council itself—than that outlined in the report.

He was much afraid that the adoption of the proposals would be the destruction of the Indian Civil Service as they had known it in the past. Than that Service the Empire had no more splendid asset; there was no Service of which the record had been more distinguished. It was quite clear, indeed, that the authors themselves knew in their hearts that there was no room in the scheme for the Indian Civil Service that they had known in past years. He thought it was likely to be done to death politically. Hitherto the strength of the Service had lain in the fact that its authority was unchallenged. The district officer depended on the support of the Government, and he got that support as long as he did his duty. Would he be equally sure of the support when his Departmental chief might be an Indian, and when the greater part of his colleagues were Indians? He could conceive no greater misfortune to India than that in that country British rule should no longer be interpreted by British agents.

Lord Sydenham said he could not help feeling that the time chosen for the announcement of the new policy was peculiarly inopportune. A very dangerous Revolutionary movement with German support was in full operation, and a serious organised rising had been discovered and frustrated just in time. It would not have been difficult to say that until the War ended, a great radical change in the Government of India could not be considered. Instead of that, every Indian malcontent was given to understand that great concessions were in near prospect. The Report had raised the most extravagant hopes among the agitators and created widespread alarm among the people who furnished most of the revenue of India, and who were beginning to be afraid that we were about to abandon them. A startling feature of the Report was the absolutely frank admission by the authors of the most striking facts and the ignoring of those facts when they came to substantive proposals. One result of the narrow basis of representation was that no less than 48 per cent of the seats of the Legislative Councils of India were held by lawyers. That was a misfortune in any country but was really a disaster in India, where the interest of the legal profession and the agricultural masses were always in violent conflict. Under the system of representation non-Brahmin Hindus had no chances



whatever of taking any part in the affairs of their country. Was it to be wondered at that the non-Brahmins population were beginning to be most seriously alarmed? It was a little difficult to take some parts of the Report seriously. The prestige and power of the district officers, who had often been made the targets of unjust criticism, must be maintained.

#### The Government reply.

**Lord Islington**, Under Secretary for India, said he did not propose to follow in any detail the discussion, which had ranged over a wide field. The Report which was the subject of analysis and discussion was quite incomplete at present. As he understood it, the main charge in regard to procedure was that the appointment of the two Committees about to arrive in India and their enquiry in India ought not to have taken place until His Majesty's Government had considered and approved of the Report. His answer was that these Committees had been instructed to go to India in order to report on subjects which were really an integral part of the scheme. The Government required the whole scheme to be submitted to them before they gave their considered opinion upon it. He repudiated the suggestion that by the procedure which had been adopted the Government and Parliament, and possibly the country, might be committed to a particular line of policy from which it would be difficult to withdraw. The elaboration of a particular scheme in detail did not necessarily commit the Government, nor the country to it if hereafter it was found, on close and further investigation, that an alternative scheme was preferable and Parliament was satisfied that that was so. Apart from that, he submitted that it would be quite unreasonable to ask the Government to devote their time to these questions, when every one throughout the country and the Alliance was demanding of them undivided attention to the War. There was another vital aspect of the scheme which had not been very closely alluded to, and that was in regard to the future organization of the India Office, and the relation it should bear to the Central and Provincial Governments of India, and the extent to which, and the method by which, it should bear relation to the Imperial Parliament. Those questions would require the most careful investigation, enquiry, and deliberation. An outside Committee had now been appointed to deal with this matter and report. This Committee would at an early date commence its work, and the Government would be able to report the result of its labours at a time which would coincide with the Report of the other Committees.

Those reports would constitute a comprehensive scheme, and then it would be possible for Parliament and the country to form a really considered opinion on the proposed reforms. For those and other reasons he strongly urged that the right moment to set up a Parliamentary Committee was after, and not before, the Bill was introduced. The Viceroy had been compelled to refuse passports to Indians who wished to put before Parliament and the public their views on Indian reform. It would be highly inconvenient if a Select Committee were to be sitting in this country in the next few months while that restriction would remain in force. Only the other day the Viceroy promised that as soon as circumstances permitted every facility would be given to enable deputations and representatives of different classes of opinion in India to visit this country and lay their view before representatives here. He thought therefore, it would cause a great deal of misunderstanding if a committee were appointed now to take evidence and Indian deputations, owing to the emergencies of the War, were unable to come over and take a share in the proceedings.

When the Government had introduced the Bill and it had been read a second time *it should be Referred to a Select Committee* consisting of representatives of both Houses specially appointed to take evidence. Evidence could then be taken from Indian deputations and from all groups of people who desired to advance their views. At this juncture he did not intend to attempt anything in the nature of a detailed analysis of the points raised in the course of the debate. He hoped that his action in that respect would not be misunderstood in India, and that it would not be thought that because he did not enter in detail into any attempted defence of the Viceroy's Report, he in any way accepted the criticisms that had been made on many of the proposals in that Report during the debate. He ventured to point out that it was incumbent upon the Government and upon this country faithfully and with sincerity to interpret the announcement of August 20 last. He believed that the more exhaustive the enquiry made by their lordships the more it would be found in the end that, with all its imperfections and shortcomings, the scheme embodied in the Report would probably present less objections than any other scheme that was put forward. Indians who had resided in British India had become accustomed to certain standards and customs associated with our rule, the continuance of which would not be guaranteed if such a drastic change were made as indicated in the only counterproposal he had the opportunity of discovering—that with which Lord Syden-

ham was closely associated. That scheme seemed to him to be a very inadequate interpretation of the announcement of August 20. He suggested that when the two committees had reported, the Cabinet had thoroughly considered their reports, and the Bill had been matured, there would be ample time and opportunity for their Lordships' House and the country to give full consideration to the scheme in its entirety. If that view was acceptable to their Lordships the motion might be amended in order to provide for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider a Bill, rather than a Select Committee of both Houses to criticise a Report of officials which had not at present been approved by the Government.

**Viscount Bryce** admitted that this was, as the Reports stated, an extraordinary experiment—an experiment which entrusted many millions of people with functions and duties which had taken the process of centuries to enable the peoples of Europe to discharge... viz., those of finance and administration. The Report recognised briefly but in an appreciative sense the value of Self-governing institutions, but he was disappointed to find that it contained very few proposals as to how Self-government was to be applied. He submitted to the Government that when they came to work out the scheme they should try to see if more could be done to create smaller local Self-governing areas. It was desirable not to be too bold in making experiments. With smaller areas they had a better chance of getting elections to make well and to observe due vigilance in observing the conduct of the members of the governing body. With regard to the motion he deprecated the adoption of any dilatory course which would be sure to be misrepresented in India. It must be recognised that when they got to a certain point they must go forward. When hopes were excited they could not lag behind in giving effect to them. They all knew that progress must be made in the direction of more Self-government, and it was better to go on always making some advance. They had talked a great deal of what would be done after the War. They had acknowledged the spirit in which India had come forward, and it would be most unfortunate if the feeling we spread abroad that we were failing to live up to the promises which had been held out, disappointment would cause discontent, and discontent spread disaffection.

The debate was then adjourned.

The House met again for this discussion on 24th October, 1918 when Lord Crewe opposed the motion and said the war cabinet had

not yet given any decision on the Report. Lord Shelborne supported Lord Middleton's motion.

**Lord Donoughmore** strongly urged the Indian leaders to make it perfectly clear that they were not connected with the Extremists who were so rightly condemned in the Rowlatt Report, otherwise the British public might be timid in conferring new powers on Indians.

**Lord Curzon** replying to the debate pointed out that the decision of the Joint Committee now would not be likely to carry confidence, as they would be unable to consult Indian opinion upon the proposals. Enumerating the objections to the course Lord Middleton suggested, Lord Curzon said that the Government would not be in a position to express a final judgment on the scheme of Indian Reforms, until the two special Committees which had been appointed had reported. He suggested that the Secretary of State for India should place his scheme in a draft bill before the Parliament at an early date thus giving the members an opportunity of expressing their views on the various principles of the scheme.

#### **Motion Rejected.**

Lord Middleton's motion was rejected by 25 votes to 21

*House of Lords, Nov. 15—1918.*

#### **Unrest in India.**

**Lord Sydenham** asked question regarding the riots in Madras and Calcutta of September last, and about the Chandravarkar-Beachcroft Internment report, and whether Government did not think necessary a further retention of the War legislations in India, especially in view of the disturbed state of that country.

**Lord Islington**, Under-Secretary of State, replied that the disturbances in Madras were purely due to economic causes; that Lord Ronaldshay and his colleagues in Calcutta had handled in an admirable manner the riots in Calcutta which otherwise might have been a very serious incident. The acknowledgments made of the conduct of the General Commanding in Calcutta, his staff, and the Commissioner of Police were well deserved.

As regards the Bengal internments, the report of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. Beachcroft would be published immediately. The report stated that in 800 out of 808 cases the reasons for the action taken was sufficient. In view of the tortuous webs of intrigue

that had to be unravelled and the nature of the evidence to be obtained when dealing with a widespread conspiracy in war time, the report remarkably vindicated the Bengal Government and the Special Branch of the Police which dealt with the matter and succeeded beyond all expectations, and a tribute was due to the loyalty and devotion of the subordinates of the Crown who carried out a difficult and dangerous task.

Lord Islington emphasised firstly that in Bengal there was undoubtedly an undercurrent of lawlessness and hostility which unless carefully watched and checked in every way possible, was liable to break out and involve all classes of population in bloodshed. Secondly, that the Government of Bengal, faced with a difficult and critical position, had shown and were showing promptness and decision, while paying scrupulous attention to the feelings of the various sections of the community. Thirdly, it was abundantly clear that the Government of India could not be deprived of the special powers needed to deal effectively with violence and disaffection. He did not say it would be necessary to maintain entirely the war legislation but it was imperative that the authorities should retain adequate means of coping with an extraordinarily difficult situation, which ordinary laws were not framed to meet, and of securing reasonable security to the peoples entrusted to their charge.

#### *House of Commons—Nov. 20—'18.*

##### **India's War contribution.**

Sir J. D. Rees asked: When will Parliament be asked to assent to the proposal that India shall defray a large share of the cost of the military forces raised in India?

Mr. Montagu replied: I am afraid that action must be postponed until the new Parliament meets.

##### **India's Industrial Development.**

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Montagu stated that he had received only a summary of the report of the Indian Industrial Commission. He proposed to arrange for the publication of the Report when he received the copies for which he had asked. When dealing with the Report he would consider the proposals in Sir Charles Bedford's memorandum of August to establish a representative London Advisory Council in connection with the measures relating to the Indian industrial development to co-operate with

similarly constituted Provincial Councils in India. He proposed to take action with regard to the industrial development policy, apart from the general measures relating to the Indian Constitutional Reforms.

#### **Monazite Deposits.**

Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Montagu stated that the Monazite supplies of India were now in British hands. The Government was fully alive to the necessity of preventing the Monazite deposits from falling under foreign control.

#### **House of Lords, Nov. 21—'18.**

#### **Sir Reginald Craddock's Dissent on Reforms.**

**Lord Sydenham** asked, whether the dissent of Sir Reginald Craddock to the proposals of Government of India in 1916 and any minutes of the Councils of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and the opinions of the heads of Provinces and their Councils would be available to Parliament before their report was complete.

**Lord Islington** replying emphasised that these documents, especially Sir Reginald Craddock's minute, were confidential in public interest. While he could not promise the complete publication of the Reports of Local Governments all materials useful in the discussion would be published. The object of real interest on which all criticism would be focussed was the Bill which would be formulated in due course, considered, and finally accepted by the Cabinet and presented to Parliament. The Bill when it was before the public would supersede the Report and all correspondence. The House should await the Bill, when there would be opportunities of subjecting it to the fullest criticism inside and outside the Parliament.

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## THE ELECTION AND INDIA.

On Dec. 28, 1918 the votes cast at the General Election were counted. The result proved an overwhelming majority for Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition. The Coalition total amounts to 484, a clear majority of 262, in a House (Commons) of 707 members.

The Asquith section of the Liberal party has been practically wiped out of existence; Mr. Asquith himself has been soundly defeated and with him have gone many of his staunch lieutenants, including that constant friend of India, Mr. Charles Roberts.

A very large proportion of well known friends of India are no longer in the House. Mr. H. E. Cotton's all too brief membership is now at an end; Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Sir Edward Parrot, Mr. J. M. Robertson, and Professor Lees-Smith failed to secure re-election. Amongst others who failed are Col. Hugh Meyler, Mr. G. Lansbury, Mr. Sidney Webb, Capt. Sidney Ransom, Maj. Graham pole, Mr. John Scurr, and Dr. G. B. Clerk—all well known in India for the interest they have always taken on Indian matters. Sir Herbert Roberts did not stand. Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks, the champion and spokesman of the Indo-British association, was unfortunately for India re-elected; and so too that ardent supporter of the Montford Reforms, Sir J. D. Rees. Com. Wedgwood and Col. Yate were returned unopposed. Mr. Mc-Cullum Scott, whose speech in the House last session on the German menace to India attracted much attention, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, and Sir Donald Maclean also secured re-election. Amongst the new members is Mr. T. P. Bennett of the *Times of India*, Bombay, whose career would undoubtedly be watched with interest in India.

Mr. Montagu was returned by a majority of nearly 6,000 votes over his labour opponent for Cambridgeshire. He must, to a very great extent, depend upon the benevolent influence of Mr. Austen Chamberlain who is to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fortunately Mr. Chamberlain has committed himself very strongly in favour of the Reforms. But the Prime Minister is surrounded and supported by a very vast mass of vested interest, and Capitalists who have great vested interests in India. This makes the outlook rather gloomy for India.

**House of Commons—Feb. 17—19, '19.****The Reforms.**

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that the reports of the Provincial Governments on the reform scheme, views of the Government of India thereon and reports of Southborough Committees would be presented to Parliament.

Replying to questions by Sir J. Rees, Mr. Montagu gave assurance that the Government of India would consider the claims of European subordinate police officers who joined the Indian army reserve of officers to preferential treatment in respect of enlistment in Indian Police.

Regarding the Bombay strike, Mr. Montagu said he was sure the House would sympathise with Sir G. Lloyd at being confronted with such a difficult situation immediately on assuming office and that the House would congratulate him on the result of his action.

Mr. Montagu stated that the recent information from Moscow indicates that H. S. Suhrawardy who was studying Russian in Moscow on the outbreak of war was still living there.

Replying to Mr. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India contemplated the transfer from India of all enemy subjects, interned or uninterned subjects to exceptions for cogent reasons. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the Government of India already possessed statutory powers to exclude or expel aliens.

Mr. Yate draw the attention of the House to the very grave hardships of officers coming home on leave from India owing to high steamer fares. Mr. Montagu replied that the Government of India and he himself had been anxiously considering the matter. He was now consulting the Ministry of Shipping by which fares were fixed as to whether a reduction was at present possible.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wolmer Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was considering the extension to Indian army officers of bonus and increases of pay granted to British army officers for the period during which armies of occupations were necessary. Regarding the cancelling of exchange compensation allowance to officers of Indian army, Mr. Montagu referred to his previous reply on this subject and said he was of opinion that the feeling of Indian army officers in this connection was due to lack of appreciation of facts.



### The Reforms.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Montagu stated that Lajpat rai would not be permitted to come to England from America at present, but Mr. Montagu would gladly reconsider the matter when peace was signed. Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was about to issue a new Arms Regulation based on the recommendations of the Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council, abolishing all racial distinctions, and enabling all persons of recognised status and character to obtain licences. Mr. Montagu hoped that the Report of the Southborough Committee would be issued shortly. He hoped to introduce the Indian Reforms Bills during the present session. Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Bridgeman said :—The President of the Board of Trade would gladly cooperate with the Government of India in any practical measure to secure adequate supplies of India's Monazite sand deposits.

Replying to Col. Yate Mr. Montagu stated that he had up to present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments regarding the reform proposals but he expected shortly to receive them officially from the Government of India along with the Government of India's considered views on the whole subject. They would, of course, be presented to Parliament but he was unable to specify the date. In replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that he approved of the Government of India for increasing the scale of pay for the Imperial Police Service based on the recommendations of local Governments. He hoped to announce it shortly when one or two points of detail had been cleared up. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the general scales of pay of the lower ranks of the Police had been considerably improved in nearly all Provinces during recent years.

Replying to Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Amery said :—The Governor was giving attention to the question of the constitution of Ceylon and would submit his recommendations to the Secretary of State in due course.

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that in view of dearness of food in India, he had urged the Shipping Controller substantially to reduce freights on tice from Burma to India. He had heard that rates had been reduced by an average of 43 per cent. compared with November and December. The rate from Rangoon to Bombay was now fixed at thirty rupees per ton subject to a rebate of ten per cent.

*Captain Foxcroft* :—“Will Territorials who went to India in 1914 many of whom have been in bad stations and away from England ever since although not in an actual theatre of war, receive any special recognition for oversea service.”

*Mr. Guest* replied :—“A comprehensive statement of the conditions of award of all medals for services in the present war will shortly be published and services of Territorials in India will not be overlooked”.

*Sir M. Dokerel* affirmed that Mrs. Besant was about to lecture in Ireland and asked in view of her dangerous activities in India whether she would be prohibited.

*Mr. Samuel* replied that he was not aware of the matter.

### **House of Commons—Feb. 24, '19.**

#### **The Rowlatt Bills.**

Replying to Colonel Yate, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the Government of India had decided to increase the pay of Indian Army Officers by extending to them the bonus and increases of pay recently granted to British Army Officers for the period during which the armies of occupation were maintained. In view of this concession, the Government of India was not prepared to revise the permanent rates of pay.

*Colonel Yate* asked an assurance that the Government of India in meeting amendment in the Select Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Bills giving effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee would accept nothing in any way tending to weaken the measures considered necessary by the Rowlatt Committee.

*Mr. Montagu* replied that beyond the proposal to limit the the Emergency Powers Bill to three years he was aware of no change in the views of the Government of India with regard to this legislation. The Government of India, however, had announced in the Legislative Council that they would endeavour to meet in the Select Committee any reasonable amendments that did not destroy the effectiveness of the measure. *Mr. Montagu* said he considered that the Government of India in this regard had exercised a wise discretion.

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# House of Lords—Feb. 26, 1919.

## LORD SINHA TAKES SEAT.

Lord Sinha took his seat in the House of Lords with traditional ceremony. He was sponsored by Lords Islington and Carmichael. Instead of taking the Oath he only affirmed. Members of Indian staff officers watched the ceremony from the Gallery of the House.

## *House of Lords—March 4, '19.*

In the House of Lords Lord Sinha made his maiden speech in answer to questions by Lord Sydenham.

### Lord Sydenham.

Lord Sydenham had the following Questions on the Paper—  
To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India—

1. If he can say when the opinions of the Provincial Governments in India on the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State will be made available for the information of Parliament and the public.
2. If he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

The noble Lord said: My Lords, among the most important proposals in the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India were those which contemplated the establishment in all the Provincial Governments of a diarchical system. That system is quite unknown to past history and government, and I confess I regard it myself as impracticable and fantastic. It has now been carefully considered by the responsible Governments who would have to carry it out, and I feel sure your Lordships will agree with me that their opinions should be made known as soon as possible to Parliament and to the public. These opinions, I believe, have now been at the India Office for several weeks, and what I urge is that they should be given to us as soon as possible. There is another set of Papers which are not mentioned in my Question but on which I gave private notice to the noble Lord. I hope he will undertake to make public

the evidence given before Lord Southborough's Committees which I believe have now finished their work. If this is not done I assure the noble Lord that there will be the greatest dissatisfaction among the non-Brahmin communities in India, which, as your Lordships well know, compose the vast majority of the Indian people.

#### Lord Islington

Congratulated Lord Sinha on his high office. He had been associated with Lord Sinha in Public work in India and in England for thirty years, and he could easily understand how Lord Sinha had come to occupy very distinguished and responsible posts in connection with India and the Empire for the last ten years. His present post would doubtless present many serious difficulties. Those who knew India would realise that, and none would realise it better than Lord Sinha who had shown characteristic public spirit in accepting the post.

The Question asked by Lord Sydenham is an important one. He asks that the Reports of the Local Governments on the Secretary of State and Viceroy's Report should be published at as early a date as possible, and that full time should be given to Parliament and the public to study and consider that Report. Later on undoubtedly the report of Lord Southborough's Committees will be available for Parliament and the public, but these Local Government Reports stand rather apart from those because they have been considered and drafted by Local Governments mainly in the light of the proposals embodied in the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and as such must constitute an important part of the groundwork of any scheme which may be ultimately adopted in connection with constitutional reform. In particular, the views of Local Governments will be of the greatest possible importance on extremely urgent questions.

I am confident that a very liberal and definite policy is necessary in this connection. Discontent which undoubtedly has been rife in many parts of India during recent years is, I believe, to be attributable in no small measure to the fact that the Provincial Governments have been unduly checked and controlled by the distant Central Government. I feel that whatever shape constitutional reform may take as the result of discussion in Parliament, if it is to be effected it must be coupled with provincial decentralisation, and that should be on a thorough and comprehensive scale. That is a question which will require very careful study both as regards the opinions and experience of the Central Government and also, equally, as regards the opinions and experience of Local Governments.

There is one other Report which was not alluded to by Lord Sydenham, and on which I should be grateful if the noble Lord could give us some information. It is the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. This again is a question of absolutely first class importance to India, not excepting even constitutional reform, because the future prosperity of India must in a large measure depend on the extent to which her vast native resources can be manufactured and dealt with by her own people effectively and profitably.

#### Lord Sinha.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (Lord Sinha) : My Lords it is with considerable diffidence that I rise this evening to address your Lordships, and I hope I may be not altogether out of order if I begin by thanking my noble friend Lord Islington, from whom I have in the past had a great deal of courtesy and consideration, for the more than generous terms with which he has been pleased to refer to me, and I thank your Lordships also for the very kind reception you gave to the remarks.

With regard to the Question on the Paper by the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham, my task is comparatively easy, because I have only to draw your Lordships' attention to what has been already promised as early as November last by Lord Islington himself and also last month—on February 17 and 19—by the Secretary of State for India in another place. The first set of Papers which Lord Sydenham asked should be published refers to the opinions by the Local Governments on the great scheme known at the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for constitutional reforms in India. Replying in the House of Commons to a Question put on February 17 and 19 respectively the Secretary of State said :—

“I have at present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments as to the proposals for constitutional reforms, but I expect before long to receive them officially from the Government of India, together with that Government's considered views on the whole subject, and of course they will be presented to Parliament, though I cannot at present specify a date.”

Then, as early as November last, Lord Islington speaking in your Lordships' House, said this—

“The reports from the Local Governments on the Reforms Report and all the material which will be of use in the discussion of this matter, in so far of course as they do not contain confidential

matter, will in due course and without unnecessary delay, be published."

I repeat that assurance, but I cannot add anything further to it. The Government of India's Despatch giving their views on the opinions of the Local Governments has not yet been received, though it is expected that it will not be very long in arriving, probably not later than the end of this month. The Report of the Government of India should then be in the hands of the Secretary of State. As soon as it is received and has been considered by the Secretary of State, it will be placed before parliament.

There is another set of Papers for which the noble Lord asked—the Reports of the two Committees over which Lord Southborough presided in India, and also the evidence which may have been recorded by those Committees. As regards the Reports themselves the Secretary of State has definitely pledged himself to place them before Parliament. The Reports, so far as we know, have not yet been signed—at least our information is that it is only one Report of the Committee, that to determine the electorates, that has been signed. We have no information regarding the others. Lord Southborough and the members of his Committees are, I believe, already on their way back from India, and the Reports will be in the hands of the Secretary of State, I hope before the end of the present month. As soon as they are received they will be placed before your Lordships' House. As to the evidence, all that I am in a position to tell your Lordships at present is that the procedure to regulate proceedings of these Committees was left entirely to the discretion of Lord Southborough and the members of the Committee. It is not known whether they have recorded evidence with a view to publication, and in any case until the return of Lord Southborough and receipt of the Committee's reports it is not possible to give any information on the subject or to publish any evidence that may have been given.

May I take this opportunity of expressing my entire concurrence with what fell from the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham. I also consider that absolute frankness is essential in the consideration of these most important matters ; and so far as the Secretary of State is concerned, and so far as I myself am concerned, I hope that there will be no occasion on the part of your Lordships to complain in that respect. With regard to the documents to which my noble friend Lord Islington referred—namely, the Report of the Indian Industrial Com-

mission—may I remind Your Lordships that it was formally laid before Your Lordships House on February 19 last, and on inquiry of the printers it has been ascertained that copies will be available for circulation on Thursday next by noon. Therefore copies will be available both to Your Lordships' House and to the public on Thursday next. I entirely agree, if I may say so, with Lord Islington as to the importance of this report, and also with regard to the complaint which he has made—though perhaps it is not for me to urge it now—that the Government of India, before this Commission was appointed, could hardly be accused of having been too progressive in industrial matters. It is the earnest hope of all who are concerned in the Government of India, as well as of the Indian people themselves, that effect may be given to the recommendations of this Commission as soon as they have been considered by the Government of India in the first place, and then by the Secretary of State and by Parliament. I can assure my noble friend that, so far as any action on this Report is concerned, the Secretary of State has already intimated to the Viceroy that no action should be taken until the opinion of the Government of India had been received by him, and there will be ample opportunity given to the members of Your Lordships' House to study and consider this Report, and, if need be, to raise any discussion upon it before any action is taken in regard to it. That is, I think, all that I need say at this stage with regard to the first Question on the Paper.

#### Lord Crewe.

My Lords, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding one word to the very full tribute to the services in the past of my noble friend who has just sat down, and the high hopes we all entertain of the work which he is going to do here in the future. I also have had the pleasure of being associated with my noble friend in the past, and I know very well what the value of his services is; and I think that Your Lordships here, from observing the easy mastery with which he replied to the Question of the noble Lord on the cross-benches and the manner in which he developed the various points which arose out of that Question, will agree that we can look forward with the utmost confidence to the conduct of the very important measures of which he will no doubt have charge in the future in Your Lordships' House.

[Noble Lords: Hear, hear.]

I have practically nothing to add, except to express my great satisfaction at the phrase which fell from the noble Lord op-

posite regarding the necessity of complete frankness and openness in displaying all the facts which may come from India to this country; and I feel certain, therefore, that he and the Secretary of State will put the closest possible construction on the word "confidential" when he stated that it would be only confidential matter which would be excluded from publication in regard to these Provincial Reports, I can quite believe that those Provincial Reports, or some of them, contain things which, from the mere point of view of the promotion of a particular policy the India Office would just as soon should not be placed on the Table of the two Houses for discussion, possibly with the result of supplying argument to those who may oppose the policy of His Majesty's Governments. But I am quite certain that the India Office will not in any way succumb to a temptation to set aside, or not to reveal, any such statements that may come; and as a matter of fact, knowing what the general line of the policy of His Majesty's Government is. I think, we may confidently assume that a great deal of approbation in this matter of devolution, of which Lord Islington spoke, is certain to come from all the different Provincial Governments. We can look forward with great interest to the appearance of these Reports, and I sincerely hope that their advent will not be much longer delayed.

#### Lord Sydenham.

I beg to thank the noble Lord for the answer he has given me, and especially for his promise—which I know he will carry out—that there shall be greater frankness on the part of the India Office in future. I have now to ask the Under-Secretary of State the second Question standing in my name—whether he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

There is a very great difficulty at the present moment in watching events in India. I do not know whether the Censor is still at work, but I see in private letters allusions to happenings which never appear in our public Press, and it does not seem to me as if we were not quite sufficiently informed as to what is going on in India. Since it was known that the Secretary of State would make large concessions to Home Rulers there have been certain distinctly unpleasant symptoms in India. There were riots in the three great Presidency towns, and in all cases there was some evidence of political inspiration. As to Bengal, the Government of Bengal itself has said so in its resolution as regards the very serious disturbances in Calcutta. As



regards the strikes in Bombay it has been denied, but in a private letter from an Indian who was behind the scenes and who also did his utmost to preserve tranquillity, these words occur—

“Home Rulers were abroad in the mill centres, instigating and assisting the strikers, and asking them to hold on.”

In Rangoon troubles were planned, but were apparently frustrated by the action of Government. Other disturbances have taken the form of organised attack by Hindus upon Muhammadans. To the worst case of that kind the House has already had its attention drawn. That was in Bihar when an area of 1,000 square miles was held up by the rioters for several days. Something of the same kind appears to have occurred at Katarpur on the occasion of the last Bakr-Id ceremonies. From the little I have heard of that case it does seem as if effective steps were not taken in sufficient time, but that impression may be wrong, and if so, doubtless the noble Lord will correct me.

In other cases disturbances which might have been serious have been averted by the prompt action of British Officers. There is some significance to be attached to these happenings, and that significance must not be ignored. The number of Indians who really understand what Home Rule means is, in proportion to the population of India, very small, as the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State admitted. But there is not a bazaar in all India where stories that Government is weakening or that Government is afraid would not be understood and would not be believed. That, I am afraid, is what is going on, and in a telegram from Delhi which *The Times* published yesterday there are these words.

“The Extremists appear to be animated by blind hatred of the Civil Service, which constantly finds expression on the platform and in the press. The existence of this rancorous sentiment accentuates the difficulties of the political situation.”

I really fear that the gross calumnies against the Government of India and against everything British which are rife at the present time are becoming a source of growing danger to the peace of India.

#### Lord Sinha.

My Lords, with regard to the second Question on the Paper, in so far as information has been asked for by my noble friend, I shall proceed to give that information at once. As regards comments, with your Lordships' leave, I will reserve them until I have given the narrative of facts. This Question relates to riots which undoubtedly took place in a village called Katarpur in September

last. The information which has hitherto been received by the India Office from the Government of India has been by cable, and is therefore necessarily meagre. I would have contented myself with giving your Lordships the bare facts as received by us by cable from the Government of India, but I thought it would give satisfaction and to the members of your Lordships' House if I were able to give a fuller account from any other source that was available, and I have accordingly compiled one from a newspaper account of the opening speech of counsel in the prosecution which has arisen out of this case in order that your Lordships may have fuller information as regards the facts.

A serious riot took place in the village of Katarpur, in the sub-division of Roorkee in the district of Saharanpore, on September 18 last, and it is alleged that in the riot at least thirty Muhammadans were killed, sixteen injured, and a large part of the village burnt down. The circumstances which led up to the riot extended over a series of some days. The village is one in which, according to the latest census Report, there were 538 Hindus and 238 Muhammadans, and there is a mosque, or idgah as it is called, in the village. The surrounding villages were in the main what might be called Hindu villages, and the town of Kankhal (also chiefly Hindu in population) as well as the great place of pilgrimage, Hardwar, is also within a few miles of the village of Katarpur.

On September 11, the Bakr-Id festival of the Muhammadans being close at hand, the police moved the sub-divisional magistrate to bind over the leading Muhammadan and Hindu villagers to keep the peace during the Bakr-Id festival, which extends from September 17 to 19 inclusive. They did so, inasmuch as there seemed to be a controversy—which is the usual controversy in these cases—as to whether Katarpur was a village in which cow sacrifice at Bakr-Id was customary or not, and it therefore seemed necessary that precautions should be taken. On September 13, owing to the intercession of local officers, the parties appear to have come to an arrangement by which it was agreed that sacrifices should be quietly performed in the houses of two of the Muhammadans of the village. Later on, however, this agreement is alleged to have been repudiated by the neighbouring Hindus, with the results that on September 17, the first day of the Bakr-Id, a crowd numbering thousands arrived at this village armed with big sticks. The local officers tried to get the people to come to some settlement but, failing to do so, wired to the sub-divisional magistrate at Roorkee to come to

the place and he arrived there on September 11, accompanied by a number of police constables. He found an excited crowd moving about in groups. It was when the local magistrate was present in the village that suddenly some cry was raised which seemed to be the signal for a general attack by the Hindu on the Muhammadans, who were fewer in number, and the huts in the Muhammadan quarter were set on fire by groups of Hindu rioters. The fire stopped in the afternoon, and in the meantime an armed guard had been wired for from Roorkee. This guard arrived, and no further rioting took place. It is said that seventeen corpses were found by the sub-divisional officer, either burnt or partially burnt, and some more corpses were found later inside Muhammadan houses. A number of arrests were made later, and about 100 persons are now on their trial. At the proposals of the Local Government, a Special Tribunal constituted under the Defence of India Act, 1915, presided over by Mr. Justice Tudbull of the Allahabad High Court, was set up for the purpose. The Government of India has promised to telegraph the result of the proceedings as soon as they are finished. Those are the facts with regard to the rioting.

I do not for a moment seek to minimise the significance of these riots; but your Lordships will have noticed that this particular riot in any case had nothing whatsoever of a political character about it. Unfortunately it is correct to say that these outbursts of religious fanaticism are still common in India, and on the occasion of these festivals, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, you find rioting taking place between the two factions of those communities. It is confined to the lower and poorer classes and, after all, the real remedy for this state of things is the progressive enlightenment and education of those classes, and the closer co-operation of the educated and wealthier classes in both communities for the purpose of getting rid of or preventing these disturbances. This riot had no political significance whatever, as I have already said, and I confess that I am surprised that the noble Lord took this as an occasion to point a moral with regard to the grant of Home Rule, which no one has yet suggested so far as I know, or anything in connection with that. Nor, if I may say so with regard to the three other riots mentioned—in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Rangoon—is there any reason to suppose they had anything to do with the proposals for constitutional reform, or any reason of a political nature of that kind.

Your Lordships are aware that during the course of the war there has been considerable excitement amongst the Muhammadan

population of India, an excitement which has in some cases and in some Provinces been shared by the Hindus. But to say that any of these riots can be justly ascribed either to the proposals for constitutional reform or to the supposed weakening of the Government, is, I submit, saying something which is not borne out by the facts. So far from the Report, of which so much has been said by the noble Lord, ignoring occurrences of this kind, as I read it—and as I believe most of Your Lordships will have read it—the Report lays special stress on the fact that these religious dissensions still exist, that these religious riots still occur; and it is for that reason principally that they refuse to allow any controll to the Legislative Councils over the departments of government which are concerned with the administration of justice and the preservation of law and order. Therefore it seems to me at any rate, and I submit it with confidence to your Lordships, that to connect these riots—which have existed I am sorry to say for many years; long before any constitutional reforms were thought of—with the Report, or with the supposed concessions which are alleged to be going to be made, is somewhat far-fetched and unfair, if I may say so, with great respect to the noble Lord.

After all, human nature being what it is, outbursts of this kind, however much we may deplore them, will occur from time to time. In countries blessed with one of the noblest religions, one of the most civilising and humanising religions known to the world, we find people fighting with each other, and we find them doing so not for any supposed spiritual benefit but for mere material benefits; and, after all, when these Hindus and Muhammadans fight on the occasions of these religious festivals, they are fighting, not for material benefits, but for what they believe to be the interests of their eternal souls. The only remedy is a closer co-operation of the official with the more educated people for the purpose of spreading enlightenment and education amongst those poorer classes, and the more the people of the country co-operate with the Government and with the official of the Government the greater will be the checks and safeguards for the prevention of these deplorable occurrences.

### *House of Commons—Mar. 10, '19.*

#### **Lajpat Rai.**

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian patriot, Lajpat Rai, may yet be permitted to return from America to this country.

*Mr. G. Terrel.*—Before the Right Hon. gentleman answers, may I ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is quite in order to describe a person of doubtful character as an Indian patriot in a question ?

Sir H. Craik—And may I ask, Sir, whether it is not the case that the person whose name is in the question was deported for seditious and treacherous conduct in India ?—Colonel Wedgwood.—He was not deported.

*The Speaker.*—I don't know anything of this. Everybody calls himself a patriot in these days. (Laughter). Mr. G. Terrell asked whether Regulation 58 in Manual of Procedure did not provide that a question may not contain any argument, inference, imputation, epithet or ironical expression and whether the expression in the question did not offend the rule in every way ?—

*Commander Bellairs* (Maidstone, C. U.)—And may I ask, on a further point of order whether the hon. member is entitled to have ten starred questions on the paper (cheers), and may I point out that he has already asked four supplementary questions ? (Laughter). *The Speaker.*—The remedy is not to call the last two questions on the paper. (Laughter.)

*Mr. Fisher*—President of the Board of Education who said he had been asked to answer the question on the paper, replied—The answer is in the negative. If my hon. and gallant friend will repeat his question on the signature of peace, Secretary of State will be glad to consider the matter further. (Cries of "Why?")

*Colonel Wedgewood*—May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he would take advantage of the opportunity to contradict the allegation (cries of "Order") that this patriot was deported ? (Renewed cries of "Order.")

No answer was returned.

### Famine Conditions in India.

*Mr. Bennett* asked the Secretary of State for India if he had any information as to the extent and intensity of famine conditions now prevailing in India ; how far the winter rains had fallen short of the average ; how many persons had availed themselves of the relief works opened by the State ; how far the present prices of staple food grains were in excess of the normal ; and whether such prices show any tendency to decline.

*Mr. Fisher* : "Famine", in the technical sense that relief works have been opened, had been declared in one district in Bombay and in parts of two other districts in the same Province. There is dis-

trass of a less severe character in several other districts in Bombay and the Central Provinces, in two districts in the United Provinces. In November and December there was in India, as a whole, a serious deficiency in the rainfall, resulting in failure of the autumn crops over wide areas and restricted sowings of winter crops. The latter have benefited considerably by fairly general rain. There are about 43,000 persons on relief works. The number is kept down by the good demand for labour on private account. The increase in the price of food grains has varied in different parts of India. As far as can be judged from the figures that have been received, the average increase over normal prices would appear to be about 50 per cent. Prices have not as yet shown a tendency to decline.

*Sir J. D. Rees* asked the Secretary of State for India whether recent seasons in India had been bad, and, if so, how many in succession; whether the fact was that, owing to the Government system of famine relief, the population in India were saved from suffering and death resulting from successive bad seasons; and whether it was desirable that the use of the word "famine" should be abandoned, such famines as existed being of money and not of food, which, either by purchase or by gratuitous Government distribution, was always available.

*Mr. Fisher*: The Secretary of State does not think it is the case that recent seasons in India as a whole, have been bad. During the War, until the failure of the monsoon rains of 1918, the harvests have been generally good. The relief systems established in India is intended to, and does in fact, alleviate privation and its effect on the death rate. "Famine" in the Indian relief codes is now a technical word, denoting that the point has been reached at which the full machinery of relief is started. The term is well understood, and the Indian Government prefer to retain it.

*Sir J. D. Rees*: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that though the technical signification of the word "famine" is well understood in India it is totally misunderstood in England and is it not perhaps desirable that its use should be discontinued?

*An Hon. Member*: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what is the annual income of the ryots of India, who form the main bulk of the population?

*Mr. Fisher*: I must ask for notice of that.

#### **Limitation of Rowlatt Bill.**

Repling to Mr Wedgwood in the Commons Mr Fisher stated

that Mr Montagu has requested the Govt. of India to supply as soon as possible a return of the number of persons interned and imprisoned without a trial in India during the war and the number released since the armistice.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Fisher stated that Mr Montagu was unable to add anything to the Viceroy's reply to Goaliar's address in the Dehli Conference. Mr. Yate affirmed that the Govt. of India in proposing to limit the Rowlatt legislation to three years would throw an unfair burden on their successors owing to violent agitation that certainly would arise against the renewal of legislation at the end of 3 years. Mr. Yate suggested that Mr Montagu should suggest to the Govt. of India the advisability of reconsidering the proposal. Mr Fisher replied that Mr Montagu did not propose to adopt the suggestion.

#### **Rowlatt Bill.**

In the House of Commons replying to Mr. Swan, Mr. Fisher stated that the Secretary of State regretted that the existence of the anarchical revolutionary movement in India necessitated the passing of a new Crimes Act. He emphasised that this action had been taken after careful consideration on the avowed advice of an influential representative commission; and the Government of India was satisfied that it was essential to peace and security that Government should be armed with these exceptional powers to be applied only in areas where anarchical and revolutionary crime was proved to exist. The Secretary of State was not prepared to disregard the finding of this Commission and the views of the Government of India by advising His Majesty to disallow the act. Mr. Fisher emphasised that this legislation did not reflect on, and its necessity was not affected by, the splendid loyalty of Indians generally and it would affect only a small portion of the population to which it applied.

#### **Demobilisation of Indian Army.**

In the House of Common replying to Mr. Ramsden Mr. Fisher stated that the Indian Army was demobilising as rapidly as circumstances permitted. About a quarter of a million combatants had already been discharged. It was proposed to retain with colours in India a force sufficient to provide for normal requirements of India and to keep up the strength of Indian troops employed in the occupied territories and Colonial stations. Demobilisation within practicable limits was favoured by the Govt. of India and public opinion in India.

Replying to Mr. Yate Mr. Fisher stated that any gratuity granted to British and Indian army officers at the termination of war would be payable to the estates of deceased officers.

**PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN MATTERS.**

On April 1, 1919 a meeting was held of Members of Parliament interested in Indian Affairs. It was decided to form a strong Parliamentary Committee (non-official) to assist in the passage of the Bill for Indian Constitutional Reforms, and to afford full facilities to delegations from India to state their views in public and in proper quarters. The committee appointed consist of Sir J. D. Rees (Chairman), Mr. Bennet (Secretary), Mr. A. M. O'Grady, Sir G. Collins, Sir S. Hoare, and Mr. O. Gore.

**House of Commons—Interpellations—April, 1919.****Indian Army—April 3.**

*Mr. Mallatieu* urged the claims to demobilisation of men belonging to the Mesopotamian force who were detailed to Poona early in November to assist in clearing up field accounts of troops.

*Mr. Fisher* replied that prompt settlement of the accounts of a large number of officers and men on demobilisation depended on trained personnel. The Military Accounts Department was being kept up to full strength. The Secretary of State could not press the Government of India to a course that would destroy the efficiency of the Department, but he would bring the case to the Government of India's notice.

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, *Mr. Fisher* stated that the question of the postwar strength and composition of the army in India was under consideration.

*Sir J. Rees* enquired about the strength of the army after demobilisation in the East.

*Mr. Churchill*: Indian troops in the Middle East, Egypt and Palestine and in Mesopotamia were being reduced to 206,500, 42,750 and 63,000 respectively. These figures were the establishment of Indian troopers which were being maintained in armies of occupation.

*Colonel Yate* suggested that in view of the large number of British troops in these theatres who ought to get relief, demobilisation of Indians who had more recently enlisted ought to be less rapid.

*Mr. Churchill* replied that the composition of all our forces depended on a certain proportion being maintained of British and Indian troops, and this must be done irrespective of the relative claims of British and Indian troops to demobilisation.



**Kut Officers—April 5.**

*Lord Wolmer* asked what provision had been made for Kut officers taken prisoner who had incurred large expenses from private means in order to keep themselves alive.

*Mr. Froster* referred to the arrangements for issues from British relief fund by the Dutch Minister in order to cover extra expense. Where officers could show that the necessary expense exceeded the amounts of such grants besides advances by the Turkish Government, any claim which might be submitted showing extra expense would be favourably considered.

**Railway administration—April 2.**

*Mr. Fisher* in reply to a question by Sir J. D. Rees stated that Mr. Montagu had proposed that as soon as convenient after the war there would be an enquiry in India regarding the desirability of otherwise on administrative and financial grounds of modifying the present management of Railways in India which were owned by the State, but worked by Companies domiciled in England, by incorporating the lines in existing State-worked systems, or converting them into separate State-worked lines or handing them over to Companies domiciled in India.

April 9

To a question by Mr. Bellairs *Mr. Fisher* in reply stated that the Secretary of State was not aware that the standard of efficiency in Indian Railway Administration was relatively low or that famine relief measures were impeded by the inability of Railways to carry supplies but with a view to ascertaining what improvements were possible he had already arranged with the Government of India for a comprehensive inquiry by the Committee into the whole question of management. The Committee would doubtless take into account any legislation dealing with transportation that Parliament might enact and would consider whether similar arrangements were applicable to India. The Secretary of State entirely agreed with the questioner regarding the necessity for avoiding Departmental competition.

Replying to Mr. Bennett, *Mr. Montagu* pointed out that the original scheme for the Indian Railway Board had been modified in the light of experience. It had been found desirable to introduce a non-railway element in view of the administration and financial problems with which it had to deal, and the Presidentship was open equally to Railway and non-Railway members, but he thought that the composition of the Board would necessarily be reviewed in the forthcoming enquiry into the management of Indian Railways.

**Southborough Report—April 2**

*Mr. Fisher*, replying to Sir J. D. Rees, stated that the Report of the Southborough Committees had not yet been received from the India Government. Mr. Montagu hoped to receive them in the course of the current month and would present them to Parliament without delay.

**Delhi Riots—April 8**

*Mr. Fisher*, in reply to Sir J. D. Rees about the Delhi Riots, read a telegram from the Viceroy, dated 31st March, detailing the Riots at Delhi on March 30 last. He added that the Viceroy reported a few days after that there had been no trouble elsewhere up to that date.

**Protests against Rowlatt Act—April 10**

*Mr. Fisher*, in reply to a question by Mr. Spoor, stated that Mr. Montagu had received numerous telegrams from individuals and associations praying that the Crown would disallow the Anarchical Crimes Bill, but no telegram purporting to be from the Moderate party as such had been received.

**House of Commons—Interpellations—May, 1919.****Indians in Fizi—May 1**

*Mr. Montagu* in reply to Mr. Bennett stated that he was communicating with the Colonial Office regarding the urgent need for ameliorating the surroundings of indentured Indians in Fizi. He had also communicated to the Colonial office the resolution of the Indian Legislative Council of 11th September, but the cancellation of indentures was not in itself a remedy for the evils complained of. The dearth of shipping would at present prevent the return of released immigrants to India.

**Silver Crisis in India.**

*Mr. Gwynne* drew attention to Sir J. Meston's account of the silver crisis in India last year, and what steps Mr. Montagu was taking to avoid such a contingency this year.

*Mr. Montagu* replied that he had been consulting the Government of India and he proposed to appoint a strong committee to consider and advise him on the difficult currency and exchange problems which were the legacy of the war.

**Indian Police**

*Colonel Yate* asked :—As the safety and welfare of Indians largely depend on a loyal and contented Police, will Mr. Montagu suggest to the Government of India the advisability of immediately considering increase of pay to the lower ranks of the provincial Police.

*Mr. Montagu* :—The question is one for local Governments.

**Indian Deputation—May 5**

*Colonel Yate* drew attention to complaints in India regarding the grant of priority certificates to members of Indian deputations proceeding to England in connection with the Reform scheme.

*Mr. Montagu* replied that the Government of India, in giving facilities to the representatives of different political parties in India to visit England in connection with the Reform Scheme, were discharging a definite obligation which they undertook for good reasons last year when the war was still in progress. The number of Members in each delegation was being kept within very close limits. He felt sure that the Government of India in making good their promise did not neglect the claims of other classes of the community. As demobilisation was temporarily suspended in India some additional shipping accommodation for civilians would probably be available.

**Leprosy in India—May 7**

*Mr. Montagu* replying to Sir John Rees stated that he was advised that medical opinion was divided with regard to whether leprosy was contagious in all its stages. So far as he was aware no amendment to the Indian Leper Act was contemplated. *Mr. Montagu* also stated that he had not yet received the report of the Indian Cotton Committee, but advance copies were en route.

**Public Service Commission.**

Replying to *Colonel Yate* with regard to the proposals of the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the proposals to increase the pay of the police and the medical service had been carried out and proposals for the reorganisation of the Forest Service and the Financial Department and interim proposals with regard to certain officers in the Educational Services were under consideration. The Government of India's other proposals had not yet been received.

**Change in Reforms Policy—May 12**

*Sir J. D. Rees* asked :—Since the Armistice, has there been any change in the policy or attitude of the Government with regard to constitutional reform in India or any other important matter arising from or connected with the pronouncement of August 20th, 1917 :—

*Mr. Montagu* replied : none whatever.

**Passage to Indian Deputation.**

*Mr. Montagu* in replying to a question by *Mr. Yate* about priority certificates granted to Indian Political Delegates in preference to Englishmen and Women, stated that the 347 first class passengers

on the Ormond included only six Indians. There were 607 second class and third class passengers, and no Indians. He was informed that third class accommodation was exceptionally good. The Company had made especial efforts to secure comfort for the third class passengers and undertook that they would have the same mess and use the same deck as second class passengers. Their cabins were fitted with electric fans. He regretted that two children had died on the voyage from pneumonia. He emphasised that every effort was being made to provide sufficient accommodation for passengers from India. He understood that the Government of India was satisfied with the amount of accommodation, and there was nothing wrong in granting passage to the Indian Delegates.

*Mr. Yate* pointed out that priority certificates were given to Indians while there were women and children in the third class (cheers).

*Mr. Montagu* replied.—*Mr. Yate* does not regard the passage of Indian Reforms through the Commons as urgent. I do.

#### **The Indian Budget—May 15**

*Mr. Bonar Law* stated that the Indian Budget would be taken on May 22nd.

In the Lords, replying to Lord Sydenham, Lord Peel stated that a despatch from the Viceroy containing opinions of Provincial Governments on the Montagu-Chelmsford report would be formally presented within a week and copies would be ready soon afterwards.

#### **India's War Expenditure—May 19**

*Mr. Fisher* stated in reply to *Mr. Griffiths* that including the hundred million war contribution the war expenditure of the Government of India up to 31st March was about £127,800,000 sterling. A further contribution was proposed by the Government of India and was at present under consideration. Indian princes and others had contributed £2,100,000 sterling in cash, besides placing at the disposal of the Government of India considerable further sums for the purchase of horses, motors, comforts for troops, etc.

*Col Yate* suggested that in view of its good work in war time the Central Publicity Board should be continued.

*Mr. Fisher* replied that the Board was formed to give the people of India correct information in regard to the war, and now that peace was in sight, its functions were ended.

#### **Indian Educational Service.**

*Mr. Fisher* replying to *Mr. Rawlinson* stated that no definite promise regarding revision of pay and terms of the service of the

Indian Educational Service had been made though the need for improvement was recognised. An inquiry in this connection had just been completed and the Government of India was still considering the results. Meanwhile the Government of India proposed certain provisional relief measures which had been sanctioned and which would shortly be announced in India.

*Mr. Fisher*, replying to *Mr. Wedgwood*, stated that *Mr. Montagu* had already taken steps to ensure that the Indian Army would be represented as adequately as possible in the Peace celebrations. The Indian troops in France were insufficient to enable a procession to be formed in London similar to the Dominion processions.

#### Allowance to I. C. S.—May 21

*Sir J. D. Rees* asked. Is it necessary for the Government of India to retain the maximum of a thousand sterling a year furlough allowance for Civil servants ?

*Mr. Fisher* replied that the Government of India had made no proposal in this matter, but he would have an opportunity of considering it when he dealt with the leave recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

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# The Indian Budget Debate.

Mr. MONTAGU'S SPEECH.

*House of Commons—May 22, 1919.*

The Secretary of State for India (Cambridge CL.) moved that the Speaker do leave the Chair in order that the House might go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts. He said: This is the sixth time it has fallen to my lot to initiate the discussion on the Indian Budget, and I devoutly hope it may be the last. This is the first time in the history of Indian affairs in my memory that the House of Commons has agreed to the discussion of the Indian Budget so early as before the end of May, and I take that as a happy prelude to the day when we shall have substituted for this meaningless process of Budget debate a more proper procedure of debate on the India Office Estimates. As regards the financial situation in India, I will merely say that the currency position was a source of great anxiety to the Government throughout the War, and is now causing us renewed anxiety owing to the increase in the price of silver, which has necessitated a rupee of 1s. 8d. It is a difficult matter to decide how long we shall go on purchasing silver in a rising market, and I have decided to appoint a new Currency Commission to investigate the situation caused by the rise in the price of silver and the limited world supply. I propose to publish the names of that Commission in due course; they will be representative of British and Indian Commerce, and they will be presided over by Sir Henry Babington Smith, who has kindly consented to offer his unequalled knowledge to this very responsible body.

## The Position in India.

I will try to sketch the position in India to-day. If we were considering only the position of India *vis a vis* the great nations of the world, the situation is a bright one. After having taken up the challenge which Germany and her Allies presented to the civilised world, after having devoted her invaluable troops and her resources to the Allied cause, India has won for herself a place in international discussion equal to that of the British Dominions and greater than the position occupied by any Power in the world, except,

of course, those who are colloquially known as the "Big Five." Not only has she separate access to the Peace Conference, not only have her representatives received from the King power to sign on his behalf peace with His Majesty's enemies, but as members of the British Empire Delegation they share in the task of concerting the policy of the British Empire. I can only say on behalf of my colleagues His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha, and of myself that we have devoted ourselves in Paris with all the more concentration to the interests of the Indian Empire because we realise we are the representatives of a people not yet, unfortunately, self-governing.

It must have been a satisfaction to the House of Commons to learn that India was to be an original member of the League of Nations, and that Indian representatives are to sit in the far-reaching and important Indian National Labour Organisation which is to result from the Peace Treaty. These things, together with the place occupied by my friend and colleague, Lord Sinha, in the House of Lords, commit Parliament to the view that this position is only justified if you can raise India to the position of a sister Nation in the British Empire, and is wholly inconsistent with a position of subordination. I must go one step farther. I would say, our Colleagues who have sat with us round the Conference table representing the great Dominions of the Empire; that the position of equality which they have given to the representatives of India is wholly inconsistent, in my humble opinion, with the treatment of the citizens of India in British Dominions—

(*Colonel Wedgwood* :—South Africa.) In South Africa or anywhere else—in a position which puts them lower than the citizens of any other part of the British Empire.

### **The war with Afghanistan.**

Now I turn to India herself. There the position is not so satisfactory. Having come through the War with a record which will compare well with the record of any other country in the world, we find now a country in mourning. Rebellion and revolution have appeared internally. War has broken out afresh on her frontiers. I would invite the attention of the House to an analysis of the causes, to a description of the state of affairs, and to a suggestion as to the remedies. I am not going to say very much about Afghanistan. It is now quite clear that the new Ameer, having achieved the Throne, has in a moment of almost suicidal folly authorised an unprovoked attack upon the territories for which we are responsible. His motives are doubtful. They must be partly attributed to the unrest which exists throughout the Muhammadan world, partly to a pathetic

effort by the worst possible means to consolidate his position on a shaky Throne, partly to the emissaries of that dark and murderous doctrine which battens upon unrest, feeds on discontent, spreads disorder wherever it shows its head—Bolshevism and the Bolshevik emissaries of Russia. (An Hon. Member—"And Germany, too") All these have played their part, and the result was inevitable. I shall publish daily as I receive them reports on the military situation. It is not necessary for me to say that we desire nothing in Afghanistan but the friendly relations with a neighbouring country which we had when Afghanistan was ruled by that wise statesman Habibulla, who was so recently and treacherously done to death. We desire peace and no interference, but we do intend to exact stern and just punishment for the raids and invasions perpetrated by unscrupulous forces on the peoples under our protection, and explanations and withdrawals of the strange messages we have received from the present Ameer.

#### **The Internal Situation.**

Now, as to the internal situation in India I propose to deal frankly with the trouble, but I do so with this word of preface—the danger is not past, it exists; it is not something that is finished; it threatens. I shall charge myself with the task of saying nothing that will fan the flames or increase the grievous responsibility of those whose first duty it is to restore order. Those who govern India, those who wish her well, those who desire for her peace and progress, speak at a critical time in her history. I feel sure I can appeal to all those hon. members who will take a part in this debate to recognise, as I think the whole of India has recognised, that the first duty of the Government to-day is to restore order. It is not necessary to exaggerate the situation. Let us look first at the reasons we have for rejoicing. Riots involving the destruction of life and of property have occurred in certain parts of the Presidency of Bombay, in the province of the Punjab (extending over one-tenth of the area, and involving one third of the population), on one occasion in the city of Delhi and to a minor extent in the streets of Calcutta. There has been no trouble in Madras, in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces, nor in Bihar, Orissa or Burma. In Calcutta the Bengali had little or no share in the trouble at all. Throughout India, generally speaking, the country districts remained quiet, and the trouble was confined to the towns.

I would ask this House to join with me in an expression of sincere sympathy to all those who have suffered in these disturbances. There has been the loss of much property and of many



innocent lives. There have been, as doubtless will be revealed when the whole story is told, many stirring deeds of heroism. These events have shown the unshakeable, undismayed, loyalty of India as a whole, and there have been striking incidents of the co-operation of the Indians in localising the trouble, and in using efforts to restore order. This does not detract from the fact that Englishmen in no way connected with the Government and in no way responsible for the deeds—misdeeds or good deeds—of the Government, have lost their lives and have been foully murdered. Official Indians and non-official Indians have been done to death. Even many of the rioters deserve our sympathy, for when these things occur the man who loses his life as a result of a soldier's bullet is as much the victim of those who promoted the riots as those who are killed by the rioters themselves.

#### Indian Army Organization Inquiry

In these circumstances the Indian Army to a man and the Indian police, despite attempts to promote insubordination and indiscipline, remain without a single stain upon their reputation or a single unpleasant incident. (Hear, hear.) This is a tribute to the men who have won renown on all the fields of War, who played so conspicuous, indeed the main and predominant part in the defeat of one of our enemies, Turkey, but it is also a tribute to the officer of the Indian Army who has shown his great capacity for leadership. I see opposite me my hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Yate), whom I think, I can describe as the member for the Indian Army, who has done so much, both publicly and privately, to remove the troubles and to champion the cause of the officers of the Indian Army. May I digress for a moment to say to him, with special reference to the amendment he has upon the paper, that both the Government of India and the India Office are of opinion, that now that the War is over there must be an inquiry by the best military organisations that we can obtain, to improve the organisation of the Indian Army with a view to removing grievances as to promotion and opportunity, and with a view to modernising, bearing in mind the experiences of the War, its organisation. The Government of India are devoting their attention to an investigation of the grievances as to pay, pensions, and leave, upon which I hope to give further information to the House. (Hear, hear.)

(Colonel Yate,—Thank you.)

I turn now to the British Army. When the trouble occurred the elements of the British Army remaining in India, having done duty there throughout the war, some of them faced with another

hot season in India, going back in the expectancy of early demobilisation, agreed to stay to help in the restoration of order. I do not think there will be any doubt about the welcome which the British troops will receive at home wherever they have been doing duty through the War, but for these men, in these circumstances, I would ask that those who have a welcome to offer, or an opportunity to afford special treatment and special consideration, will avail themselves of that opportunity when these men come home last of all. (Hear, hear.)

### The Causes of Unrest

What were the causes of these troubles which have resulted, so far as I can make out, in the loss of nine European and something like 400 Indian lives? I am not going to deal with the obvious, with the reaction from the strain of the War, or with the general unrest which is current throughout the world, but I want to deal with the direct causes, economic and political. The economic causes are very considerable. India has suffered this year, for the first time, I am glad to say, for some years past, from a failure of the rains. There has been in consequence great diminution in food supplies and prices have risen to a very great extent indeed. People have gone short of food despite the strenuous efforts made by the Government to ensure better distribution and to make available grain from Australia. Further than that, two other things have accentuated the distresses. Recruitment for the Army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe many a family was left without its breadwinner and consequently the area under cultivation has been diminished. Lastly, there was that scourge of Influenza, which removed many of the most vigorous people in the prime of life, because this disease seems to have attacked by preference people of the bread-winning age. Between five and six million people died of Influenza in India last winter. Between 50 per cent and 80 per cent—on an average two-thirds—of the total population suffered from Influenza during the visitation of this plague, with its consequent removal from industry or from agriculture, which is more important, and the enfeebling after-results. These, I think, are the main economic causes.

Now I will turn to the political causes. I put first among the political causes the perturbation and perplexity caused to the Muhammadan world by the discussions arising out of the defeat of Turkey. This subject was discussed in the House last week *a propos* of Egypt. Very much the same circumstances exist in India,

where Indian soldiers, including among them their best Muhammedan soldiers, claim that they have had a predominant part in the defeat of Turkey in full confidence that the War was a war of liberation and equality of treatment, of National settlement and of Self-Determination, and when they read rumours and acts, which led to a fear that our Musalman enemy will be partitioned up to satisfy conflicting claims, when they read that this part is to be allotted to this European nation and that to another—mere rumours, but alarming rumours—when they read that, as a signal of victory, there are those who advocate the reconsecration of an important Muhammadan mosque, is it to be wondered at that there are signs of unrest among the Muhammadan people of the world? (Cheers.)

### **The Rowlatt Act.**

I now come to two other political causes—causes more indirect because they only affect the politically minded part of the population, but causes which must be reckoned with. One is a fear, based upon the ceaseless activities of the Indo-British Association, that the Reforms promised on August 20, 1917, will not be carried out in an acceptable form. There is an association formed with the most laudable motives, which has carried on a ceaseless campaign against those reforms ever since the announcement was made. It has slandered and libelled whole sections of the Indian population. It has very often hardly paid to the facts the respect to which facts are entitled, and it has provoked the suspicion that the British Parliament intends to go back upon that pronouncement, or at least not to carry it out in an adequate way. Lastly, there is the Rowlatt Act, which has caused widespread—I would almost say universal—opposition throughout India—Let the House make no mistake. The Rowlatt Act was throughout India a very unpopular Act. I have read from end to end all the debates which took place upon the Rowlatt Act, and I am not here to apologise for it. I am still convinced that in the circumstances, as passed, as it is now on the Statute Book, as it has been left to its operation, the Rowlatt Act was necessary, ought to have been passed, and could not have been avoided.

Evidence accumulates every day that there is in India a small body of men who are the enemies of Government; men whom any Government, bureaucratic or democratic, alien or indigenous, if it is worthy the name of Government, must deal with. I cannot do better, in describing this body of men, than quote the words of a very great and distinguished Indian, Mr. Gandhi. There is

no man who offers such perplexity to Government as Mr. Gandhi, a man of the highest motives and of the finest character, a man who his worst enemy, if he has any enemies, would agree is of the most disinterested ambitions that it is possible to conceive, a man who has deserved well of his country by the services he has rendered, both in India and outside it, and yet a man whom his friends—and I would count myself as one of them—would wish would exercise his great powers with a greater sense of responsibility, and would realise in time that there are forces beyond his control and outside his influence who use the opportunities afforded by his name and reputation. My hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Wedgwood) will realise that Mr. Gandhi is not the only man who, despite the most laudable motives, sometimes shows a lack of political wisdom.

*Colonel Wedgwood.*—I should be quite content if I had Mr. Gandhi's virtues and powers.

*Mr. Montagu.*—Mr. Gandhi has himself said about these things—he was deploring as, of course, he would do, the acts of violence which have occurred—that “He realised that there were clever men behind it all and some organisation beyond his ken.” That is the real revolutionary, the man who lurks in dark corners, whom nothing can locate or convert, who is subject to the influences of organisation ramifying throughout the world with its secret emissaries and influences, men who are a danger to any country, and against whom the Government of India are determined to do unceasing battle until they have been extirpated. (Cheers) The Defence of India Act has helped us to do much with regard to these men. No one in this House will accuse Lord Carmichael of being a stern, unbending bureaucrat. These are his words :—“The Defence of India Act is what has helped us I am only saying what I believe to be absolutely true when I say that the Defence of India Act has helped to defend the young educated men of Bengal as nothing else has defended them, not their own fathers, not their teachers, for they were ignorant, nor their associates, nor they themselves, for they were blind to the danger.” Under the Defence of India Act a certain number of these people have been dealt with. The greater number of the persons were mainly required to live in their own homes and not to move without permission. The Act is comparable to our own Defence of the Realm Act and was passed for the duration of the war only. Under it 1,600 people have been dealt with of whom nearly two thirds have subsequently been released, leaving at present 464 subject to restraint. All the cases have been investigated by a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Mr. Justice Beechcroft and Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, and in all the

cases which they have investigated they have found the Government was justified in the action they took except in six cases.

### **Problem of the Government.**

The problem before the Government of India was this. Were we when peace was restored, to rely on the ordinary law as it existed before the Defence of India Act was passed, or was it necessary to take any new steps? We did not decide that by correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, but we appointed a Committee of Inquiry into the facts. It was presided over by an English Judge Mr. Justice Rowlatt, whom I asked to go out there. His associates were two Indian Judges, one an Indian and one an Englishman, an Indian Civil Servant, and an Indian lawyer in a large way of practice. They presented, after full investigation, a unanimous report, and the facts which they brought to light have never been challenged. (Cheers) It is their recommendation which has been carried out in the Rowlatt Act. Does the House mean to suggest to me that, confronted with this evil, having considered the situation arising out of the end of the Defence of India Act, having appointed a Committee for this purpose thus constituted, having got from it a unanimous report of this authority, that we were to say we would disregard their advice and do nothing? It has been objected that this Commission was entirely legal, that they were all lawyers, and that a different result might have been obtained if some other element had been upon the tribunal. Our anxiety was to try to rely entirely upon legal processes rather than upon executive action. What better tribunal can you have to advocate the sweet advantages of the law than lawyers? The fact added, to my mind, to the importance of their findings.

### **The Purpose of the Act.**

Let me shortly describe the Act which is based upon their recommendation. First of all it is not in force anywhere. Does the House realise that? It will never be in force unless the circumstances which justify it occur, and then it would be unflinchingly used. It is divided into four parts, and the application of each part depends upon declaration of the Government of India that in different degrees anarchical or revolutionary crime exists.

Sir D. Maclean—Do I understand that the India Defence of the Realm Act is considered to be sufficient to cover the Indian difficulties until the War ends, and then that the Rowlatt Act or acts would, if necessary, being on the Statute Book, be put into operation?

Mr. Montagu :—That is absolutely correct. It was stated several

times in the debate by members of the Government of India, that they had no intention of using the Rowlatt Act until the end of the War. Under the first part of the Bill, when the results of anarchical or revolutionary movement are comparatively mild, nothing is suggested but the speeding up of the ordinary legal processes. Under the other two parts of the Act, where anarchical or revolutionary movements are giving cause for grave anxiety or are prevailing to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, then the local government may deprive a man of his liberty not as punishment but as a preventive, and intern him for a prolonged period. But in that case the local government first of all has to submit the case to a judicial officer to advise them upon it. It is not until they have received his report that they take action, and within a month of having taken action, they must submit the whole case to what is called an investigating authority, consisting of three individuals, of whom one shall be anonymous, to go into the whole case afresh and see that the Act has not been misapplied. That is, roughly speaking, the machinery.

Colonel Wedgwood :—These people to whom appeals are made have to decide the question not on the grounds of justice or injustice, but on the grounds of expediency, I presume; on the ground of whether the authority who ordered the man's internment believes that he was a danger to the State without any specific crime being alleged against him. It is a question of expediency, I understand, and not justice that has to be decided by the Appeal Court.

Mr. Montagu :—No, they have full authority to go into the whole matter. They would be able to advise the Government whether it is right and proper that this man should continue to be interned.

An Hon. Member :—Is it correct that in that case he is deprived of any legal assistance?

Mr. Montagu :—Yes, sir; under Part I of the Act he has legal assistance, but under Parts II and III there is no legal assistance. This is not a law court but a committee of inquiry. It is more like a schoolmaster investigating trouble in a school, a committee of a club using its friendly services for the purposes of inquiry, somebody to explore all matters, somebody to see that injustice is not done, somebody to be sure that all the facts are investigated.

The first objection to the Act is that we have in existence far more drastic powers than we take under the Act now and therefore what was the necessity for it? That is so. Martial law, the power of ordinance, the Defence of India Act, Regulation 3 of the Act of 1918—all these are infinitely more drastic, infinitely more sum-

mary, and out of the mouths of our own critics I claim that we have made no new outrage upon the liberty of the subject in India. We have merely perfected and improved the long-established method of dealing with these abuses, something which gives some guarantees to the individual that the powers will not be misapplied.

Next it was said in the debates, "Why do you come here for legislation? Why do you not proceed by ordinance? Why do you not enact by a decree of your Government?" Is it seriously to be argued that, instead of proceeding by full discussion in legislative council, without an opportunity of discussion or amendment you should enunciate an ordinance? I do not think that can seriously be argued by anybody with a sense of civic responsibility. I presume that what is meant is that there is no difference between legislation by ordinance and this legislation, which was passed by an official majority in the teeth of non-official opposition. I claim that the Bill was vastly improved by the discussion which took place in the Legislative Council, and I should like to pay a tribute to my hon. friend Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, for the courtesy and parliamentary ability which he displayed in the uncongenial task of passing this legislation. The two most important alterations that were made were that the Bill was limited to three years, and that the name we altered to make it quite clear that it was only to be used for anarchical and the revolutionary movement. The Government of India have been criticised ever in this House for consenting to make the Bill temporary. Why did they make any concessions in the Bill? Is discussion not to be of any use? Are there not occasions, even in this House, where a private member is right and where the Government is wise enough to see it?

### **Not a Permanent Measure**

This Bill was never intended by the Government of India to be a permanent measure. It was introduced in a permanent form, but I hope everybody will look forward to its being unnecessary and to its eventual repeal. The Legislative Council were right in saying that this sort of legislation can only be justified by the existing circumstances of the case, and no Government is entitled to put a statute of this kind as a permanent measure upon the Statute Book. If you can justify previous action by what has occurred subsequently, there are dangers that justify this emergent and exceptional power at the period of the close of the War, with all the difficulties of peace, and when Bolshevism, even though its attractions are waning, is still a force to be reckoned with.

I appreciate to the full one of the arguments which was used in the debate on this matter. It is objected by the non-official member : "Though you seek this instrument for dealing with anarchical and revolutionary crime, you will use it for all sorts of others. You will use it to stifle legitimate political discussion. You will misuse it." I profoundly sympathise with that, although I do not believe that there is any foundation whatever for this attitude. Drastic powers of this kind, safeguarded though they are in the hands of the Government, may make, if they are misused, administration, for it is not Government, too easy for the moment.

The Government of India again and again made all the pledges possible to eradicate this evil. I will repeat them. This Act will not be used except to cope with anarchical and revolutionary movement. There is no danger whatever of its being used for any other purpose, and if you think it is being used at any moment or at any time you will always have, I hope, the reformed Local Government and the large Legislative Assembly and the Select Committee of this House to safeguard the liberties or rather—because there I do not think there is any danger—to convince Indian public opinion that the powers we have taken have not been misused. Then comes the next objection : "Try the man openly in a Court of Law, and if he is guilty of these crimes produce him in the Law Court, let him stand his trial openly with lawyers to defend him, and then sentence him to the punishment he deserves." Is there any man in this House who does not sympathise with that plea in theory? Does not everybody hope, the Government of India as much as anybody, if not more, that the time will come to India when you can contemplate recourse to Judicial and not Executive remedies for dealing with evils which are in this country dealt with by Judicial Courts. The separation of Judicial and Executive functions in India has long been a much advocated and canvassed question. I do look for the day when we shall have a complete separation of Legal and Executive functions. I do hope the day will come when we can substitute for executive action the ordinary remedies of the law. But does anybody think that that day has come now any more than the achievement of Self-Government itself? What is the position at this moment? You cannot get witnesses. You cannot get a fair trial in cases of this kind in a court of Law. These revolutionary conspirators have proved over and over again their ability to intimidate those who give evidence against them, and those who have served the Government in exposing these conspiracies have been murdered, shot, have lost their lives for their action to such an extent that the only possible way of dealing with these cases, provided you once accept the



responsibility of Government and of the protection of life and property, is by eradicating these anarchical movements by private investigation.

### **The Beachcroft Report.**

I would like to quote on this subject the report of Mr. Justice Beachcroft and his colleague. They say that the records before them proved conclusively that the revolutionary organisations were secret conspiracies which had spread to different parts of the provinces, had entered homes, schools, and had reduced the secrecy of operations almost to scientific methods. The conspirators had pledged their members to the closest secrecy of operations, had pledged their members to the closest secrecy under pain of instant death by murder in the event of disclosure. That was one of their methods, and every attempt to deal with the situation before the Defence of India Act was brought into force for the fair trial of persons accused of revolutionary crimes had been rendered practically impossible by the murder of witnesses, approvers, police officers, and law-abiding citizens suspected of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime. A situation of terrorism had been created. The current of truth and justice was disturbed so as to prevent a fair, open and impartial trial in an ordinary Criminal Court, with the result that approvers and witnesses would not come forward to give evidence openly lest they should be assassinated.

It is impossible to resort to open trial. I cannot agree that it is not the duty of the Government to use every method to cope with this danger. We intend to maintain order in India and to safeguard it because we believe that is the only atmosphere in which nationality can grow uninterruptedly, surely, and swiftly. I quote the opinion of one who cannot be described as a thick-and-thin supporter of the Government in India and all that is done by it—Mrs. Besant. She has stated in public that the Rowlatt Act as amended contains nothing that a good citizen should resist. But this Act need never be used if there is no occasion to use it.

### **Alternative Policies.—The Remedies**

I have described the causes which have led to the existing conditions, and I come now to what I venture to suggest are the remedies. There seem to me to be two alternative policies. The first is to do nothing, to ride the storm, to stifle political aspiration by the Rowlatt Act and comparable legislation, and to prevent those who would stir up strong political ambitions from speaking in India or in

England, to give the advocates of reform no opportunities for laying their case before the Government at Home, to keep leaders from the platform, to govern by emergency legislation through the police. That is what I believe is called in clubs a firm and strong Government. Sir, we are not dealing with a cattleyard. (Hear, hear.) We are dealing with men and thinking men and business men, who desire opportunities for developing their aspirations. That policy is the sort of policy which is described in some eloquent words by the man under whose leadership I entered the field of Indian politics. Morley said this:—"Shortcomings of Government lead to outbreaks. Outbreaks have to be put down, Reformers have to bear the blame and reforms are stopped. Reaction triumphs and mischief goes on as before, only worse." That is not the policy of His Majesty's Government. It is not the policy that I am here to advocate. There are, I believe, in India some men, opponents of all Governments, who are incurably evilly disposed; there are others whose grievances must be investigated with a view to removing their cause. Much has been done recently. The letters addressed to me and to other people show that among the young and misguided men whom it ought to be our constant effort to reform, new hope is arising. The steadily increased association of Indians with the affairs of Government, such small reforms as the grant of commission in His Majesty's Army to Indians, and the removal at last of the racial discrimination in the Army Act Schedule—all these will have their effect and are having their effect. More than this is required.

### **Inquiry Contemplated.**

Questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an inquiry. The Viceroy has always contemplated an inquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this kind and of this magnitude without an inquiry into the causes of and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances but no announcement has been made of any inquiry up to this moment,—for this reason: let us talk of an inquiry when we have put the fire out. The only message which we can send from this House to-day to India is a message which I am sure will be one of confidence in and sympathy with those upon whom the great responsibility has fallen of restoring the situation. Afterwards will come the time to hold an inquiry, not only to help us to remove the causes of the troubles, but in order to dispose once for all of some of the libellous charges which have been made against British troops and those upon whom the unpleasant duties in connexion with these riots have fallen.

I was asked a question yesterday about Mr. Horniman. Governments in India have been very patient with Mr. Horniman. In no case has there been a better example of our reluctance to interfere with mere eccentricities of political belief. But when this gentleman began to use his paper in the middle of riots resulting in loss of life, to spread and to fan the flame, and opened his columns to an accusation that British troops had been using soft-nosed bullets in the streets of Delhi, and when his paper was being distributed free to British troops in Bombay in the hope of exciting disaffection and insubordination, why then I say that it was high time he left India. (Here, here,) (Colonel Wedgwood :—Why not prosecute him? And another Member.—Why not shoot him?) In normal times he would have been tried and there was a strong case to put before the law courts. Riots were occurring, and prompt and swift action for the restoration of order was necessary. He was an Englishman. This is one of those cases in which I should hope nobody would ever suggest any racial discrimination. An Indian would have been deported. An Englishman, upon whom far greater responsibility certainly rests, cannot be tolerated in India if he is responsible for the occurrences which we associate with Mr. Horniman.

Then with regard to the Muhammadans, I can only say, speaking for myself that I cordially sympathise with the cause of their perturbation. I and my colleagues in Paris persistently and consistently at every opportunity afforded to us, right down to Saturday last when we discussed the question assisted by three representative Indian Muhammadans with the Council of Four (Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, Mr. Clemenceau, and S. Orlando, the persons charged with the drafting of the Peace treaty), have advocated these views and explained these terms. If you want contented Muhammadan feeling in India you can achieve it only by a just peacebased on considerations of nationality and Self-Determination for Turks within the Turkish Empire. I would reassure my Muhammadan fellow-subjects by saying that throughout all the peace discussions in Paris there has never been one word, authorized or unauthorized, to indicate that anybody is foolish enough to want to interfere with the question, which is a purely Muhammadan question, of the Caliphate. I would go further and say that I do not believe that any holy place or any building which is consecrated to a particular religious faith at the present time is in any danger of being interfered with in consequence of the Peace. Further, we must give to the Muhammadans of India a fair share in the representation on public bodies in India, as we are enabled to do in consequence of Lord Southborough's report.

### India Against Free Trade

Now as to the economic causes. Part of the economic causes can be dealt with only by searching medical and scientific investigations. It always seems to me that Influenza, despite its terrific deathroll, is never treated with the respect which its toll on humanity deserves; but the history of India in the last winter makes it necessary to devote all that is best in science to combat the recurrence of so hideous a calamity. More than that, we want to increase the resisting power of the Indian people; we want to improve the conditions under which they live; and I have no doubt whatever that the only road to that is the development of India's industrial capacity and resources for the benefit of India. The Industrial Commission which reported will bear fruit. Sir Thomas Holland is on his way home to this country, and we shall take action upon the Industrial Commission's report as soon as the members of my Council have an opportunity of conferring.

But there are some questions outside the report to which I would venture to draw attention. India went short of many necessary commodities during the War when sea communications were interrupted. The educated people of India, almost unanimously, have been for years past discontented with their fiscal policy. I am a Free Trader, but I have always held that Free Trade should be achieved by a nation at its own risk, and not be imposed on it from outside by another country (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt that the educated people of India are not Free Traders. If they were given fiscal liberty I think they soon would be; but let them find their own salvation. Let them find what in their opinion suits their destinies best; and I say that if we in this country slide towards Protection, you may be quite sure that among India's mass of industries and occupations they will find their creed, and they will demand, as they have demanded for years past, the fiscal liberty which we enjoy in this country.

### The promised Bill.

Lastly, I am more than ever convinced that we must now proceed without delay to the introduction of the promised Bill for the alteration of the Government of India. The pronouncement of August 20 must be made to live. I am authorised to say this afternoon that the Cabinet have consented to my introduction, on their behalf of a Bill which will be introduced, I hope, at the beginning of June. There is now no longer any reason for delay. Lord Southborough's Committee have reported and have shown that we can get an electorate in India 157 times as big as the present one, which is

good to begin with. Mr. Feetham's Committee have reported and shown that you can divide the functions of the Government of India from those of the local Governments, and thus admit of the long-desired decentralisation, and that of the functions of the local Governments. There are many and substantial functions that can be entrusted at once to the charge of representatives of the peoples of India. I have every reason to hope that when a start of that kind has been made the rest of the local functions of the local Governments will follow. The Bill which I shall introduce, therefore, is only awaiting two events—the recommendations of Lord Crewe's Committee as to those changes in the India Office which will require statutory enactment, and the publication—which I hope to have next week—of the despatches of the Government of India and of the local Governments upon the Report. When these documents are published it will be found—I do not want to anticipate discussion—that the majority of the local Governments do not like that portion of the Montagu-Chelmsford form of Government which is known as the Diarchy and they have said so very forcibly. After they had written their letters of dissent the heads of the local Governments went to Delhi and conferred with the Viceroy. As a result they produced an alternative scheme, which will be published next week, and it is endorsed by the Governments of the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam. The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa prefer the original scheme. The Governors of Madras and Bombay were not represented. The dispatch of the Government of India, it will be seen, seems to me to be a striking defence of the original scheme, and invites Parliament to reject the alternative scheme proposed by a majority of the local Governments. I do not want to anticipate the second reading debate upon the Bill, which after it has been introduced according to promise, is to be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, who will hear evidence and discuss the alternative, and upon whose recommendations I presume the House will ultimately form judgment.

The keystone, the whole basis, the vital point of Indian reform to day is the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people, gradual if you like, but real at every stage. I cannot bring home better to this House what I mean by the essence of that than to ask them to consider the situation in this country. During the War Parliamentary Government has been diminished and executive control has been substituted. I read in the papers every day a demand that our lives, our occupations, our businesses should be free from executive control. The only difference between the complaints here

and in India is that in India nobody suggests that executive control is exercised by too many officials ; it is done by a singularly few ; whereas the complaint here is as to the number. But nobody questions the single mindedness, the ability, the devotion to duty of the officials to whose power we in this country, now that peace is restored, so much object. What we demand in this country is that officials should govern, not merely for our good but on our behalf ; should carry out the orders of Parliament, and be responsible to Parliament, Parliament alone deciding upon them.

That is where the grievance in India lies. There is, believe me, a passion for Self-Government. Nobody questions that it must come gradually, but I say that at every stage the transference of power must be real and substantial. It must be definite and concrete ; it must be beyond the reach of the personal generosity of character or the suspicious nature, of the autocratic temper or the easy-going disposition, of the particular incumbent of any particular Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship. You must transfer the power from officials to people. You must make a beginning, and you must go on doing it. That is what is meant by the progressive realisation of responsible Government. There is a great part to play for the Civil Servant, English and Indian, in India today, greater almost than the great part he has played in the past. But so far as responsibility for policy goes the pronouncement of August 20 meant nothing if it did not mean that the power of directing policy should, first in some things and then in others, until finally in all, be transferred to the elected representatives of the people of India.

Therefore I am going to oppose, and I shall ask the House to oppose, any colourable programme which leaves an irresponsible Executive confronted with a majority which they have to oppose or defer to at their will, on all or any subjects, as they choose. That is not responsible Government, and if that is the only alternative to diarchy, Diarchy holds the field. Therefore it will be seen that the Bill I shall introduce, I hope shortly, will in substance carry out the proposals which the Viceroy and I submitted to Parliament a year ago. It will be seen in the despatch of the Government of India that certain amendments have been suggested. Of those amendments some have been incorporated in the Bill ; others I shall invite the Joint Committee to decide against.

### **Do Not Do Less.**

After reading all the criticisms to which I could gain access, after considering all the amendmends for improvement which have come

to my notice, I have this to observe. The scheme which the Viceroy and I submitted to the people was elaborated after discussion with all the local Governments, with many officials and non-officials, after prolonged discussion with the Government of India. I remain now of the opinion which I expressed last year in this House, that we require all the assistance that the Joint Committee of Parliament can give us to improve our suggestion, to find a better way even yet of carrying out the policy of His Majesty's Government, to making amendment of our proposals.

But I did not sign my name to that document in the belief that it was either a minimum or a maximum. I believe it embodied the extent to which Parliament ought to go. Do it differently if you like, find other methods if it please you, but I beg of you do not do less. You cannot put before the world a scheme which is elaborated over the signature of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and then do what is called in India whittling down the scheme. (Hear, hear,) Amend it, alter it, turn it inside out, start on a new route, but I beg of you to go as far, and so long as I hold the office with which I am now entrusted, so long as I remain a member of this House, I will ask the House not to pull bricks out of, but to build on, the foundation recommended to the extent of the scheme in the report which the Viceroy and I laid before Parliament.

The policy which I have attempted to advocate is the policy which many, I think all, of my predecessors have advocated. It can be summed up in a sentence. I would put first the maintenance of order; secondly, a searching and tireless effort to investigate the causes of disorder and discontent, to remove those which are removable, to eradicate the sources of disturbance and disorder, and go on with a determination, courageous, unhesitating, zealous, to make of India what may be very loosely described as a union of great self governing countries, entrusted with the custody of their own well-being, partners in the great freedom-loving British Commonwealth. That is a task in every way worthy of this Parliament, to my mind the only conceivable outcome of the unexampled and magnificent work that has been done by British effort and enterprise in India. (Cheers.)

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## The Budget Debate, 1919.

**Sir D. Maclean** said the House was indebted to the right hon. gentleman for his wise, statesmanlike, and sympathetic speech. Speaking on behalf of his friends on that side of the House, they would like to bear their tribute to the magnificent part which India had played in the great War. In men, in material and in money she had shown herself a worthy sister of the great community called the British Empire. (Cheers). He heard with very great pleasure that the Government proposed to introduce their Bill to carry out not in any niggardly spirit, but in a broad and generous spirit, the recommendations of the Montagu Chelmsford Report. He sincerely trusted that its relegation to a Joint Committee would not result in the long hanging up of the measure, for on it lay the real, the only hope of maintaining India as part of the Empire, and of bringing her fully into the sisterhood of nations which constituted the British Commonwealth. He did not deny that repressive measures were necessary in India to-day. His small information would make him very careful of anything like sweeping denunciation or accusation against the Executive in India. But the one thing that carried Lord Morley through a difficult time was that he accompanied the necessary assertion of public order by wide measures of reform. The Secretary for India's only chance of success was to ensure that before the Rowlatt Acts came into operation the beneficent influence of the reforms which had been indicated should be at work.

**Sir J. D. Ress**, (Nottingham, E. C. U.) said the Indian Civil Service had governed India for more than the ephemeral occupants of Vice-regal and provincial thrones, but that epoch was fast passing away, and it was futile and useless to stand against the new order of things. It was perfectly useless to weep over the passing of the old state of affairs, and he for one would not refuse to recognise that we live in a new world—a world created by the war. The voice of faction had been stilled in India during the War; she had loyally stood by her pledges to us, and we must fulfil the pledges given her by this country. India's example had been of the utmost benefit to the Empire. He hoped that when fresh arrangements were made with Afghanistan a subsidy would form no part of them, as Asiatic regarded a subsidy as a tribute. He entered a strong plea for main



taining the independence of Turkey. Dealing with the question of Constantinople, he deprecated a division of the great Muhammadan power of Turkey into petty little republics, and thought it was a gratuitous aggravation to talk about making the Mosque of St. Sophia into a Christian Church; not much more reasonable than it would be to talk about restoring Druidical remains in this country (Hear, hear). He would leave Palestine to France, to deal with. All that we want was Mesopotamia which we own and should keep for our safety in the Persian Gulf, and the approach to India, and for the safety of the great oil sources which the British owns—one of the most profitable, most patriotic and most satisfactory deals that was ever made by a British Government.

#### SPEECH OF Dr. E. HOPKINSON.

I hope the House will extend to me the indulgence it usually extends to a Member addressing it for the first time. Perhaps I have some excuse for taking part in the Debate, seeing that I am the only Member of the House who was also a member of the Indian Industrial Commission. There is one statement made by the Secretary of State this afternoon which will give the utmost satisfaction not only in this House but also in India. It was that the labours of that Commission are not to be set aside or lost sight of, but that the recommendations will be fully considered now that the chairman Sir Thomas Holland, is in this country.

If there was one thing more than another which became abundantly clear during the investigations of that Commission, it was the deep interest taken by the Indians themselves in the improvement of the Industrial position of India. The Commission had unusually good opportunities of ascertaining not only the physical possibility of increasing the industrial wealth and improving the industrial position of the country, but also the attitude of the Indians themselves towards those ends. We had as our President Sir Thomas Holland, a man of ability, who knew India perhaps better from the point of view of the natural resources of the country than anyone else. He had himself served in the Government of India, and had brought the Geological Department of the Government of India to a degree of efficiency second to none in the world. We had also on the Commission four Indian members, three of them great leaders of industry in India, and the fourth a politician pure and simple—I will not say with no interest, but with comparatively little intelligent or instructive interest in the industries of India. We had also on the Commission two or three members of the Civil Service of India,

and myself, of whom it cannot, at any rate, be said that I was tinged with any preconceived notions from the Indian point of view.

### **Vivid and Vital Impressions.**

I do not desire to weary the House by referring in detail to the findings of the Commission and the recommendations contained in their report, but I would like to refer to some of the most vivid and vital impressions which resulted from our investigation. No more striking impression was made upon the minds of all of us, even those who knew India well, than the enormous potential wealth of the country. Though the wealth is there, buried in the soil or ready to be extracted from the soil by the natural processes of agriculture it is scarcely developed compared with what it might be.

The reason is not far to seek. Let me cite agriculture, first of all, as an example, because it perhaps more clearly than any other branch of industry shows what might be done compared with what has been done. The wealth of India is primarily due to its agriculture. The Government of India has a scientific agricultural staff in quality second to none in the world, but in quantity ludicrously insufficient compared with the problem which it has to tackle. It is the third country in the world in the extent of its production of wheat and barley, but where the production of wheat and barley is represented by twenty per acre in England, in India it is only represented by eight. It does not seem to me a very great thing to suppose that by the application of scientific methods and research that figure of eight might be changed into ten, and that would mean millions of sterling to India.

Take another illustration. India produces more sugar than any other country in the world, but the consumption is so great and the methods, so wasteful that it actually spends ten million sterling annually on importing sugar that other countries produce.

### **The Indigo and other Trade.**

Let me take one other instance in connection with agriculture. I think it is the most striking of all. Before the invention of synthetic indigo by the Germans, the cultivation of indigo was one of the most flourishing industries in India. We are aware how by patient and scientific research, and the expenditure of money yearly upon research, the Germans displaced the natural indigo of India by the synthetic product. The trade was absolutely killed. During the War there was a revival of the industry, and that revival was brought about by a series of investigations in regard to the preparation of the natural product. It was given in evidence before the Commission by one of the most experienced planters in Behar that he would

undertake to grow indigo now on his plantation, taking advantage of all improvements and to sell it at pre-war prices at a profit. That means, and I wish the House to take cognisance of the fact, that the pre-war German trade in indigo could be killed outright on its merits. Is not that a striking fact? Does it not make it worth while that the recommendations of the Committee should receive serious consideration at the hands of the Government of India and of the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State?

Before I pass from agricultural questions I want to emphasise the need that the scientific department of the Agricultural Department in India should have more money spent upon it, and that it should be enlarged. What is required is that brains should go out from this country to help in the scientific work. Reference has been made by one of my hon. Friends to the supply of Tungsten. That is a trade which before the War had passed entirely into German hands. Under the pressure of war it has come back into British hands. India could produce all the tungsten the world requires, and all that is needed is practical development of the trade. There is another metal, Thorium, a most important metal, one essential for the production of gases. The trade in that, too, was allowed to pass into German hands.

This country, by availing itself of its opportunities in India, could now become self-supporting in that regard. India possesses copper. The mines in Burma produce lead and zinc, and if there were only a concentration camp, it would be possible to obtain sulphuric acid which is a basis of many very important industries.

#### **A Brighter Side.**

Even that feature of the situation has a brighter side. Thanks to the assistance and sympathy of a Liberal Government on the scientific side, and not much of that, although the intention was really good, a great Tata firm were induced to set up iron and steel works, which have become one of the most flourishing and most important work in the world. India now can supply all the rail she wants and before long she will be able to supply our own needs. That has been done entirely by native effort and with the sympathy and help and the scientific advice of the Government of India. That is one of the fundamental things which the Commission desire to see extended and developed throughout India.

The Government should provide scientific help for research work, which is necessary for the development of the country industrially, and should also by sympathy expressed in various ways—it may be in improved transit or by help in the acquisition of land—

could suggest a dozen different ways—help the development of industrial India. Let me relate one instance to the House to show the attitude of India itself towards this aspect of the Commission. An Indian witness before the Commission made what appeared to me to be a curious statement. He said the Government of India should pass a law providing that half the directors of every company should be Indian. It appeared to me that that might be due to jealousy of British industrial methods in India, but on examination I found that it was not so.

The real idea was that the Indians should be taught how to work and manage the various undertaking. It was desired to convert every board of directors into a school. The idea of course is ludicrous, but the statement was significant as showing the trend of the Indian mind towards industrial measures.

#### **Manufacturing Industries.**

The manufacturing industries of India are obviously divisible into two classes—those already developed, such as the great jute industry of Bengal, the cotton industry of Bombay and to some extent the woollen industry of Cawnpore. There are a number of other industries, such as the manufacture of glass, cement and matches. There are also the chemical trade and the manufacture of paper, both of which are still undeveloped for want of technical knowledge and expert advice.

What the industries of India require is not British capital, but British brains. They need expert advice, and scientific knowledge applied to the latent resources of India will bring forth a harvest of a hundred fold. But that is not the whole story. Other factors must also be taken into account. Indian labour must be considered. In the course of our inquiry we made careful investigations, not only into the remuneration of Indian labour, but also into housing and sanitary conditions. If the problem of labour is acute in this country, it is ten times more acute in India. I say that advisedly.

#### **Wages in India.**

The rate of wages in India is far too low for tolerable subsistence. Industrial conditions in India in many cases, and I have particularly in mind the cotton mills of Bombay, are so monstrously bad that I could hardly relate to any decent assembly of people what I myself saw in the course of my investigations. Although a Lancashire man, I greatly admire the action which the predecessor of my right hon. friend the present Secretary of State took with regard to the cotton industry, but I do wish he had taken

that opportunity of throwing upon the Bombay millowners the onus of improving the housing conditions of their work-people. I believe, and I say it advisedly after conversing with a great number of the mill-owners, that the best are perfectly ready to shoulder the burden if they are assured it will be distributed over the whole. And there again is a brighter side to the picture.

The new steel works of the Tata firm to which I have already referred are in all matters of housing up to date in every possible respect. Each cottage has its garden, each coolie line has ample space around it, and the water supply is perfect, and yet that firm in spite of all its expenditure in that direction, is able to pay a dividend of 200 per cent.

That sort of thing cannot be done in India without cost, but the cost amply justifies itself. You may go to other places and find conditions equally good. I myself investigated the conditions in one of the largest mills in Bengal. That mill was able to make a selection of labour by drawing it from a very much larger area, simply, because that firm had the reputation of supplying pure water, indeed it was nicknamed "Mill Pure Water." Not only was the water good, but the housing conditions, the coolie lines, and the sanitary arrangements were all in first-rate condition and up to date. So much impressed was I by what I saw at the mill, that that evening, when I met the then Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, who retired a year ago, I suggested to him that it would be an encouragement to mill-owners if he at once made an inspection himself of that particular mill.

I made the further suggestion, which he at once adopted, that he should take with him the leader of the Home Rule movement in India. Next day the Governor and the Pandit (Malaviya) motored up to this mill to inspect the sanitary arrangements. That is an example of how the Government of India can show sympathy with, and give effective assistance, without any cost to itself, towards putting the industrial conditions on a higher level.

#### **An eye-opener to Pundit Malaviya.**

My friend the Pundit was not at all pleased with the result of the expedition. It always troubled him to find that the British on their own accord and with nothing to reap from it were usually ready to put all questions relating to the health and welfare of their people in the first place.

Another no less important matter is the question of education. The educational system in India is a most extraordinary structure. It is fitted with a magnificent coping and balustrade, but it is built

on sand. India is an absolutely illiterate country. Over 90 per cent. of the people can neither read nor write.

### Indian Universities.

India possesses magnificent universities, which turn out graduates by the thousands yearly. Take the University of Calcutta where abuse became so great that it was made the subject of a special inquiry. What does that University do for India? It does nothing but turn out by the thousands annually persons who have been drawn off from the real interests of India and turned adrift to find a living in other directions.

I asked an Indian who was giving evidence in Calcutta what became of the graduates of that University. His answer was a striking answer coming from such a source. He said, "A very few of them become pleaders, the great majority of them become clerks; and those who have not the ability or opportunity to become clerks become sedition mongers." That was the considered opinion of a practical industrial Indian of one of the universities of his own country. That problem is not insoluble. I can give an instance of another side of the picture, which I should like to put before the President of the Board of Education in this country.

If you go to certain mills in Madras, there you will see elaborate, comfortable, delightful, buildings put up for school purposes. Residing in these buildings are two English ladies. The buildings are used for housing classes formed of the children of the people who work in the mills. There is no compulsion. The schools are always full. The children are absolutely free to attend or not to attend. Around the schools are gardens. Every child—the scholars are numbered by hundreds—has his plot of land which he cultivates as he desires, and he takes the product of his cultivation home to his own people.

For brightness, alertness, respectableness and cleanliness these Indian children would compare with the children of similar age in any school you like to name in this country. Yet these very mills were chosen by the political dissentients to foment strike and trouble. That was not because there was any real grievance. The reason for it was that they could not stand such an object lesson of what British people have done for Indians to be always before the eyes of their people.

I am well aware that after the announcement of 20th August, 1917, there can be no question of turning back from the policy which was then declared. It must go forward on lines which the Government, after the fullest consideration, determined to be the best. But I beg the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take into

consideration that it is more important to feed the hungry than to give them political rights, that it is more important to clothe the naked than to invest them with political doctrines and dogmas, and that it is more important to educate the people to be able to vote than it is to give them the vote.

What will be the effect of the franchise? It is estimated that the number enfranchised will be anything from 1 or 2 up to 5 per cent. The greater part of that number will be illiterate people. I presume the voters will be taken blindfold to the ballot boxes or that, as an alternative, the ballot boxes must be embellished in some way to show what they contain or are intended to contain. I presume that one box will be embellished with the Union Jack, another with the Crescent, and another with the emblems which are familiar at every roadside shrine in India.

I rejoice in what the right hon. Gentleman says of the recommendations of this Industrial Commission, which have solely for their object the improvement of industrial conditions of India, and to make India more profitable and more fit for the Indians themselves to enjoy living there, which I trust that no political considerations will be allowed to cloud.

Colonel Wedgwood began by saying that he was "shocked to find that" Dr. Hopkinson "is such a gross materialist". Freedom and not the improvement of industrial conditions were "the ultimate object of British rule in India". How came it that the bulk of the Indian revenue was to be eaten up by the military, police, and railway programme in India, whereas education and irrigation were to be starved? Why was it that the Government of India were going to spend £23 million out of £24 million on "the purchase of railway material in Great Britain at a time when railway material is extremely expensive, at a time when it is possible to buy up our scrapped railways from France and other theatres of War at a price that would be extremely remunerative to the British Government". He contended that the "whole of the budget bears witness to the fact that it is one passed by Englishmen in India, and not one to which Indian people would agree," and that it "must give rise to the feeling that, in spite of all our brave words, the government of that country is directed rather towards the interests of this Island than to the interests of the country where the money is raised by people who have worked hard to find it".

The proposals for constitutional reform are defective because they conceded very little power over the purse to Indians, and did not transfer the police and other vital subjects to Indians. He considered that the Southborough Reports really whittled away the Montagu

Chelmsford Report. In recommending the enfranchisement of but 5 million men, on a property basis which was high for India, Lord Southborough left the lower middle classes in the cold, and whereas a considerable percentage of the electors would be illiterate, millions upon millions of literate Indians would be left voteless. He denounced the privileged position that had been assigned to the plutocrats, and to Europeans, Eurasians, and native Christians. The vote that was being given to "every pensioned officer and non-commissioned officer" would "establish a sort of permanent Varangian guard to see that the electorate shall never possibly be wrong". He particularly disliked the system of indirect representation recommended by Lord Southborough, and warned the Secretary of State against permitting the bureaucracy "to form a union with reactionary native elements in India that develop schemes which Indians may accept, but which in the long run will be bad for India".

Colonel Wedgwood's statement that the Rowlatt Act had been passed although the elected representatives of the Indian people "voted against it to a man," appealed to the House. The legislation was directed against men who were considered inconvenient—men like Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Outhwaite, he himself, who some persons regard as "dangerous to society," but who really are "the salt of the earth".

If the British Government did more justice in India and followed less the behests of expediency "it would do good to the British name in future, and in the long run it would lead to happier relations between this country and India". He protested not merely against the Rowlatt Bills, but declared that "the Government must understand that the repression of these riots by means of bombs from aeroplane and machine guns have produced an even worse effect than the original passage of the Rowlatt Act". Sir Michael O' Dwyer had found the Panjab calm when he went there six years ago, and was bequeathing "to his successor a revolutionary spirit which runs from one end to the other". He told the House "that there should be an enquiry into not only the murders of English people," but also into those administrative acts—the "use of aeroplane bombs" the "arrest of men like Gandhi," and the "employment of the *agent provocateur* by the police force". He asked the House not to forget that the Indian National Congress did not wish permanent officials to be installed as Governors. What one "particular bureaucrat" had done to embitter "the relations between two great peoples" showed how very necessary it was to concede the Indian demand.

Mr. Bennett (Sevenoaks, C. U.) remarked that good effects would be produced in India by the introduction of the Indian Budget at this early date and by the determination expressed by the Sec-



retary of State to go forward with his projected reforms. If in India we firmly asserted the law on the one hand and on the other met the legitimate aspirations of the people and showed them that we were in sympathy with their progressive ideas, then he believed the problem would be solved. He resented the doubt which had been cast, or was sought to be cast, on the loyalty of the moderates in India. He paid a tribute to the successful policy of Sir George Lloyd on the occasion of the Bombay demonstrations on April 11. The situation on the morning of that day was most critical, but the troops and the police were instructed that no finger was to be lifted against the demonstrators unless disorder took place. A native paper stated that the police were regarded by the public as their friends almost for the first time in the annals of Indian administration, and the name of Sir George Lloyd was on everybody's lips.

#### An Amendment

**Mr. Neil Mc. Lein** (Labour) moved an amendment "that in the opinion of this House the operation of the two Criminal Law (Amendment) Bills which issued from the Rowlatt Report and which have been recently before the Indian Legislature should be suspended until this House has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon them. He was afraid that the position of the Government in India to-day was very much the same as in the past. He reminded Mr. Montagu that the Government of India was still "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antidiluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view", and that the system of Government is still so "cumbersome, so designed as to prevent efficiency and change. If there were only 400 dangerous people in India out of 225 millions what was the necessity for that drastic legislation? He appealed to Mr. Montagu to disallow the Rowlatt Act, which, he asserted would be used to prevent Indians from demanding better conditions, and to appoint a Judicial Committee to consider the question and to let the Indian people know that the House of Commons at least would look on them as brothers and partners in the Empire. Mr. Spoor (Bishop Auckland, Lab.) seconded the motion.

**Mr. Montagu** in reply, regretted that he was still of opinion that as temporary measure the Rowlatt Act was necessary, and he could not accept the amendment. The Rowlatt Commission came to the conclusion that to deal with this particular form of revolutionary crime the ordinary procedure of law could not be relied on. He agreed that revolutionary movements could not be eradicated merely by legislation to deal with the guilty, but the Rowlatt Act was only to maintain order in the country while the great schemes of reforms were going through.

The amendment was negatived without a division. The debate was continued by Colonel Yate (Melton C. U.), Lieutenant-Colonel A. Murray (Kincardine and Western, C. L.), Mr. A. Shaw (Kilkarnock, C. L.) and Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (Hull, Central, L.)

**Captain OrmsbyGore** (Stafford, C.U.) was glad the Secretary of State was quite firm on the maintenance of law and order in India. He hoped that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme would become law at the earliest possible moment. He urged that when the scheme took the form of a Bill the measures should not be referred to a Joint Committee, but should go through both Houses in the usual way. Political reform in India must be accompanied by a real reform of the educational system and an effort to develop the resources of India. "Hitherto," he said, "by a fiscal system imposed by this country, suited to us, but not suited to or welcomed by India we have refrained, both in our fiscal system and to the prejudice on the part of the Government of India, from spending the revenue of India in the development of native Industries and specially on technical education."

In his opinion the British "ought to encourage the wealth and prosperity equally of all parts of His Majesty's Dominions". "We are an Imperial Parliament," he declared feelingly, "and we must in this matter think Imperially" he pleaded eloquently "that there should be no further opportunity of India saying that England had selfishly imposed upon her a fiscal, commercial, and industrial system in her own interests, which is not in the interest of Indian development and Indian prosperity". This was well received by the House.

The House then went into Committee, and the financial resolution on the East Indian Revenue Accounts was agreed to.

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# INDIA ABROAD.

1918.

## MONTAGU'S CAMBRIDGE SPEECH.

*Mr. Montagu delivered an important speech on Indian reforms at a meeting of the Cambridge Liberal Association on July 27, 1918. The audience included many Indians.*

In the course of his speech he referred to Thyssen's pamphlet cabled on January 23rd and emphasised the Kaiser's declaration in it that India would be conquered by Germany, that the rich revenue of Indian princes would flow in a golden stream to the Fatherland, and that in all the richest lands of the earth the German flag would fly over every other flag. That was the German idea of imperialism, namely subjugation, domination, spoliation and theft. No wonder India had taken steps to protect itself. Half a million men would come into the Indian army in the coming year compared with 15,000 yearly before the war. He was glad to say it was not only as privates that Indians were enlisting. There were already Indian officers holding His Majesty's commission in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and they would be followed by others in substantial numbers.

How much more India could do for us and for herself now had her industries only been developed in the past! When India set out to make things like railway engines, trucks and even rails she found herself requiring machines from oversea which it was impossible to get on the necessary scale, and also skilled workers who were now so scarce all over the world. That state of things must end. One of the first duties of the Government of India must be to start and steadily promote a policy which would enable India more and more to supply her needs by her own efforts out of her almost immeasurable resources.

### The Reform Report.

Referring to the Report he said: The educated Indian was taught in our schools by our teachers. He had learnt our ideals there and it was unjust to find fault with him when he asked what we had taught him to ask, namely, free institutions and self-government. Let us have it out once for all what was to be the

principle of our government in India. Was it to be domination,—subordination to the iron hand, where we have one principle of Government for India and another principle for the rest of the Empire? How had we built up South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand? Was not the principle of the British Empire the principle of a Commonwealth of free nations? Were we not to extend it to India? Was the ideal of our empire geographical, not moral? What if we said that to our American allies? What if when we talked of the British ideal of self-governing institutions we drew a line somewhere in the Indian ocean and said thus far and no further. That sort of theory was utterly impossible, utterly out of harmony with British ideas. During the past week he had been sitting with Patiala and Sir S. P. Sinha in the Imperial War Conference and War Cabinet. Indians were increasingly being put in charge of districts all over India. One of the most successful military hospitals in Mesopotamia was in charge of an Indian medical officer. All this meant that we were putting Indians into important positions right up to the supreme authority of the British Empire, namely, the Imperial War Cabinet. Had they ever known a case in the history of the British Empire when what was called relaxation of British control had not meant closer union of the country concerned to the rest of the Empire? Unfortunately India was at the moment not ready and disaster would await anyone wishing to give Home Rule to India to-day. The principle of our Government of India should be progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, as India proved to the satisfaction of the people of Britain and their representatives in Parliament that she was ready for it, until one day we should complete the process and India too would take her place as one of the free nations in the Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire. That was the principle, that was the mission on which he went to India in order to advise the Government upon progressive realisation of responsible government within the British Empire, and that was the principle on which the report was founded. Would those who criticised the report ask themselves whether they admitted the principle? If they did, they could proceed to argue about the report; if they did not there was no weapon probably except personal abuse. If they admitted the principle he asked them to search their hearts. Some who said that they accepted the principle attacked the scheme which was intended to carry out the principle and would indeed attack any scheme because really in their hearts they did not admit the principle. Let them first admit the

principle and then examine the scheme dealing with the proposals themselves.

The only way to teach men to exercise vote was to give them one, and the only way to teach them to use the vote wisely and well was to give the people who were entrusted with power by the vote something worth doing. It was useless to ask a man to vote for his representative if that representative was powerless.

Their first step, therefore, was to suggest that there should be as wide a representative direct franchise in India as could possibly be devised.

### Three Alternatives in Provincial Government.

Regarding the functions of the Provincial Government there were only three alternatives : Firstly, to keep them under complete official control. That would not be a move towards responsible government. Secondly, to give all the functions of Government to the Indians. That was not a move which we were justified in making to-day. Therefore the only remaining alternative was to give them some functions of Government now and leave others to be transferred to their control when we saw how they were getting on and how representative their new Parliaments were likely to be. He invited critics to tell him what other course there was.

He had seen one constructive idea, namely, to select a little piece of India and make it a republic under the control of political officers and if that went well to enlarge the republic or to have other republics. That scheme did not commend itself to him. It was advanced by people loud in the belief that India was not fit for self-government and they proposed to demonstrate it by giving to one unfortunate part of India what they professed to believe no part of India was ready for.

There were enemies of responsible government in India who would seek to make it impossible by bringing it about too fast. There were people who said that democratic institutions were impossible in the East and they pointed to Russia and Persia. *They did not often point to Japan.* Some people in India thought that they were not going fast enough; the proposals had even been described as retrograde as increasing the power of the bureaucracy. It was only necessary to read the report to see that that was untrue.

### No Distrust of the Indian People.

He could understand some Indians disregarding and discarding the proposals if they found in them what they were always suspicious of finding, namely, distrust of the Indian people. No such distrust existed in the minds of those who drew up the proposals. He did not believe any such distrust would be found in the proposals. He would explain on what the limitations and reservations in the proposals were based. They must look at facts. India was not yet, as critics in England were never tired of telling, in the true sense of the word a nation. There were differences of caste, religion and race accompanied by differences of objects and aims. It must be remembered that an overwhelming proportion of the people at present knew nothing of political institutions and could not read or write. I do not mention these things as matters of blame. They were things we want to help to remedy. If India was not a nation we want to see it a nation.

During the war from one end of India to the other one found the Indians keen about the defence against the invader—a new national and imperial spirit. One saw signs of a greater India, a greater desire for co-operation among different races of India, and we want to help this development by giving them a common task. But there are factors long operating which militate against joint action, and the Government ought not to be asked to disregard these factors and treat India as if it were comparable with any other part of the British Empire.

### Fitness to be proved at the bar of Parliament.

Whenever India could prove at the Bar of the Parliament that these conditions were being cured, that education was spreading, that an electorate had been created, and that differences between races were disappearing, so surely under the scheme must Parliament give more and more power to Indians. If these limitations of time and experience were disregarded, he believed it would be fatal to the whole experiment. As the result of the proposals, he would see British control relaxed as Indian control was substituted, and he would see thereby the connection of love, affection and gratitude between India and England strengthened and increased. But the control must be Indian control, not the control of one section of the people, and must be exercised through representative electorates.

Some said it would be better to postpone it till after the war, but they would not say so if they favoured it. It was always the people who did not like a thing who favoured doing it to-morrow or next day. The pronouncement of His Majesty's Government was that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible.

### Scheme open to modification.

It would be arrogant to a degree of folly to say that the scheme as it stood had to be passed into law. Its authors submitted it with a full sense of responsibility for criticism. If anybody would suggest a better way they would find it in them and in the Government heartfelt thanks and ready acceptance. But whether it was by this way or some other way, we had to put the feet of India on the road to national good and self-government. Otherwise all the glorious work which generations of Englishmen had done to build up that great empire would lack its supreme vindication and justification. It would be said that what we had succeeded in doing in every other part of the British Empire, except for the moment unfortunately in Ireland, that what our forefathers, for example, Sir Thomas Monro and Macaulay, said that we ought to do, we had failed to do in India. It would be said of us that we went on untiringly in unimaginative but excellent regions of material well-being and prosperity, but that when we came in India alone to tackle the task of feeding man's soul by teaching him, equipping him, and giving him power to decide his own destinies, we were too timid to do it. That was a criticism which we could not risk in the judgment of history. It was a criticism which there was no reason to risk and he begged the people of Britain not to think that they could cut the knot by throwing India to its untrained people at this moment, nor by refusing to begin progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, giving the Indians opportunity and knowledge that they had only to prove that they had acquired the necessary habits and conventions of political life and responsibility to gain the whole measure which other countries enjoyed. If we did that, we made India for ever peaceful and we had a right to except from India for ever peace and contentment within the British Empire.

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### Montagu's Election Speech at Cambridge—Nov. 1918.

[In the course of his election speech at Cambridge delivered in Nov. 1918 Mr. Montagu said that he had a few words to say upon a subject of interest and importance to himself, namely, the pledge given to the great Empire of India through him and repeated by the Premier and Mr. Bonar Law in the Election manifesto recently issued.]

#### India's Part in the War.

During the War 1,161,789 Indians had been recruited and 1,215,338 men had been sent overseas from India, 101,439 of whom had become casualties. Nobody could say that India, owing to her sympathy with the Allies' cause and her belief in our ideals, did not, of her own free will, share our trouble and bear her part in our victory and show herself a partner in the British Empire as she must be treated in the future. If I am returned to Parliament it would be my principal endeavour to continue the work I have begun, to launch India securely along the path to Self Government. The proposals in the Report had not met with universal approbation.

#### Two Sets of Opponents.

The principal opponents belonged to two sets. Firstly, those who, like Mrs. Besant and her friends of the Indian National Congress, thought he had not gone far enough, and secondly, those who like Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association thought he had gone much too far. He had been greatly surprised to find the two sets agreed on one point, namely, that the proposals did conform to the principles of the announcement of August 20, 1917.

Nobody would be gladder than himself if he could feel that India today was ready for Home Rule but nobody, not even the extreme partisans, could say that India was ready for Home Rule to-day. He would not be concerned with the Government of India if he did not believe that if the Indians were given an opportunity of serving their country and working together, a growing sense of Nationalism would come. If he did not believe them, there would be no promise in these Reforms. All that could now be said was that there was a minority looking forward to the day when they could achieve what they, like himself, desired. He wanted Self-Government for India to be a success, and in order that it might be a success he looked forward to giving increased opportunities. The

safeguards did not mean mistrust. Contingencies must be provided for.

### Lord Sydenham's Suggestions Ridiculed.

Lord Sydenham had made seven recommendations, the first six of which were taken from the Report. Lord Sydenham wanted a large increase in decentralisation; so did the report. He wanted direct representation, so did the Report. He wanted greater liberty for the Provincial Governments from the Central Government, but he could not give any power over the Provincial Governments, the Report would. Lord Sydenham wanted to give complete responsibility in local Provincial affairs; so did the Report; so did Lord Ripon in 1885. Lord Sydenham would be satisfied with giving what ought to have been given thirty years ago. For the rest he would take one or two districts in every province, remove the British Civil Service and put in the Indian Civil Servants and thereby he thought he would satisfy the pronouncement of August 20th. If such proposals were carried India would have every right to say that we had broken our pledges. If they must have a controversy on the Reforms he begged Lord Sydenham and his friends to conduct it in the interests of India and to recognise that everything else was of secondary consideration.

He had just been handed a circular from Lord Sydenham asking for subscriptions to the Indo-British Association as insurance premiums for British interests in India. That was not the way to build up an Empire. That was not a principle to be tolerated in consideration of this great Imperial question. British trade had done marvels for India, but he rested his case on the welfare of the Indian people. The interest of a Constitution could not be bartered for the interest of any trade. On this great question, they must decide between the spirit of to day and the spirit of 317 years ago.

### Lord Lansdowne.

Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords recently regretted his (Montague's) promise of responsible Government for India. It is even said that the Indian soldiers opposed this. Mr. Montague in this connection quoted a letter he had received from an Indian officer in Palestine. The officer declared that all sensible Muhammadans favoured the Montague-Chelmsford Report and proceeded.—“ Things in India have changed very much and are rapidly changing. What I see in the Indian army to-day would scarcely be believed. Would

you believe that the Brahmanas, Rajputs, Sikhs and Muhammadans will dine at the same table without even a shade of caste prejudice? In the regiments which have been serving in France all Indian officers on many occasions mess together. Also there is a wonderful change in their aspirations and views."

This letter answered Lord Lansdowne. His great predecessor, Lord Morley, remarked that it was not easy for a man to apply to a new time the experience gained in a generation of honest labour in an olden time. The choice must now be made between the epoch of Lord Lansdowne and the epoch of Lord Chelmsford.

### The India of to-day

If you could see the India Britain has done so much to build up, the quickening effect of education we have introduced, which India so eagerly desires to extend, if you could realise the potential wealth that awaits the investment of British capital for the benefit of India, if you acknowledged the marvellous response to our demand which our cause has aroused in India, if you realised how the supply of men was only limited by the lack of training and habit, how the supply of material was only limited by undeveloped manufacturing capacity, how the supplies generally were only limited by poverty caused by undeveloped resources, if you knew the eager welcome given to the principle of partnership in the Empire, then I am sure you would sympathise with my determination,—despite the frenzied complaint of those who would risk all in their hurry and bitter wailing, those who would treat India as a sort of crystallised fruit,—to do my share in finishing the work begun and to see Britain and India indissolubly united in an ideal of freedom.

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### THE "NATION" ON INDIAN REFORMS

*[The following is an extract from the Editorial column of the "Nation" of May 25, 1918. This is one of those sober English Papers which alike for its breadth of view and perspicacity of judgment has made the name of England endearing to all. Its presentation of the Indian cause is so clear, unprejudiced, and just that there is hardly anything which the most ardent Indian Nationalist can profitably urge more or add to it—ED.]*

A Coalition, whether it deals with Ireland or with India, is apt to be the most dangerous of all forms of Government in a

composite Empire. A Tory Government may yield nothing but it excites no defusive expectations. A Liberal Government may arouse hopes, and in some measure fulfil them. A Coalition is apt to promise, while its acts render fulfilment impossible. We dare not risk in India the failures and provocations which two successive Coalitions have accumulated in Ireland. The parallel is ominous, but it would be folly to refuse to face risks which lie in the nature of these combinations... Let us hope that Mr. Montague will be more fortunate than Mr. Duke, but it will be well to adjust our calculations to the probability that the bureaucracy and the well-organised British commercial interests in India will find backing in the War Cabinet for their opposition to any large or significant concessions. The recent refusal to allow a deputation of influential Indian nationalists to come to England to state their case is a reminder that the forces of resistance are alert and strongly posted at the centre of power.

There is one circumstance in the Indian problem which may incline even the most realistic and the least generous of the older school to large concessions. The military aspect of our eastern problems had changed fundamentally since Mr. Montague's appointment was first made.

The German line lay no farther East than Poland, and in Asiatic Turkey the Russian Army was holding on advanced line which included the Armenian provinces. To-day the crumbling of the Russian State has opened to the Turco-Germans a door of penetration which may carry them dangerously near to the outposts of India. The effect of the German advance is evident in Persia. The benevolent interest of Berlin in Afghanistan, of which the latest phase is the suggestion that the Ameer should be provided with a port in Baluchistan, is another symptom of the trend of German policy.

This Turco-German penetration of the northern roads which lead to the backdoors of India can have no dangers for us, unless all sense of statesmanship deserts us. The future depends on our realisation of the fact that the true defence of India in the generations to come must be neither distance nor the sea, neither deserts nor the Himalayas, but the

### Contentment of the Indian peoples

with their lot. This vast population would laugh at the bare suggestion of invasion if it were mobilised to defend a State which

it regarded as its own. The key to the military problem is policy. If ever we had ventured to make India a self-supporting, defensive unit, it would have ceased to be a lure for conquerors. That means however, the abandonment of the jealous traditions which feared to train native officers, feared to entrust native regiments with artillery, and omitted to build up in India the local industries on which a modern army must depend. These fears were prudent only so long as we conceived of ourselves as conquerors governing by the sword. They will vanish when once we have faced the necessity of conceding Indians Self-Government. India can be held against all comers if Indians feel that they are defending not merely the soil of their native land but a Government based on their own consent. If, on the other hand, we hesitate to give, or give grudgingly, it follows that we shall continue to neglect its defensive resources, adhere to the tradition of confiding its defence to a White garrison, and thereby risk, not perhaps its loss but at least intrigues and alarms which may and must make our continued rule in India burdensome to ourselves and irksome to its people. To say that

### The Danger to India

lies at some distant date to a successful foreign invasion is to take a very narrow view. The odds are that the actual invasion will never be risked, or will fail if the attempt is made. The danger rather is that a discontented India whose millions we dare not arm for the defence of their Motherland is a standing invitation to intriguing politicians and ambitious soldiers. Their plots, their temptations, and above all, their armaments and our counter armaments are danger enough without an actual invasion. If we will not arm India to defend herself, we must permanently conscribe our own manhood to do it. If we do arm her, it follows that we first see to it that she is contented with her lot.

Contentment is not a condition of mind into which a country can be hypnotised by phrases. The Indian demand for Home Rule is only a way of summing up the will of a people to deal itself with a whole complex of problems which touch its interest and its self-respect. The land which still dazzles the ambitious soldier is so poor that the daily income of its inhabitants was reckoned, at the opening of this century, at something less than a penny a head. Sir Charles Elliott, a very high authority, said that "half the agricultural population never knows from year's end to

year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Even to-day only one-fifth of the children of school-age go to school, though native Baroda has contrived to establish universal education.

### Grievance of the Colour Line

The grudging admission of Indians to responsible posts, the closing to them, until Mr. Montague's recent decision, of commissioned ranks in the Army, and the rankling insult of their treatment in our Colonies—all these things have made our problem something more than a question of political machinery. Home Rule means for Indians the power to remedy these grievances. If Mr. Montague's proposals are still transitional, as we suppose they will be, and stop short of full responsible government, the interval which separate them from that ideal must not be large, and the grant must carry with it its own latent promise of expansion. If for the time the Central Government is still an English Bureaucracy and if the Viceroy's Council, however it may be developed, fall short of being a sovereign representative body, there must be compensation in the provinces. Unless these at least, subject to the veto of the Viceroy's Government, are given responsible government, the scheme will fall dangerously short of satisfying Indian aspirations. A fairly long traditional period already lies behind us, and Lord Morley's reforms are a foundation on which a much more imposing structure of autonomy must now be built. The War has changed all the conditions of our problem. It has made of the "self-determination" of subject peoples an ideal to which all civilised governments do homage, even if it be only lip-homage. The pace of reforms has been quickened. Mankind must contrive to cover in a few years an evolution which in normal times might have been spread over a generation.

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### MR. BERNARD HOUGHTON ON REFORMS.

*[The following is an extract from an article which appeared in "India," the Congress Organ in England, over the signature of Mr. Bernard Houghton, late of the Indian Civil Service.]*

The Simla Government has in some respects administered India well. But, as the Report says, "it is no longer sufficient to

administer India." It is no longer sufficient to say, as some would have it: "We give you justice; we give you order; we give you roads; we put those who so desire it in the way of making money; what more do you want?" Here is no case for the official, however painstaking, but for the statesman;—for a statesman who, like Cavour, will plan, knead, and mould all circumstances, level all obstacles, concentrate all energies on the single object in view—in this case, responsible government. From this standpoint Simla has an ill record. It does not inspire trust.

The Government which has shown its efficiency in Mesopotamia, its loyalty by the ignoring of Lord Morley's orders on local self-government, its liberalism by the internments without trial, its sympathy with free institutions by the Press and other arbitrary Acts, does not come to the task with clean hands. But this is not the worst. The whole tone of the resolutions and acts of the Government, the speeches of its Ministers in the Council Chamber, breathe a settled hostility to popular aspirations and evince a resolution to yield no power save under duress. To hand over the control of these momentous reforms to such officials is like handing over the introductions of free institutions in Germany to a Ministry of Prussian Junkers or the establishment of Home Rule to the Orange Grand Committee. There is no community of aim. There is rather antagonism of will.

But, it will be said, surely the Report has introduced modifications into the government of India which may breathe some life into the dry bones of officialdom. Modifications there are but they do not suffice. The addition of another Indian in the Executive Council can achieve little, even if, as by no means follows, he is in full sympathy with the great popular movement in India. The Legislative Council will, indeed, for the first time, have an elected majority. But its power is paralysed by the creation of a new Council of State which avowedly will answer all the purposes of the old official bloc. So much for the credit. On the debit side we read that Simla will be less under the control of the (reformed) India Office, that the staff will be increased, and, perhaps, even less in touch with district life than hitherto, that "the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters must be unimpaired." Small wonder that some prominent Indians, on reading these provisions, have confessed to a feeling akin to despair. How can India receive with a smile reforms which leave Simla, the head and front of the bureaucratic system, unreformed, nay, rather strengthened against the people's will? "Did men laugh,"

once exclaimed Voltaire, "when they saw Phalairs' bull being made red hot?" Either a new and popular spirit must be infused into the Central Government or its power must be vastly curtailed. Simla must be either bettered or fettered. Otherwise, the Montague-Chelmsford scheme will fail, exactly as the Morley-Minto scheme has failed, and its failure may wreck alike the honour of England and the weal of India.

The least measure that can bring about a degree of harmony between Simla and the Indian people, and ensure that it will neither let nor hinder but truly help forward the march towards self-government, would seem to lie in reform of the central government on the same lines as those in the Provinces. That is to say, certain subjects should be transferred to Indian Ministers selected from the Legislative Assembly, who will also be members of the Executive Council. Only, as I have already suggested in the case of the Provinces, the Minister or Ministers must be responsible to the Assembly and removable by it. There can be no training in self-government without a responsible elected Assembly, and without power there is no responsibility. In such a change there is nothing cataclysmal, nothing to inspire fear or to shake confidence. It forms a reasonable halfway house on the way to self-government. It gives occasion whereby the people may learn the art of ruling, the rulers may shed the hard shell of bureaucracy. Through it the central government, now so isolated, must inevitably be brought more into sympathy and harmony with the new life in India.

If, as none may doubt, the goal before India is federation, the Council of State may well remain as the embryo of a future Senate. The function of a Senate is to preserve the autonomy, the independent life, of the Provinces, whilst the other Chamber expresses, develops, and quickens the life of the nation as a whole. Of necessity the Council of State will at first have a strong official tinge. For that reason, and because the present is a stage of transition and training, its power over transferred subjects should be limited. In reserved subjects it should be supreme. It might hold a position analogous to the Grand Committees in the Provinces.

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### Lord Sydenham on Indian Reforms.

[The following appeared in the "National News" of England over the signature of Lord Sydenham. This is one of his Lordship's most clear presentation of his views of the matter.]

For more than four years the British people have been fighting for their existence in conditions of increasing stress. Sacrifices have been demanded from all alike. Sorrows have touched every home. The freedom of the individual has given way to the stern exigencies of War, and burdens of many kinds have been cheerfully borne. As we strive to follow the swaying fortunes of our arms, rejoicing in the splendid gallantry and devotion of our sailors and soldiers on sea and in the air, grieving for the heavy losses and the suffering entailed, and working strenuously to supply the needs of our fighting men, there has been no time to watch the rapid growth of a dangerous movement in India. In our intense preoccupation, the small section of English-educated politicians of the Indian upper caste saw their opportunity and have turned it to the fullest account. We are now face to face with demands based upon the avowed intention of making British Rule impossible, and we shall, while still engrossed in the world War, be called upon to take decisions upon which the fate of India must depend.

### A Seditious Group.

When War broke out it was certain that the Princes and Chiefs of India who realise what the downfall of Britain must mean to their class, would heartily and generously support the Imperial cause. It was as certain that the gallant Indian Army, under British officers whom it loved and trusted, would fight bravely wherever duty called. So much everyone who knew India confidently expected. What we did not expect was that the invaluable help of the Chiefs and of the fighting classes of India and the resources of the country, the utilisation of which for War purposes has brought wealth and prosperity to many Indians, would be alleged as valid reasons for handing over power to a little fraction of the population which has not only done nothing to help the Empire at a crisis in its fate, but has, by raising a ferment in India and by preaching contempt for British Rule broadcast since the War began, done its utmost to increase our abounding difficulties.

### Grave happenings kept secret.

The Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State practically admits this claim, and is mainly concerned with finding means of placating the little body of political agitators who have not even taken the trouble to veil their objects. The authors of this report disregard the grave happenings in India since August 1914, of which the public at home has been kept in ignorance. They are as oblivious of the pregnant experience of recent years, which has shown that every concession to the political party has led to outrages and to fresh demands couched in truculent language. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, which was welcomed by the Mohamedan population of the severed portion, was made the excuse for a violent agitation, which was not in the least appeased when the territorial frontiers of the Bengali nation were restored in 1911. The announcement that Lords Morley and Minto were incubating reforms led to a dangerous campaign of seditious oratory in Upper India and elsewhere, necessitating special measures of precaution. Then followed bomb outrages and the assassination of Europeans, to be succeeded by the murder of Indian police officers. The mission of Mr. Montague to India—a concession to agitation in the middle of the War—gave a fresh impulse to the forces of disorder, and the shameful organised attacks by Hindus upon peaceful Moslem villagers in Bihar was planned in anticipation of "reforms" which were expected to mark the further weakening of British rule. Whenever there has been yielding to the political *clique*, as in the release of Mrs. Besant from her pleasant place of internment, an increase of clamour and vituperation has resulted.

### A Crazy Constitution.

No one who has not closely followed the "Home Rule" or "Self-government within the Empire" movement during recent years, its propaganda and effects, can form an accurate estimate of the certain result of the adoption of the crazy constitution which the Report attempts to set forth. There are defects in our system of government which have often been pointed out, and some of them are now to be remedied; but that system has worked miracles in India, and there is not the faintest sign of a real popular desire for any change. The number of Indians holding offices of every kind has been steadily increasing. The Viceroy and Secretary of State record, but fail to perceive, the significance of the fact that,

under the Morley-Minto Reforms, Government has "generally preferred to give way" when face to face "with anything approaching solid opposition on the part of Indian members." In other words, Indian opinion—as is right and proper—now carries full weight. Where these Reforms have failed is that the elected Members of Council represent only a small privileged minority of the population, and nearly half of them are lawyers whose interests are, in too many cases, antagonistic to those of the real people of India. Here lies scope for further changes directed to ensure the representation of the working classes. A drastic overhauling of the whole system of education, which is visibly retarding progress, would be the wisest reform that could be undertaken; but only a strong Government could carry it out in face of interested political opposition.

### Russia's Lesson.

Everyone who realises all that is now at stake in India, the great Imperial interests involved in the maintenance of order, the wonderful progress since the Mutiny, and the appalling object lesson which the collapse of authority in Russia has provided, must study the proposals of the Report. The picture of Indian conditions which it presents fails to portray essential facts. The object at which it aims is to appease an artificial agitation by concessions which would have the effect of undermining all authority in India, and, by the administrative confusion which they involve, would powerfully stimulate and even justify the demand for more. So long as India is absolutely dependent upon Great Britain for internal order, for protection against external aggression, and for the credit which is enabling her to build up industries steadily growing, the paramount power of our Rule must be maintained, not by constitutional artifices, but as a living force everywhere recognised and respected. A Government which shows weakness is doomed.

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## VISCOUNT MORLEY ON INDIAN REFORMS.

*National Liberal Club—June 25, 1918.*

[At the National Liberal Club (Eng.) there was a distinguished gathering of eminent Indians, many M. Ps, and Lords, under the presidency of the Marquis of Lincolnshire on the unveiling of a marble bust of Lord Morley presented to him by his friends and admirers, mainly Indian. Lady Baig (Abbas Ali) unveiled the bust, and Sir M. Bhawanagare presented it with a fitting speech. Lord Morley thanked them in reply and in the course of his speech made a reference to the Indian Reforms then uppermost in everyone's mind.]

The motto of Lord Minto and himself was "Rally the moderates" and he hoped that that would continue to be the aim. Whatever changes might be necessary, no security could be certain unless they had the moderates with them. Lord Minto once wrote to him, "I do believe we can accumulate great influence if we only give to the people of India evidence of sympathy." Then the present Sovereign of this realm, who had just returned from India, made a speech at the Guildhall in which he said that sympathy was the keyword to success in holding the loyalty of and doing service for the Indians. Sympathy was no substitute for wise government; but, on the other hand, no government was wise which tried to do without it, and that certainly was a maxim that was followed during the time that Lord Minto was responsible for the government of India.

Lord Cromer had said a wise thing when he declared that it was much better to give an Indian an appointment over an Englishman, even though he was the less competent of the two. That was paradoxical, but it meant that you gained more in popular content than you lost in not having the best administrator. One did not need to have the genius of Aristotle to perceive that a Viceroy and a Secretary of State would be all the more likely to understand the feelings, the opinions, the drift of India if they had an Indian on the Advisory Executive Council. Looking back upon that controversy, he would say that the most essential of all reforms was the adoption of the principle that no Indian was unfitted as such to fulfil the highest duties of citizenship and the highest responsibilities of government. He recalled in this connexion the

solemn and sacred promise given by Queen Victoria that membership of any race within the Empire should not disqualify anybody for the holding of office

The admission of an Indian to the Secretary of State's Council was the most stiffly opposed of all the Morley-Minto reforms, but it was now the one reform to which there was no opposition at all. It had been, on the contrary, extended and amplified. In this respect they had been thoroughly justified by experience.

#### The Reforms.

Neither Lord Minto nor himself ever said that their reforms would put a stop to agitation, or that they would satisfy the political hunger of India. He was content, and he was sure Lord Minto would have been content, when he read that the feeling of the people of India was never so good as in 1914. Lord Hardinge also spoke of the vast political improvement that had taken place, and said it was entirely due to Lord Minto and himself.

Correspondents had asked him what he thought of the proposed reforms. He would be precipitate if he gave a bold "Aye" or "No", or praise or dispraise, though it would not matter if he did. He had given a careful study to the report. "Copiousness," he remarked "makes every thing more respectable to me; it is a literary habit", but he was not going to pronounce on the clauses, or what might happen on the Committee stage. He felt that he could not be mistaken in tracing the lineaments of the parental physiognomy of 1909 in the progeny of 1918. He had been reproached for stating that he would not take part in a reform of India that might lead to an Indian Parliament. He would like to know what was meant by a Parliament. He did not know whether the outcome of the proposals now before the country would amount to a Parliament, and what sort of a Parliament it would be. Therefore, that might well be postponed. But no one could suppose for a moment that all the convulsion and passion sweeping over the world was going to pass India by. Nothing could be more irrational than to imagine the people of India as saying that they were out of all this and wanted nothing. There were great and powerful bodies of Indians of whom that was not in the least degree true. As to the immediate proposals, he had the privilege and advantage of being the col-

league of the Secretary of State for India, and while he felt that Mr. Montagu's orders were more likely to be, on the whole recommended than any other that could be imagined, he deprecated at this early stage in the discussion of the matter the kind of truculence of tone already adopted by some organs of opinion who treated this serious and important movement in connexion with India as if it were a mere passing difference in our own public and political life. We needed all the freedom from party passion that we could get to bring us safely through the difficult position in which we were. He had the highest admiration for the zealous counsels and active experience and influence which Mr. Montagu had brought to bear on the problems of Indian government from the day that he entered the India Office, and no doubt he had continually cast the lead and taken his soundings before making his recommendations. Was it surprising that India should show herself alive and awake to all the events that were now passing in the world ?

Lord Macaulay once said :—"Do you think we can give the Indians knowledge without awakening their ambition ? Do you think we can awaken their ambition without giving them some legitimate vent for it ?" And then he said :—"It may be the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown our system"—that was to say, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, the Indians might in some future age demand European institutions. That was a process, said he, which would have to be carefully watched. It would have to be faced, and those would be just and wise statesmen who did not shrink from letting the Imperial public realise all that might lie before them. It could not be met by dogmatic negatives ; there could have to be considerate treatment, whether in the form of Mr. Montagu's proposals or in any other form.

### THE DAILY TELEGRAPH ON THE REFORMS.

[The following appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* (Lond.) of Aug. last. As a sample of the Anti-Indian Reform campaign led by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association the article quoted below will be read with interest in India ]

If it were not for our pre-occupation with the War, especially at so critical a time in its present course, we should be probably paying more attention to some of those questions about

Indian reform which were raised by Lord Sydenham in the House of Lords a week ago. We confess to a certain uneasiness on the subject, because points of great importance, as it seems to us, are being taken as settled, and considerations which are very germane to the issue are being put aside and neglected. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was placed before the House, it was settled that certain Committees should be appointed in order to examine the details of the scheme, and the natural inference was that their report would be submitted to the House before any further steps were taken. We have now before us the views taken by the non-official members of the Legislative Council and we will venture to say that such remarkable proposals are by no means of a kind that can be accepted without a great deal of anxious consideration. So far we can gather from the telegrams received from Simla, the Committee of non-official members of the Legislative Council, although approving in principle the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, allow themselves to make recommendations which are not so much of the nature of reforms as in their essence revolutionary. Naturally, perhaps, they ask for the introduction of responsible government into the Government of India, with a division of reserved and transferred subjects, the latter to be under the control of a Minister or Ministers with consequential budgetary powers. They then proceed to demand fiscal autonomy on the Dominions model, and it is suggested that the Viceroy's powers should be limited to military and political matters, and also to those affecting the defence of India. We have mentioned only the relatively moderate proposals. There are others which go much farther. The Indian Executive Government is to be half European and half Indian; the institution of a Privy Council—a very legitimate object of criticism—is condemned: 50 per cent. of the Indian Civil Service, it is suggested, should be recruited in India, while 25 per cent. of the commissioned officers of the Indian Army must also be Indians. These are the salient proposals; but we may remark that those which were urged by dissentient members of the Committee, were, of course framed after the model of the resolutions passed by the Indian Congress at Bombay. If we were to say that what the Committee demands, or at all events, what some members of the Committee demand, is a complete up-to-date democracy of the Russian type, it would hardly be exaggerating the general tendency of this Report.

Our objection, however, to this or any other scheme put forward does not depend so much on individual propositions as on the kind of assumption which underlies the whole procedure. In our opinion it is absolutely wrong that the India office should take for granted certain changes in India without any adequate discussion of the principles involved. The whole Indian scheme, with its manifest difficulties, and in some cases its absurdities, has never received any adequate discussion in Parliament, and the appointment of these Committees ought to have been surrounded with greater safeguards; at all events they ought not to have been appointed in advance of any general agreement on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. So far as this country is concerned, we see no reason to presuppose that proposals of an exceedingly serious and far-reaching character must, as a matter of course, and without any hesitation, be approved. To some extent we are being kept in the dark on vital points on which it is absolutely necessary we should have the opportunity for clear and unbiassed opinion. Take the case of the Report of the Rowlatt Committee. Lord Sydenham urged in the House of Lords that though this was a State paper of the greatest significance, we have not yet had the findings of the Committee in any complete form laid before us. "It was essential" Lord Sydenham said, "that Parliament and the public should not be left dependent on extracts from the Indian papers for information in this matter." He made the very natural suggestion that there had been some reluctance in publishing these revelations, for the revelations themselves are extremely serious and important. Within recent years, as most of those who have been in India know, there has been in existence a far reaching revolutionary movement which, to make its menace the more sinister, is under secret control. Of course, the Germans at the outbreak of the War did all they could to take a part in revolutionary activity. There was definite attempt made to import arms into India, and a very grave and threatening plot in the Punjab was discovered happily just in time. As a matter of fact, the story told by the Rowlatt Committee is that of a widely spread criminal conspiracy with ramifications existing all over the world, and the names of several prominent Indian politicians are mentioned whose speeches and writings were an open incentive to murder and assassination. The defence made for the non-publication of this Report is not of a very convincing character. Lord Islington said that "owing to a misunderstanding" copies of the Report had only been despatched as late as Oct. 9, and that to avoid any further delay the Secretary of State had given instructions that the Report



should be reprinted in this country and laid before Parliament in the course of a fortnight or three weeks. We agree with the Marquis of Crewe that what Lord Islington called a misunderstanding amounts to a really grave blunder. Here is information, equally valuable and serious which, from whatever cause, is kept back, although long ago it ought to have been made available for due consideration by the House. Nor must we forget that, in view of the drastic changes recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, every opportunity ought to be given for a full discussion, not only of the reasons which make this or a similar reform advisable or necessary, but also of the undoubted perils involved in a revolutionary movement, the existence of which everyone acknowledges, but which it seems convenient for certain officials to ignore.

### LORD ISLINGTON ON INDIAN REFORMS.

(*Pall Mall Gazette*)

[*The Rt. Hon. Lord Islington, G. C. M. G., D.S.O. P.C. was the Under-Secretary of State for India last year.*]

Those who are indulging in criticism of the proposed constitutional changes for India think too much of conditions as they ought to be and too little of conditions as they are. The ideal must, of course, be kept in sight. But the difficulties that make it impossible to realise the ideal all at once must equally be kept in view. India has never had responsible Government, as we understand it. Indians have not yet become a unified people, though during the past generation they have made considerable progress in that direction. These circumstances maké it necessary to go forward with great caution. It is far better to move forward slowly than to take a false step that might prejudice India's future.

I maintain that the only fair way to measure the institutions that are projected is to compare them with those that exist at present in India. Can any one who has made such a comparison say that the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms does not propose a definite break with the past? Can anyone who has made such a comparison deny that Indians are, for the first time, to have a measure of control over the official bureaucracy?

The exact extent to which such control can be handed over is, after all, a matter of detail. The main point is that the principle on which Indian governance is based is to be revolutionised. Anyone

who has grasped that basic fact is sure to agree that we are about to initiate silent but fundamental changes in the methods of Indian administration.

Time has moved forward. The schools, the colleges, and Universities created by us in India have borne abundant fruit. The railways, telegraphs, telephone, posts, and other means of communication introduced by us have helped to wipe out distance and to enable Indians to exchange views freely with one another. Foreign travel and education at our Universities and Inns of Court, and in other countries have enabled thousands of young Indians to obtain a nearer view of our institutions. We should be blind indeed if we did not recognise the potency of the impulses that we have set in motion, or if, recognising it, we refused to give them scope.

#### The Proposed Arrangement.

Officials, it must be remembered, will not remain masters of all the departments, as they are at present. On the contrary, they will occupy, in several departments, the position that permanent officials occupy in this country, the real head of the departments being the political chief responsible to Indian electorates.

This dual control is a mere transitory arrangement designed to help India to get over the stile. The greater the political aptitude Indians show, the quicker this system will disappear. Therefore, the pace of progress will, in a large measure, be set by Indians themselves.

We ought to take every possible care to ensure that the Indian Legislatures are truly representative of the Indian people, and are not merely composed of classes of superior intellectual power, irrespective of vital interests in the country. I am extremely doubtful that our Western system of territorial electorates will, at present, realise this essential object in India. It is however, unwise to pass final judgment upon the subject, until the labours of the Committees shortly to be appointed to enquire into the franchise and other allied questions, have been completed. But I will add this one observation. The extent, both in regard to number and importance, to which subjects are to be transferred to Ministerial control in provincial Legislatures should largely be determined by the extent to which an electoral system can be adopted, which will ensure a true representation of the people and interests in the Legislative Council of each province.

### Lines of Advance.

Many of the critics of the proposed constitutional reforms, for India seem to forget that we are contemplating, not merely political changes, but also administrative changes in India. Not only is the element of Responsible Government to be introduced into the major provinces of India, but these provinces are to be given increased financial and administrative power.

I for one—and in this connection I am expressing only my own personal views—am convinced that without thorough-going administrative reform the Indian problem will remain unsolved. As I pointed out last year in the course of the Mesopotamian debate in the House of Lords, and later in the course of an address that I delivered at Oxford, the present centralised system accumulates into its own hands the daily expanding activities and ambitions of that vast continent, 1,098,074 square miles in area, and with a population of over 244,000,000 persons, and as this goes on, the Governor General finds himself becoming more and more the mouthpiece of groups of highly centralised departments out of touch with provincial sentiment. We must reverse this system and give at least the major provinces freedom to manage their affairs without being perpetually subjected to control by the central authority which often causes undue delay.

### Administrative Freedom.

In my view the provinces must be given freedom in administrative as well as in financial matters, because you cannot have one without the other. It must, however, be not a mere paper freedom, but an actual, real freedom. It must be remembered, of course, that so long as a part of the provincial administration continues to be autocratically controlled, and therefore not responsible to Indian electorates, it is imperative to exercise a measure of check from above. Such control legitimately belongs to Parliament, and should be exercised through its agent, the Secretary of state for India.

During the six decades that have elapsed since the Act of 1858 was passed, the Secretary of State, who by the Act was furnished with complete power over Indian affairs, has in a large measure, delegated his authority to the Central Government in India. The provincial Governments are not sufficiently masters in their own house and are obliged to look to the Government of India for sanction before they can carry out work of purely local concern, often of a character that requires promptitude in action.

I am of opinion myself that in many matters of provincial administration a great deal more elasticity in control over provincial Governments should be established, and I believe this can be effected with greater success by the Secretary of State in Council re-assuming the powers granted him by the Act of 1858, and deciding afresh what matters can properly be left to the discretion of provincial Governments, those that can with greater convenience and efficiency be delegated by him to the Government of India, and those which he will reserve in his own hands. I believe that it is by pursuing a course in this direction that provincial governments can best be given that amount of freedom of action which it is desirable in the interests of their provinces that they should enjoy. In the above suggestion I am assuming that a select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, containing a strong element with experience of Indian affairs, is appointed on lines recommended in Section 295 of the Report and that certain changes are made in the India Office and in the constitution of the India Council.

#### Trade and Industry.

I believe, for instance, that the Secretary of State in Council would prove a more effective confirming authority than the Government of India in regard to matters pertaining to the development of trade and industry in India, which should become one of the most prominent features in Indian progress of the immediate future. Living and moving, as he does, in the financial centre of the world, he can easily place himself in communication with those concerned in finance and trade who will be in a position to afford him expert advice. Thus India would have everything to gain and nothing to lose through the abolition of the indirect method.

If the provinces are given a substantial increase of freedom of action, as I sincerely trust will be the case, the Provincial Governor of the future will have placed upon his shoulders many new and delicate duties. It is said by some that under the Reform Scheme the position of a Governor will become intolerable, and it will be difficult to secure any one to undertake the work. I cannot bring myself to believe that this will be the case. Men will have to be chosen of considerable experience, possessing tact and high quality in public affairs. The history of the British Empire presents a glowing record of public men who have left these shores and have filled with distinction and credit positions where they have had to discharge tasks no less onerous or difficult than those that will confront a Governor of an Indian province in the future. I have

little fear myself that, when the time comes, men will be found, as hitherto, to meet the occasion.

### THE SPECTATOR ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[The following two letters were addressed to the Spectator, one by Mr. Lionel Curtis, and the other by Mr. C. Roberts M.P., strongly objecting to the low and denunciatory language used by that paper in its comments on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We refrain from quoting the comments as they are full of the grossest abuse of Indians and the foulest attacks on all who sympathise with India. That paper, it requires only to be said, has outdone the the Indio-British association in its attack on Indian Reforms, and its knowledge of Indians and Indian affairs appears to be only equalled by the level of its own language.]

#### Letter of Lionel Curtis

Sir,

The following statement appears in your article on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report: "Now the gossips tell us that the Indian Report was thought and written by Curtis, camouflaged by Montagu, and signed by Chelmsford." When gossip is idle it ought to be stopped, and I must therefore say that I left India in February before the Report was written. I had said everything I had to say in my *Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government*, published in the previous December. This, like many other papers printed at the time, was before the Viceroy and Secretary of State. Both documents are in front of you, and you can judge for yourself how much or how little my arguments influenced their recommendation. But really the point is not worth the while either of yourself or of your readers at a time like this. What matters is simply how far those recommendations are sound or otherwise.

As, however, I am forced to take up my pen to contradict the gossips, I cannot lay it down without recording my protest against certain reference in this article to "*the political section of the Brahmanical cast in India.*" I submit to your better judgment, Sir, that "grave, demure, insidious, spring-nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed, philosophers of Hindostan" is a string of abuse not to be excused by the fact that it is given as a quotation from Burke. You cannot have realised the insults you are inflicting, nor yet the feelings to which they will give rise, when in the same paragraph you compare

Brahmins to jackals, and the whole psople of India to "a pack of animals outside in the dark waiting to be fed" We have enemies who are labouring constantly to sow hatred between Indians and ourselves. The writer of this article can know but little of modern India, or in using such language he would have hesitated to place a weapon so dangerous in their hands. A few days after the outgoing mails reach Bombav these words will be spreading broadcast throughout the vernacular Press, producing a flame of resentment in the minds of a deeply sensitive people. They will be printed and reprinted months hence, as coming from a paper hitherto recognised as the soberest organ of English opinion, and will cause the gravest embarrassment to those who represent us in India.

The class you are attacking has included men like the late Mr. Gokhale, Sir Sunder Lal, and hosts of others whom Englishmen have valued not only as friends but as loyal and enlightened supporters of the British rule. What excuse can be made for denouncing the whole class to which such men belong without exception or qualification? Your article will do definite mischief, not merely to your own cause. but to the whole position of England in India. I have never yet seen a situation which was helped by wounding people's feelings, still less those of a whole class and a whole people. As Lord Morley once said, "India is a country where bad manners are a crime," and in handling this grave crisis in Indian affairs, writers will do well to realise that all classes there are entitled to the same courtesy as those at home. I cannot picture you applying the language you have used of the Political Brahmanas and the people of india to the Frich Bishops or the people of Ireland. What public end do you think is served by such words?

I hold no brief for the Brahmana caste. But every thinking man who knows India and the Indian Press must hold a brief for the cause of temperance in public discussion. Our first duty in helping India towards responsible Government, is to teach that habit Precept is useless. Our only means are forbearance and example, and for the *Spectator*, of all papers, to open this discussion in a vein like this is nothing short of a public calamity. Every Englishman who has Indian friends will read your article with a feeling of shame. The best we can do now is to treat public discourtesy with the vigorous rebuke it deserves, and as my name is brought into the article, I must register my protest forthwith. But nothing can now mend the mischief it will do ...I am, Sir, &c.,

L. CURTIS.

## Letter of Charles Roberts, M. P.

Sir,

Your vehement denunciation of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for Indian reform impels me to ask space for some reply.

Clearly your attack is levelled not merely against these proposals but also against the Cabinet's declaration of August last. That declaration, anyhow, was not in favour "of two generations at the very least" of the principles of Wellesley and Cornwallis. It did not merely contemplate self-governing institutions "a very long way off." The goal of Indian policy was stated to be "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government." Doubtless progress was to be by stages, but "the Cabinet had decided that substantial steps were to be taken in this direction as soon as possible." That utterance has been quoted and requoted all over India. It came from a Coalition Government representing all parties, and not a ripple of dissent from it has been seen in Parliament during the last eleven months. It is not only a question of the personal recommendation of Mr. Montagu, though no Secretary of State has ever before had such opportunities of forming a judgment. The policy has been countersigned by the Viceroy, supported whole heartedly by the colleagues who accompanied Mr. Montagu to India, and accepted by the Viceroy's Council and by the Council of India. I do not argue that you are personally bound in any way by the Cabinet's declaration, but it has profoundly affected the situation. The doctrine of paternal Government by the Trustee is definitely abandoned. The time has come to take the quondam minor into partnership within a sphere limited at first but admitting of expansion. I would submit that the first step in your alternative policy for India can only be the dismissal from office of the Cabinet as a whole.

You think that the offer of self-government to India is prompted by "timidity" and a "mixed condition of pity and terror." I am surprised at the impression which the Report seems to have made on you in this respect. I can but honestly state the effect on my own mind of visits to Delhi and Lucknow. They left me with a vivid impression of the immensely increased strength of modern Governments for the maintenance of law and order, and for the control of vast tracts of territory. Starting from that consciousness of increased strength, we can, in my view, with far less risk than there might have been in the past, proceed to a devolution of self

governing powers, in the value of which we honestly believe. You warn us against the chance of a swift descent into anarchy. That may happen if a Government is as criminally weak as that of the Tsar. But where does the Montagu Report fail to provide for the due discharge of Imperial responsibilities or for the maintenance of law and order?

On one page you suggest that the Report proposes to "sacrifice the dumb millions of India to a single caste, literally to a minority of a tiny minority." On the next page, in sketching the constitution of your experimental Indian Republic, you feel that "as wide a suffrage as possible" might prove a safeguard against "the dominance of a single caste or clique." The provincial Legislative Councils under the Montagu Chelmsford scheme are to be based on as wide and direct a franchise as possible. They have the safeguards of "reserved" services and the Governor's veto. Why is it certain that they must sacrifice the dumb, but at least partially enfranchised, millions to a tiny fractional minority?

Your alternative experimental Indian Republic ("subject to the guidance of a political officer", as in a Native State) would, I think, prove either a sham or a probable failure. The Republic under a new Lord Cromer would probably have very little of the genuine Republic about it. If the political officer was indeed nothing but a friendly onlooker, then I would submit that the breakdowns in self-governing institutions, whether in old Revolutionary France or in Bolshevist Russia, come from plunging untrained into self-government without providing time for the gradual growth of the unwritten customs, conventions, and understandings on which successful free institutions rest. That is the justification for the policy of progressive stages on which the Cabinet's declaration and the Report are based. If unexpectedly the Republic, in spite of an abrupt start without preliminary training, succeeded, how on your principles could you refuse all India the chance of setting up similar institutions without first learning the practical business of self-government? As far as foresight can go, that would indeed involve a deliberate plunge into Bolshevism.

I cannot refrain from a final remark that scathing invective and contemptuous denunciation break no bones in England, though it seems hardly the best atmosphere in which a great problem should be discussed. But your words will be read in India. You are expecting Indians to accept a doctrine hard enough for them. India can produce apparently men like, let us say, the late Mr. Gokhale,



who, as far as one could judge, was as fitted to work free institutions as the average British Cabinet Minister. Indians have the success of Japan before their eyes. But after the Cabinet's declaration you expect them to write themselves down as fit only for another fifty years of the principles of Cornwallis and Wellesley, and as unable to obtain "for at the very least two generations" even some approach to the institutions which exist every where throughout Europe and America and which all Eastern countries are now trying to obtain. And passion in discussion breeds passion in return. Is it in the interests of the Empire to provoke an answering storm of vehement repudiation of a position which is insulting to themselves? Forgive me for saying that those who have admired the *Spectator's* gravity and calm in the past are puzzled to account for a strange lapse from your true and dispassionate self.—I am, Sir, &c.,

Charles Roberts.

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#### THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[H. H. The Aga Khan's book "*India in Transition*" which came out early last year 1917 sets forth His Highness' views on Indian Reforms. It enjoyed for some time an immense popularity and perhaps simplified Mr. Montagu's task by preparing the minds of English men for the acceptance of some Reforms which were growingly becoming inevitable and imperative. It is on this work that the following comment of the Gazette is based.]

The importance of the Aga Khan's book is not merely or chiefly in the scheme of reform which it advocates, though we believe that to be generally on sound lines, but still more in the account that it gives of the situation in India. It has hitherto been one of the principal arguments of the opponents of reform in India that if we yielded to the "agitators" we should be conciliating a small and unrepresentative class at the cost of alienating the much more powerful landowners, aristocracy, and ruling Princes who were the main support of British rule in India. We should be putting in power a handful of lawyers, journalists, and Anglicised Babus, who have no hold over the masses of the peasants, and would not be tolerated for a moment by the real Indian aristocracy if our protection were removed. There has for many years past been serious reason for questioning this hypothesis, and, if we may believe the Aga Khan, it has lost all validity in these times. The

picture that he paints for us is that all landowners, gentry, and ruling Princes, as well as politicians and Congressmen, are becoming united in a demand for some kind of responsible government. A right estimate of this movement, which is one of the principal features of Indian life since the war began, is so important that we will quote at some length what the Aga Khan has to say about it.

Increasingly, of late years, some of the best-known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a Constitutional and Parliamentary basis for their administrations. There can be no doubt that a liberal policy in British India will soon be followed in many of the States by widening applications of the principlal of co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. It is most gratifying to Indian patriots to note the sympathy which the Princes and Nobles have shown with the aspirations of the people of British India towards selfgovernment. After all, these rulers, unlike the small dynasties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Italy, are children of the soil, and have a natural sympathy and fellow feeling with their countrymen.

There could be no better or more convincing presentation of these aspirations of India, in brief compass, than that given by the Maharaja of Bikanir, in his historic pronouncement at the luncheon of the Empire Parliamentary Association to the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, at the House of Commons, on April 24th 1917. Those of us who personally know the ruling princes of to-day—so active, hard-working, patriotic, and devoted to the welfare of their people usually; so free from all "side," and, in a word, so different from the legendary Maharaja of the imaginative writers of the past—have no reason to doubt that this eloquent plea voiced not only the views of the educated people of India but also those of the average Ruling chiefs. In fact His Highness of Bikanir spoke on similar lines to his brother Princes when they entertained him to a dinner in Bombay on the eve of his departure for the Imperial War Conference. It may also be noted that the Maharaja of Alwar's speech was full of democratic enthusiasm which have made a considerable impression in India within the last two or three years.

We can hardly emphasise too strongly the importance of this passage. The Aga Khan does not exaggerate when he describes the Maharaja of Bikanir's speeches as historic. They were a warning to the official world that the old India could no longer be relied upon to back the opposition to the new; and before many months had elapsed it became evident that the Maharaja

had spoken not for himself alone but for a large number of the ruling Princes and leading men both in the Protected States and in India proper. From this moment it became clear that the Indian movement was on a much broader base than its opponents had supposed, and that it had in it the genuine elements of a rational demand.

For the next step forward the Aga Khan's watchword is decentralisation. He would have India regrouped into large Presidencies, to the Governorships of which he would make the Indian Princes eligible, give them elective assemblies with a variety of franchise qualification but follow the German rather than the British model by making the Governor and the executive independent of the Assembly, except that the latter might remove an unsuitable head of a Department by a three-fourths majority. For each Province he would have a Senate or Second Chamber, partly nominated and partly appointed by important bodies or interests. He would have the functions of the Imperial and Provincial Governments carefully delimited, leaving to the Central Government everything that could be called all-Indian. In fact, his constitution would be a Federal one. The Viceroy would have his Cabinet, and beside a Senate nominated by the Provinces and the Protected States, again on the model of the German Bundesrath.

The Aga Khan would give large scope to Indians in legislation, but take large guarantees against rash radicalism. He would make the executives independent of the elective assemblies and leave the Viceroy and his Cabinet in firm control of army and navy, foreign policy, fiscal affairs, and everything that concerned all-India, with the nominated Senate as his legislative organ. He would like the Viceroy to be a member of the Royal Family, and he would keep him bound to and even extend the reference of policy to Whitehall, though there would necessarily be some modifications in the method.

There are two aspects of the Indian question which need constantly to be borne in mind in these times. One is the internal and domestic problem of India; the other is the immense importance of India in Imperial and foreign policy. Upon the first of these aspects the Aga Khan has one very subtle and interesting remark to make. He quotes the dictum of the late Lord Cromer that a Government like that of Britain in India, i.e. a Government without popular sanction "could not maintain itself

except by light taxation," and he points out that this though true sets a limit to development. "Bureaucratic Government, even when well intentioned and paternal, is conscious of some lack of moral right to call for those sacrifices from the people that will raise their conditions in the cultural and sociological field *pari passu* with or in advance of the economic.' Elementary education, for example, is a crying need of India but the Government as at present constituted dare not face the taxation that would be necessary to make it general or universal. And so with a dozen other departments in which a liberal expenditure would be for the advantage of the country. The bureaucratic Government may pride itself on the lightness of its taxation and yet by that very fact convict itself as necessarily and inevitably unprogressive.

On the other aspect of the question, the foreign and Imperial, the Aga Khan writes with knowledge and good sense. The chapter entitled "Germany's Asiatic Ambitions" shows him to be thoroughly acquainted with the motives of European policy and though as a Mohammedan he has natural regrets at the course of events which estranged us from the Turks, he sees our point of view and concedes that in all the circumstances we were obliged to act as we did. But he insists that at the end of the war the right and perhaps the only counter to German Asiatic designs will be a loyal and contented India visibly typifying the free principles of the British Empire against German absolutism. The importance of India in Central Asiatic policy is too often forgotten and the Aga Khan does well to remind us of it. We believe with him that a loyal and contented India is the key to the position, and that if we rise to the occasion and are prepared with a generous and imaginative policy we shall reap our reward. The danger is not in going forward but in delays and evasions which may lead the Indian people to suppose that we attach no serious meaning to our promises and give the agitators ground or pretext for extreme course.

### THE AGA KHAN'S SCHEME.

[The following is a bare outline of the Scheme of Reforms proposed by H. H. The Aga Khan in his book "India in Transition"]

The scheme of Reforms proposed is based on a Federal idea embracing the Native Principalities as well as the Provinces.

As India is too vast and diversified for a successful unilateral form of free Government, the Provinces should be autonomous in which official executive responsibility would be vested in a Governor as directly representing the Sovereign. The most striking pro-

posal is that the Governorships should now be open to Indians, confining the choice for some years hence to Ruling Princes, Bikanir for instance, who would leave their own territory for five years for this greater field. Officially, as Governors, they should be free from their states for their tenure of office. Later on other Indians would qualify for the Governorships. The Aga Khan recommends the adoption of the American principle of freedom of the executive from legislative control so far as tenure of office is concerned.

Provincial legislatures should be greatly enlarged; Bombay, for example, having 180 to 220 members in order to have a representative of every district, community and substantial interest. There should be a Senate or Upper House and the power of both Houses over the legislature and finance should be subject only to the veto of the Governor, and the Legislature might possess the right of removing by a three-fourths majority an unsuitable or incompetent Departmental head. Another striking proposal, but by no means new, is that the Viceroy should be a member of the Royal family of England, the son or brother of the King-Emperor, as this will secure a reality in the loyalty of the people through a personal allegiance to the Ruling family to which the oriental mind is specially susceptible. There will be a Prime Minister presiding over a Cabinet, choosing his colleagues under the Viceroy's guidance as he thought best.

After due establishment of a federal constitution, and once internal federation was complete, it would sooner or later attract Persia, Afghanistan and all principalities from Africa and similar countries into a freewill membership of a great South Asiatic federation of which Delhi would be the centre.

The need for building up a national army and a real Indian navy is emphasised after a survey of foreign relations as affected by Germany's Asiatic ambitions and the Pan-Turanian movement. The Aga Khan insists that a certain way of securing progressive civilisation, order, method and discipline to India lies in the creation of trusted local authorities natural to the soil and placing side by side with them, the best British and Indian officials available, to carry out measures from universal education to military service and political enfranchisement which have been instrumental in the evolution of all great nations.

There must necessarily be a final break with a Government deriving its authority wholly from outside and the commencement must be made from the lowest to the highest of the full co-operation of the people. These are means by which India will become a renewed, self-relying and sincerely loyal partner in a united Empire.

## India in the Australian Senate.

[Senator Reid delivered the following speech in the Australian Senate in which a strong case was made out for granting Home Rule to India. The "Yellow peril" which haunts the White men of America and of the Far East was perhaps in the mind of some Senators who spoke of Japan and her designs in the Pacific.

As a safeguard Mr. Reid and others with him put forth the plea of knitting together the parts of the British Empire in still closer bonds by giving equal status to all, including India. In this connection his argument "Free India and she will give millions to fight and die for you", will be read with interest in India, for it is precisely this plea which was put forth by Sir Subramaniam, the President of the Home rule League, India, in his letter to President Wilson.]

Several speakers have referred in warning tones to the Eastern menace, and some honourable senators spoke of Japan in anything but respectful language. Even one honorable senator on this side of the chamber said that the bazaars of the East were filled with whispers about this large, desirable and unpopulated country of Australia, and he warned us that if something were not done to increase our population the consequence might be serious. I have never been one of those who feared the Asiatic bogey. Australia has every reason to be proud of and gratified with the honourable way in which Japan has during this War kept her compact with the Mother Country. If Japan had broken her treaty with Great Britain as the Germans broke the treaty regarding the neutrality of Belgium, Australia would have been at her mercy. I think we ought to recognise Japan's strict observance of her treaty obligations. I take the view that the safety of Australia lies in its being an integral part of the Empire.

### Empire's Mission to the people of the East.

I regard the Empire as having a mission, not only to the people of Australia, but also to the people of the East, and from my point of view by becoming a live part in the Empire and doing our best in this War, we shall be assuring our own safety and future against Japan or any other menace that may arise in the East. If Britain in her wisdom will recognise the grievances of India, there will be no danger to Australia in future, because India is a part of the Empire that cannot do without. Despite all the mistakes

that have been made, British rule has been for India's benefit. There are 317,000,000 Indian subjects of the British Empire and at the present time their leaders are asking in very earnest tones for Self-Government.

#### Self-Government to India.

As the Empire is desirous of establishing Self-Government in all small countries I trust that those who meet at the Imperial Conference table will see that India receives her share of self-Government and the right to work out her own salvation as part of the Empire. If that privilege is granted to her and she enters into the councils of the Empire, there will be no menace to Australia from the East because India is strong enough to dominate Asia. Of course, some will say that Australia does not wish to be holden to be a coloured race for its independence but India is as much an integral part of the Empire as is Australia, and if the Empire is to grow we must, as Britishers, have regard to the future solidarity of the Empire, because it stands for peace, progress, liberty, and Self-Government among its own people in a way that no other nation or race has done. We stand before the world as an example of those who have been able to settle Colonies and create Self-Governments. The Commonwealth is one of the examples to the world. In this chamber, we have heard a great deal about the liberty of Australians, and so forth. Where did we get it? We have inherited it from those who built the Old Country. It is not particularly a part of the soil of Australia; it is in the blood of the British race. It was brought here by those who came here. Our Constitution is the result of what Britain has built up in the past, and we can keep it only because we belong to the race and to the British Empire.

#### India will Supply Millions.

We are all anxious to see the War brought to an end. We do not know when it is going to end; but if the Secretary for India in the Home Government would see his way to granting India Self-Government, there would be no need for the Empire to fear Germany, or any Allies which it might get in Europe; because India could supply millions of men if they were required. No conscription would be necessary; the men would be supplied willingly so long as India was recognised as an integral part of the Empire. This is a thought that has been in my mind all through the War, though I have never mentioned it before in this chamber.

I am a strong conscriptionist. I hold that in a democratic country like this, where we all have an equal voice in the making of laws and equal liberties, all would be able and willing to fight for liberties to the last man and to the last shilling. But that policy is not being carried out, though the Empire is in very straitened circumstances owing to the submarine menace and the lack of man power. As Britain is producing all the munitions for the Empire, she may require outside help. Notwithstanding the part that America may play, I feel that the British Empire with all its might and strength is the one Power that will work for the future settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace. But it can only be done by welding all parts of the Empire. Let India be brought in as an equal with the rest of us. From the point of view of winning the war in which all our liberties are at stake, if India could come to the rescue, it could supply millions of men, some of them the best soldiers we could ever have. It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of the inhabitants of India belong to the Aryan race, as we do. Thousands of them have skins just as white as ours. We are merely a branch of the old Aryan family that went to Europe thousands of years ago.

**House of Lords will have to give Home Rule to India.**

**Senator Manghan.**—Does the honorable senator think that the British House of Lords will give Home Rule to India?

**Senator Reid.**—They will have to give it; and if it came along now the people of India would rally to the Empire and its Allies, and help to smash Germany for all time. If there is any way of getting Mr. Hughes to the Imperial Council, I trust that he will recognise that India is an indispensable part of the Empire. This Senate has passed resolutions that other countries should have Self-Government and Home Rule. It would probably be wise for us to resolve that India as a part of the Empire should be given self-government to work out her own salvation. When the war is over, the British Empire will have a strong part to play in maintaining peace, in bringing about liberty and progress and in establishing Governments where they should be established, allowing each race to work out its own salvation. The British Empire is the only Power that can do this, and for that reason, we should do our best to weld it together for the sake of the future peace of the world.

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### THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" ON THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

The **Home Rule** movement in India is a branch from the main stream of emancipatory feeling that is running throughout the old world. In little over a year it has become more powerful than any other movement that has been seen in India. It has made a clean sweep of educated India. It is hard to find an Indian youth of the educated classes that is not on fire with the hope it inspires. Already it has its branches in every province in India, and Home Rule reading-rooms and bookshops in all the larger towns. All the leading cities have several daily papers full of its propaganda; Madras has three or four, and new papers seem to rise every day. It has captured the Congress at a single blow, brushed aside the Moderates, and elected its leader, Mrs. Besant, president. It has captured newspapers owned by Moderates and dismissed directors unwilling to allow its propaganda in their columns.

The Moderates, men who have been the leaders of Indian reform for a generation, are as much at a loss in the face of this new movement as the Government. It is not only much stronger than any former movement. It is different in character. Reform has hitherto been an intellectual movement in India. Home Rule is for the most part emotional. The older movement rested on the strength of its case. The Home Rule movement rests on the strength of its following. The older movement was led by men like Gokhale, Mehta, Nairoji. The new is led by Tilak and Mrs. Besant. Congress was a purely deliberative body; the Home Rule league is purely propagandist. Its methods are Western. In each town a room or a shop is hired and a supply of Home Rule literature in the vernacular is kept. In the Chandni Chowk at Delhi, where all the races of India—Jats, Punjabis, Sikhs, Pathans, Bengalis—jostle one another in the crowded bazar, it is startling to come on a sign "Home Rule Reading room and Bookshop." The sign is bold and the letters are hard and staring. The fact, too, is hard and staring. The local committee, mostly young men of the educated classes, meet every Sunday to arrange meetings in the neighbouring villages during the week, which they address in turn. Propaganda of this kind, familiar enough in England, has been unknown in India hitherto. The League has plenty of funds, it has many wealthy patrons and the young men give their time and labour to the cause without stint.

Anglo-Indians speak of educated Indians as a "microscopic minority," but their intellectual output is immense. Every day brings forth a new pamphlet. Several different series have already appeared—the Home Rule series, the New India series, the Servants of India series, and others. For the most part they are well and temperately written, and make very effective use of the various declarations of our statesmen in favour of self-government. The manifesto that was presented to Mr. Montagu by the Home Rule League quoted Mr. Lloyd George: "The leading principle is that the wishes of inhabitants must be the supreme consideration in the settlement; in other words, the formula adopted by the Allies with regard to the disputed territories in Europe is to be applied equally in the tropical countries." President Wilson's speeches and addresses are reprinted. Every speech made in England, every declaration of our aims, every volume of Hansard, every book of politics, is watched and searched by the army of Home Rule workers for propaganda. Nothing escapes them, and being full of enthusiasm, their industry knows no limits. For the first time in her history Indian's millions are beginning to get a political education.

#### Repression would do more.

At the same time there is no idea of breaking the British connection. One hears little or nothing in India of an "Indian Republic." Separation is out of the question. Indians regard the two countries as thrown together by Providence like man and wife, for better or for worse. An Indian reformer grows very angry if you suggest to him that too brisk a propaganda might end in more Home Rule than Indians would like. India does not brood over past wrongs as Ireland does. The splendour of British ideals in India as laid down in the Proclamation of 1858 appeals strongly to the imagination of young India. As to the future, the young Indian's optimism has a note of confidence that is startling. "We do not ask the British to grant us Home Rule," said one of the League officials to the writer. "We ask God to grant it; we ask Him to hear our prayer if it be His will." "For myself, I am by no means sure," he added, "that five years of repression would not do more for us than Mr. Montagu's substantial measure of reform."

It is claimed by the League and denied by its opponents that the movement is a genuine Nationalist movement of the nineteenth-century type. The point of the claim is that if it is a genuine Nationalist movement it is a big thing and must command respect.

But there are few points of resemblance between this movement of an intelligentsia agitating for a place within their ruler's domain and the Nationalist uprisings of last century in Europe. Their ideals are Nationalist, and they speak a common tongue—English—but there the resemblance ends. The Indian movement belongs to an era of Nationalism. It seeks liberty, but liberty within the group. It is a demand not for the overthrow of a conqueror but for admission to his household.

### Sources of Inspiration.

To understand what is happening in India it is necessary to try to realise the atmosphere in which young India lives and the reverberations thereof caused our declarations about freedom in Europe. From one point of view years of experience in India are a hindrance to such an understanding. It is not India that is our problem at the moment, but the heart and mind of young Indians whom we have educated. The youngmen see India freshly as a new-comer sees it, and to a new-comer the fact that stands out in India, like Kinchenjunga at dawn, as definite as the Taj in the moonlight, is that in his own country the Indian is a subject and inferior people. Nothing that one has read about India prepares one for the solidity of that fact. To the European in India this startling discovery has become commonplace, one of the ideas associated with India, like the Indian sun. Even to Indians of the older generation it has become commonplace, too, and that has cost the Moderate his leadership. But the young men feel it most acutely ever new.

In India daily intercourse between the races is not governed by the policy of the Government of India Act of 1833, or the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. There is no attempt in everyday life to give practical expression to the declaration of equality among the subjects of his Majesty. Wherever Europeans and Indians meet, whether in the street, or the train, or the steamboat, the relation between them is the simple one of ruler and ruled. Intercourse between the races is carried on always with this in mind. The prestige of the ruling race must be maintained. It is astonishing with what skill and address this immense structure is maintained, particularly by young men of good family. One is almost moved to regret the various democratic upheavals that have deprived these young Olympians of the opportunity to exercise their great talents at home. Even Indian Nationalists like and admire them. But Europeans in India are not all men of the highest breeding, and

the doctrine of the prestige of the Raj in less exalted quarters is allowed a more natural expression and evokes a more natural response.

*How long ere thou take station ? How long ere thralls live free ?*

Such is the motto of the League printed on the cover of all its pamphlets. Political equality is merely a means to an end. The end is social equality, the abolition of all that would suggest that the Indian is not as good as the European. "How long ere the thralls live free?" is the true inspiration of the Home Rule League. And it is that call which has brought to the banner of Home Rule a most heterogeneous collection. Politicians that in the West would be divided into a hundred warring sects—landlords and single-taxers, zamindars and agrarian agitators, capitalists and strike organisers, Protectionists and Freetraders—all are gathered into the fold. A busy Collector, with no other place to put him, keeps a big zemindar waiting under a tree for a couple of hours among a crowd of his social inferiors. Straightway a Home Rule recruit is made. A Bombay mill-owner taking a holiday in a remote province, meets an official on horseback. To quote the millowner, "He looked at me keenly as I passed. Then he stopped his horse. 'Stop' he said, and I stopped. 'Haven't you the common courtesy to salute' he said. 'Why should I salute?' I asked. 'Do you not know who I am?' he said. 'I do not,' I replied. 'I am the Commissioner of the District,' he replied. 'No doubt,' I said, 'but if you were the Lieutenant Governor I am not bound to salute you. The viceroy himself would not expect it.' 'Who are you?' he said. 'Where do you come from?' 'Are you going to settle in this district?' 'That is not my intention,' I replied, with a smile. And he rode on frowning." On his way home the same millowner was violently abused at the railway station for opening the door of a lady's compartment to let his wife in. Result, another wealthy patron for the League.

It must not be supposed that all this is mere wanton rudeness on the part of Anglo-Indians. It is not. These things arise inevitably out of the position of the white community, like small islands in an ocean of humanity. But they provide the chief motive for the Nationalist movement and put steam into its propaganda. It is these facts which have made Indians sink their differences and unite to attain a common end. Politically the Home Rule movement is a

State within a State. It stretches from the extreme left of Tilak and Srinivasa Sastri to the rajas and landowners on the extreme right. All classes come into its net—landlords who think the permanent settlement a stroke of genius, land reformers who would make an end of it to-morrow. Hindu revivalists, Mahomedan revivalists all are one in the desire to walk erect in their own streets like other people. "If the Japanese and the Chinese and the Peruvians and the Brazilians and the Nicaraguans can manage their own affairs surely we can also."

### India in Revolution.

*[The following article from the pen of Mr. Bernard Houghton appeared in the "Positivist Review" of.....1918. Mr. Houghton's clear uncloyed perception of Indian problems and his courageous and far-reaching advice to his countrymen as to the handling of the present day India entitles him to a position amongst the Statesmen who are now sitting in Paris. See also his article in India, p.....]*

It is seldom that the great political questions which agitate foreign lands are presented to English readers with impartiality. The correspondents of the Press agencies are usually influenced by the traditions and interests of the classes in which they move; nor are the agencies themselves by any means free from bias. The news supplied from India is a case in point. It presents events entirely as seen through European eyes. Every event, even of trivial importance, that can militate against the grant of the Indian demands, is promptly telegraphed, whilst the great and orderly meetings, the overwhelming evidence of national movement and awakening, are passed by in silence. Hence it is that the British public remains in profound ignorance of the real conditions in India. It does not even "see through a glass darkly"; what little it sees is so distorted as to be a mere travesty of the truth. The real facts of the case are that India is stirred to its depths by the ideal of self-government; the whole empire is electrified by the spirit of nationalism, with its hope of increased self-respect, of a real national life, of progress on the basis of an ancient civilisation, hallowed to Indians by untold centuries. It is a revolution, albeit an orderly revolution. With the exception of the revolution in China, we are witnessing what is, at least numerically, the greatest movement in the history of mankind. So swift is the progress of the new ideas in

India that measures which might suffice in one year will in the next be almost outside the range of practical politics. That is a fact of which it behoves our statesmen to take note. The phenomenon is not confined to India. The startling rapidity of the revolution in China, the diffusion like a lightning flash of Bolshevik idea in Siberia, are within the recollection of all. It is to this cause that is due the failure of the Morley-Minto constitution. Issued with the announcement that it must suffice India for a generation, it would save for the truce at first called by the war, have been barely adequate for a lustrum. True, it was administered by the Simla Government in so unsympathetic a spirit that the Councils have come to be regarded as "a cynical and calculated sham." But essentially it was a measure which could offer but the briefest of pauses in the struggle between the peoples of India and their Government. It failed in that it made no provision for the already strong desire for self-determination. With this object lesson in view, few who know the present-day conditions in India will think that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report goes too far. The peril is rather that the reforms, already belated, may not satisfy even temporarily existing aspirations. Unless they find acceptance now, it is unlikely that they will endure for long or that the gathering clouds of ill-will and discontent will be dissipated in the sunshine of a healthy national life.

### **The Reform Report.**

In many respects the Report will have the assent of all progressive minds. The peremptory order to free local boards from official trammels, the at least partial abolition of communal representation, the elected Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, the increased Indian element in the Executive, and the reform of the Council of India here all mark a notable advance and evince true statesmanship. So too does the division in the Provincial Governments of subjects into reserved and transferred, a scheme which probably offers the best solution of the problem of how to pass from a bureaucratic to a truly popular form of government.

But the proposal that the Indian minister in charge of the transferred heads should be irremovable by the Assembly will never do. Suppose, as will quite probably happen, that the minister is at variance with the Assembly on some vital question of policy. The Assembly will not vote on his proposals, they will cease to have confidence in him, yet they will be unable to remove him from office.

The result will remove him from office. The result will be a deadlock inside the Assembly and violent agitation without. Unless, too, the minister represents the majority in the Assembly there is no real education in self-government. Surely the better way is to have the minister, as in our own Constitution, responsible to the Assembly, and his terms of office contingent on its confidence.

The chief defect in the Report concerns the Government of India. That Government is regarded by Indians, and with reason, as the entrenched citadel of officialdom, the incarnation of all that is bad in the bureaucratic regime. Yet the proposals leave it practically unreformed. Though the official block disappears from the Imperial Assembly, a Council of State is created which answers the same purpose. The Assembly becomes in fine a mere Advisory Council. Is that a step towards self-government or political responsibility? Is it an un-reformed central government likely to administer the new constitution with sympathy? Surely not. The mere addition of an Indian member to the Executive Council will not remedy matters. What is required is the division of the portfolios into reserved and transferred, the latter being in charge of a minister responsible to the Assembly, exactly as I have suggested in the Provinces. Such an amendment would go far towards liberalising the Simla bureaucracy; it should strike the imagination of India, whilst providing a real half-way house on the road to popular government. As matters stand the covert sneer in the Report—surely not from the pen of Mr. Montagu—"Hanoz Dihli dur ast," (Delhi is yet far off) has only too much justification. From the comparative seclusion of Simla and Delhi bureaucracy still smiles, serene and unabashed, on the gathering hostility of a united India. In a recent speech Mr. Montagu affirmed that the reason why the reforms were so limited was the division by religion, race, and caste of Indian society. As the harshness of this division tends to disappear further steps forward will be possible. But if so, why is Burma, which is free from such division not included in the scheme of reform? The Burmese, who are strongly patriotic, are just as well suited as the rest of India for a democratic polity, except in one particular—they have not conducted a menacing agitation to that end. The conclusion is obvious.

In proportion as a people becomes patriotic and has scope for national development in the form of free institutions, the acerbities due to class and religious cleavage tend to disappear. Man has only room for one great object of devotion. Make patriotism that

object—indeed patriotism in its truest and best sense is closely akin to Positivism—and the estrangements due to religion, race or class fade away. All classes tend to become not mutual foes but brothers, their hatreds and repugnances dissolved in the love of their common fatherland. We have seen the process at work in the United States, in Canada and in South Africa. Signs of it are already visible in India, witness the historic pact of Lucknow in December, 1916, between Hindus and Mohammadans. The freer the scope now given for national aspirations, the quicker will be the progress of this beneficent force.

The other great countries of Asia—Japan, China and Siberia—have each had their Revolution whereby they exchanged absolutism and stagnatism for democratic ideals. It is now the turn of India. We may hope that, unlike the happiness in those countries, the Revolution in India will move by peaceful stages. But peace or violence, bloodshed or orderly development, hang on whether the British Government and public realise the momentum of the forces that confront them, and, in sympathy with these forces, give adequate scope for their development.



## SIR RABINDRA NATH TAGORE IN THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

### The Meeting of the East and the West.

For over a century and a half India has borne a foreign rule which is western. Whether she has been benefited by it, whether her arts and industries have made progress, her wealth increased and her opportunities of self-government multiplied, are a matter of controversy which is of very little material interest to the present generation of our countrymen, as it cannot change facts. Even from the point of view of historical curiosity it has a very imperfect value, for we are not allowed to remember all facts except in strict privacy. So I am not going to enter into any discussion which is sure to lead to an unsatisfactory conclusion or consequences.

But one thing about which there has been no attempt at concealment or difference of opinion is that the East and the West have remained far apart even after these years of relationship. When two different peoples have to deal with each other and yet without forming any true bond of union, it is sure to become a burden, whatever benefit may accrue from it. And when we say that we suffer from the dead weight of mutual alienation we do not mean any adverse criticism of the motive or the system of government, for the problem is vast and it affects all mankind. It inspires in our minds awe verging upon despair when we come to think that all the world has been bared open to a civilisation which has not the spiritual power in it to unite, but which can only exploit and destroy and domineer and can make even its benefits an imposition from outside while claiming its price in loyalty of heart.

Therefore it must be admitted that this civilisation, while it abounds in the riches of mind, lacks in a great measure the one truth which is of the highest importance to all humanity; the truth which man even in the dimmest dawn of his history felt, however vaguely it might be. This is why, when things go against them, the peoples brought up in the spirit of modern culture furiously seek for some change in organisation and system, as if the human world were a mere intellectual game of chess where winning and losing depended upon the placing of pawns. They forget that for a man winning a game may be the greatest of his losses.

Men began their career of history with a faith in a Personal Being in relation to whom they had their unity among themselves. This was no mere belief in ghosts but in the deeper reality of their oneness which is the basis of their moral ideals. This was the one great comprehension of truth which gave life and light to all the best creative energies of man, making us feel the touch of the infinite in our personality.

Naturally the consciousness of unity had its beginning in the limited area of race—the race which was the seed-plot of all human ideals. And therefore, at first, men had their conception of God as a tribal God which restricted their moral obligation within the bounds of their own people.

The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonials and their conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

During the Mahomedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints and Mahomedan sufis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mahomedans, as well as of Hindus.

In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Roy, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan Roy was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma.

Other men of intellectual eminence we have seen in our days who have borrowed their lessons from the West. This schooling makes us intensely conscious of the separateness of our people giving rise to a patriotism fiercely exclusive and contemptuous. This has been the effect of the teaching of the west everywhere in the world. It has roused up a universal spirit of suspicious antipathy. It incites

each people to strain all resources for taking advantages of others by force or by cunning. This cult of organised pride and self-seeking, this deliberate falsification of moral perspective in our view of humanity, has also invaded with a new force men's minds in India. If it does contain any truth along with its falsehood we must borrow it from others to mend our defect in mental balance. But, at the same time, I feel sure India is bid to give expression to the truth belonging to her own inner life.

Today the western people have come in contact with all races of the world when their moral adjustment has not yet been made true for this tremendous experience. The reality of which they are most fervidly conscious is the reality of the Nation. It has served them upto a certain point, just as some amount of boisterous selfishness, pugnacious and inconsiderate, may serve us in our boyhood, but makes mischief when carried into our adult life of larger social responsibilities. But the time has come at last when the western people are beginning to feel nearer home what the cult of the nation has been to humanity, they who have reaped all its benefits, with a great deal of its cost thrown upon the shoulders of others.

It is natural that they should realise humanity when it is nearest themselves. It increases their sensibility to a very high pitch within a narrow range, keeping their conscience inactive where it is apt to be uncomfortable.

But when we forget truth for our own convenience, truth does not forget us. Up to a certain limit, she tolerates neglect, but she is sure to put in her appearance, to exact her dues with full arrears, on an occasion which we grumble at as inappropriate and at a provocation which seems trivial. This makes us feel the keen sense of the injustice of providence, as does the rich man of questionable history, whose time-honoured wealth has attained the decency of respectability, if he is suddenly threatened with an exposure.

We have observed that when the West is visited by a sudden calamity, she cannot understand why it should happen at all in God's world. The question has never occurred to her, with any degree of intensity, why people in other parts of the world should suffer. But she has to know that humanity is a truth which nobody can mutilate and yet escape its hurt himself. Modern civilisation has to be judged not by its balance-sheet of imports and exports, luxuries of rich men, lengths of dreadnaughts, breadth of dependencies, and tightness of grasping diplomacy. In this judgment of

history, we from the East are the principal witnesses, who must speak the truth without flinching, however difficult it may be for us and unpleasant for others. Our voice is not the voice of authority, with the power of arms behind it, but the voice of suffering which can only count upon the power of truth to make itself heard.

There was a time when Europe had started on her search for the soul. In spite of all digressions she was certain that man must find his true wealth by becoming true. She knew that the value of his wealth was not merely subjective, but its eternal truth was in a love ever active in man's world. Then came a time when science revealed the greatness of the material universe and violently diverted Europeans attention to gaining things in place of inner perfection. Science has its own great meaning for man. It proves to him that he can bring his reason to co-operate with nature's laws, making them serve the higher ends of humanity; that he can transcend the biological world of natural selection and create his own world of moral purposes by the help of nature's own laws. It is Europe's mission to discover that Nature does not stand in the way of our self-realisation, but we must deal with her with truth in order to invest our idealism with reality and make it permanent.

This higher end of science is attained where its help has been requisitioned for the general alleviation of our wants and sufferings, where its gifts are for all men. But it fearfully fails where it supplies means for personal gains and attainment of selfish power. For its temptations are so stupendously great that our moral strength is not only overcome but fights against its own force under the cover of such high-sounding names as patriotism and nationality. This has made the relationship of human races inhuman, burdening it with repression and restriction where it faces the weak, and brandishing it with vengefulness and competition of ferocity where it meets the strong. It has made war and preparation for war the normal condition of all nations, and has polluted diplomacy, the carrier of the political pestilence, with cruelty and dishonourable deception.

Yet those who have trust in human nature cannot but feel certain that the West will come out triumphant and the fruit of the centuries of her endeavour will not be trampled under foot in the mad scrimmage for things which are not of the spirit of man. Feeling the perplexity of the present day entanglements she is groping for a better system and a wiser diplomatic arrangements. But she will have to recognise, perhaps at the end of her series of death lessons, that it is an intellectual Pharisaiism to have faith only in

building pyramids of systems, that she must realise truth in order to be saved, that continually gathering fuel to feed her desire will only lead to world-wide incendiarism. One day she will wake up to set a limit to her greed and turbulent pride and find in compensation that she has ever-lasting life.

Europe is great. She has been dowered by her destiny with a location and climate and race combination producing a history rich with strength, beauty and tradition of freedom. Nature in her soil challenged man to put forth all his forces never overwhelming his mind into a passivity of fatalism. It imparted in the character of her children the energy and daring which never acknowledge limits to their claims and also at the same time an intellectual sanity, a restraint in imagination, a sense of proportion in their creative works, and sense of reality in all their aspirations. They explored the secrets of existence, measured and mastered them ; they discovered the principle of unity in nature not through the help of meditation or abstract logic, but by boldly crossing barriers of diversity and peeping behind the screen. They surprised themselves into nature's great storehouse of powers and there they had their fill of temptation.

Europe is fully conscious of her greatness, and that itself is the reason why she does not know where her greatness may fail her. There have been periods of history when great races of men forgot their own souls in the pride and enjoyment of their power and possessions. They were not even aware of this lapse because things and institutions assumed such magnificence that all their attention was drawn outside their true selves. Just as nature in her aspect of bewildering vastness may have the effect of humiliating man, so also man's own accumulation may produce the self-abasement, which is spiritual apathy, by stimulating all his energy towards his wealth and not his welfare. Through this present war has come the warning to Europe that her things have been getting better of her truth, and in order to be saved she must find her soul and her God and fulfil her purpose by carrying her ideals into all continents of the earth and not sacrifice them to her greed of money and dominion.

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## THE "TEXTILE MERCURY" ON INDIAN TRADE.

*The following is an extract from the Textile Mercury of Manchester which strongly exposes the inequity of the British Commercial and Industrial policy towards India.*

## Cotton Cultivation and Manufacture.

India not only is, but was, growing cotton, spinning and manufacturing, centuries before cotton was seen in this country. . . . Indian muslin used to be one of the finest fabrics woven long years before a single bale of cotton had been grown in America. Indeed almost before we began to use American cotton in this country, so serious did we consider the competition of Indian muslins with Lancashire products that in 1790 they were prohibited from being imported into this country. Cotton was first grown in America in 1786. If therefore the staple of Indian cotton has deteriorated, it is an open question as to how far the United Kingdom has contributed to this very unfortunate result by preventing the importation of her finest products. It is certain that this action of Great Britain if not absolutely the cause was largely contributory to this disastrous result, disastrous alike to Indian cotton growing, spinning and manufacturing, and to Lancashire by depriving her for long years of an alternative supply of suitable cotton.

With such a large number of its people depending upon cotton growing and manufacturing, India has for long years been desirous of regulating the importation of foreign power-woven fabrics, in the interests of its hand-loom and power-loom workers. . . .

The British Government compels India against her will to open her markets freely to foreign manufacture in accordance with the policy adopted in this country in 1861. The great self-governing dominions will have none of it. Canada, Australia, South Africa are free and unfettered in this respect. India is bound by our insular folly. But worse has to be recorded. When the Indian Government proposed an all round import duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for revenue purposes, she was compelled, at the instance of Lancashire, to impose an excise duty to the same amount upon all Indian manufactures of the same classes. No other British exporting industry has asked for or received such special treatment. This policy is enforced upon India, not for her good, but admittedly and solely in the interests of Lancashire. It will readily be understood that this excise duty is far from popular in India. It does seem curious for Lancashire to boast of her world supremacy, and yet to stand in

such fear of a possible  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent advantage in goods made from coarse counts. We are told by Lancashire's spokesmen that Lancashire does not want coarse goods business and is quite content to let the foreigner make them, as she concentrates on fine goods. The position is not logical. If we are quite willing that the foreigner should make his own coarse counts, why prevent India from doing the same?

*Some Trade Relations with India and the United States.*

Exports of Cotton Manufactures (excluding yarn) from the United Kingdom Annual average, 1909-12

To the United States	£3,095,000
To India	£27,476,000

India therefore, buys annually from us nine times as much as America.

Incidence of Trade Between the United Kingdom, India, and the United States. (Board of Trade Memorandum).

Imports from India, £57 millions, average duty levied on same by U. K.

£5,300,000

Imports from U. S. A. average duty levied on same by U. K.

£123 millions,

£850,000

Exports to India, £58 millions, average duty levied by India.

2 percent Exports to

U. S. A. 839 millions, average duty levied by U. S. A.

73 per cent

The disproportion between the amount of duty levied by Great Britain upon India and American produce is very striking, as is the discrepancy in the duties levied by them on British produce. And yet in the face of this glaring inequality of treatment, apart altogether from the relative deserts of the two countries, when in 1903 the greatest Colonial Minister the Empire ever had, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, proposed that some of the tax of 5d per lb on Indian tea should be transferred to American wheat or flour, English gentlemen denounced the proposal as a tax on food. Was it in ignorance? Was it due to arly prejudice? Or was it—? It was.

**JUSTICE TO INDIA.**

Prior to 1858 India was under the administration of a commercial company. In 1858 the British Government took over the

reins from the East India Company, and since then India has been an integral part of the Empire. There was then, and there is now, a general desire on the part of the people of these islands that her Government should be absolutely impartial, to her own good and as far as may be in consonance with her own wishes and ideals. Can any man say in face of the recorded facts that this is the case in matters industrial and commercial? One of the most glorious pages in the history of the British Empire is that which records how on the outbreak of war in 1914 the millions of our fellow subjects in India sprang to the side of Britain. Equal justice to India! Nay, more than equal justice, large-hearted generosity is her due. How better can this oneness in ideal be resented and perpetuated than by finding men to guide and means to provide for the restoration to its old high standard of her cotton industry. And even as we should thus be greatly benetting the millions of our Indian fellow subjects most of whom are always living very near to the border line of poverty and famine, we should also be greatly helping ourselves by rising their financial status, at one and the same time be providing a supply of raw material for Lankashire spindles from the cotton fields of India.

### India's Population Poorest in the World.

We now turn to another branch of the cotton industry. The manufactured product from the raw material: its distribution. Of the total annual product of the industry we have seen that five-eighths is exported. The amount exported annually on the average of the five years 1909-13, yarn and manufactures taken together, was £112 millions. To India alone we exported out of the total £29 millions. In the case of raw cotton we have seen that the law of the even distribution of load is seriously infringed by depending upon one single country, the United States of America, for three-fourths of our supply. The same thing is repeated in the case of the disposal of the manufactured product from the raw material. We depend upon one country, India taking more than one fourth of the total exports. It is true that she has a large population, it is also true that it is the poorest population in the world. The policy hitherto adopted of putting a brake on the internal industrial development of India is disasterous, in that it consists of the senseless performance described in ancient adage as 'killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.' It is certain that in the not very distant future America will absorb all the cotton she grows.



### Agricultural Suicide in England.

Before leaving this branch of the subject it may be as well to point out that the operation of Nature's laws and forces is not confined to the cotton industry. 'The Reign of Law' is all embracing. We will cite a few other industries in order 'to point a moral or adorn a tale.' Agriculture is the greatest of all our national industries, and not only intrinsically but extrinsically, of great importance to the country at large. Food is the first necessity of the people. A prosperous agricultural industry is conducive to the commonweal, in that while on the one hand it supplies food, on the other it is a purchaser of the goods from the manufacturing districts. A depressed agriculture is, on the converse, a dead weight on the manufacturing interests. The relative importance of agriculture is clearly shown by the following comparison of production and persons engaged.

#### Census of Production (1907)

	Production.	No. of persons employed
Agriculture	£210,000,000	988,210
Cotton	176,000,000	572,869
Coal Mining	123,000,000	840,240
Iron and Steel	105,000,000	262,225

In 1861, 1,803,049 persons were engaged in agriculture, so that in 40 years the number of persons employed in it had fallen to one-half. Over a million acres had gone out of cultivation and agricultural land values, i.e. rents, had decreased by millions sterling. And we are living in a fool's paradise, depending upon America for one fourth of the imported food of the people.

'Dynamics is the science that deals with force and inertia. Cotton Dynamics is the same with a difference; it deals with forces and inertia.' With these words we commenced our investigation. You can not see the forces of nature, you see the effects of operation of forces and the laws which control them. So in the cotton industry the effects of the forces are what we see. What then have we seen?

### India Dumping Ground of the World.

The principal cause of the decreasing trade with foreign countries is due to the establishment by them of cotton industries of their own. For the better development of these British goods are excluded by means of heavy duties. The lowest average on cotton

goods is in the case of Italy 37 per cent and highest average is Russia with 203 per cent duty. The highest specific duty is levied by the S. A. viz., 375 per cent on sewing cotton. These foreign countries which began by excluding British goods, so as to enable their home markets to be supplied by their own manufactures, finally produced a surplus, for which they had to find a market. By our action in 1861 of abolishing the duties upon all manufactured goods, we provided for the surplus the only great open market of the world. It was then to the British Empire that the surplus manufactures of all the foreign countries came duty free.

In face of the fact that foreign countries were raising what were tantamount to prohibitive duties against our manufactures, we deliberately threw away the only weapon for self-defence which we possessed—the power to bargain. Those foreign countries had us at their mercy, and from then till now they have mercilessly punished our manufactures, while building up their own, till they have become formidable opponents not only in all the foreign markets, where they have trading advantages over us, but also in the United Kingdom where by fair means or foul they are undermining and destroying one British industry after another, compelling us at the same time, helplessly, to buy from their own trade essentials, at their own prices.

The exports of textile machinery to foreign countries has increased *pari passu* with the decrease in the exports of cotton goods. Japan is an Ally; she excludes British cotton goods by import duties and that notwithstanding, is allowed free entry to all British Empire markets, except those of the self-governing Dominions. The English language has the largest and richest vocabulary in the world, and yet it can not supply words strong enough to suitably describe the ineffable folly of one-eyed politicians, with that solitary option fixed upon the ballot box."

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## INDIA IN JAPAN.

### Marquis Okuma on India.

[In "the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association" of January last Marquis Okuma contributes an article on "The Post-Bellum Mission of Japan" in which he obligingly refers among other matters to India which is indeed very interesting.]

First of all, let us be liberal and large-minded enough to appreciate and sympathise with China. Her people belong to the same race as we, and use the same written language as ours, and it ought to be no difficult question for us to enter into more intimate national and economical relations with them than at present. In addition to this, let us endeavour to establish closer intimacy with the Southern Pacific Islands, and what is vastly more important, with India. The nations of the East can not generally be regarded as highly advanced, and it is the duty of Japan to guide and assist them in their onward progress. She can thus make a valuable contribution to the peace of the world and to the advancement of civilisation.

Let me speak of India a little more. Several months ago, Mr. R. D. Tata, a member of the famous Tata House of Bombay, visited this country. He complained that it is to be much regretted that the Japanese do not pay due respect to the Indian people; although the latter welcome the former as friends, some of the former, imitating the example set before them by Englishmen, are apt to treat the Indian people with contempt, and that under such circumstances it would not be possible for the Indians to be on terms of intimacy with the Japanese, however much the former may desire it, the result being that the feelings of Indians towards Japanese are generally undergoing a change for the worse.

Such is the cry of disappointment of the Indian people. Their trust in us and their sympathy with us seem to be undergoing a test, and if this state of things continues much longer, friendship between the two peoples will suffer, perhaps irrevocably. This is, indeed, a very serious question with us, and so long as our people do not acknowledge their own fault and determine to be wiser, they can never be expected to achieve any considerable economical or political success in foreign countries, for to be a great people, we must entirely do away with egotism and race prejudice, and while we endeavour to develop ourselves, we must show respect for and sympathy with other peoples, and assist them in their efforts to progress.

If intimate national and economical relations can be established between all the countries of the East, and their co-operation secured, then the peace of the Orient will be a great contribution towards securing the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind. Such has been, and will be, my ideal.

If China can be developed and advanced by the efforts of Japan, not only the East, but also the whole world will be benefited.

## *ON JAPAN AND INDIA*

Considering Japan's geographical position and her historical and racial relations with China, it is evident that she is better fitted than any other nation for the accomplishment of this noble task. Again, if Japan can become more intimate with the Southern Pacific Islands and with India, this in itself will be instrumental in bringing us to a better understanding with England and other powers. The East and the West can thus be united in a much closer tie of friendship, which will be a great step towards securing the peace of the world.

Situated outside the sphere of Western civilisation, Japan has yet been able to make wonderful progress by adopting and digesting, by means of a special aptitude, western science and civilization. On this account the Japanese are often criticised as unsurpassed in imitative traits but lacking in creative genius. It is not necessary for us to enter into a discussion of this criticism which, however, our people should always bear in mind and endeavour to be more earnest in political, economical, social and other matters. Unless we do so, we can never have a civilisation of which we can boast that it is our very own.

Perhaps the only means of securing the lasting peace of the world is to be found in the thorough understanding between, and the eager co-operation of, the Japanese, Slavs, Germans, French, English and people of the United States. Whether this can be realised as the outcome of the present war still remains to be seen. Meanwhile, it will be well for us Japanese to be more liberal and magnanimous to appreciate the urgent need of the united efforts of the different races for the establishment of peace, and to attempt to come to a more complete understanding of, and greater sympathy with the economical and political situations, as well as thoughts and ideals of other peoples, so that our beloved Nation as the Peace-Maker of the East may discharge its duty to perfection.

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## **INDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

A mass meeting of the Indian Community was held in January last in the Muhammanadan Madrassa Hall, Durban, for the purpose of considering the advisability of placing their grievances and demands before the proper authorities and also to elect delegates for the forthcoming South African Conference.

Mr. A. D. Padia presided and Mr. J. M. Francis acted as the Secretary.

The Chairman in the course of his speech, said :—We have now assembled here for the purpose of considering what steps to take in regard to matters connected with the great National Movement taking place both in South Africa and India.

After referring to the Allied victories in the War, he said :

At a time when the phase of the civilised world is going to be evolutionised, as a sequel to this great war, we South African Indians, want to know, where do we come in the adjustment of the new state? We have patiently waited all these years with the hope that the Union Government will spontaneously right our wrongs and inaugurate the proverbial British System of Administration, based and acted upon equality and justice, but unhappily, as yet we find no signs of its forthcoming from any responsible quarter, we have no other choice in the matter than to submit our present condition to the British people with a view to enable them to judge it in the new light of things.

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to state here that our countrymen from all parts of South Africa are going to assemble in Cape Town next week for the purpose of deciding an uniform course of action for promoting the cause of the South African Indians. This is the first time that a United South African Indian Conference is going to be held, and I believe, I am echoing the opinion of all assembled here when I say, that we wish every success to the Conference, and we ardently hope and pray that good will come out of the Conference.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed :

“This mass meeting of the Indians of Natal respectfully ventures to urge the claim of British Indian Subjects for the extension of Franchise rights and this meeting prays that the Union Government will be pleased to introduce the necessary legislation in the Union Government.

In view of the fact that since the absorption of the four Self-governing Colonies into the Union, British Indian Subjects have derived very little benefit therefrom, this mass meeting, in order to render the Union a meaningful expression, requests the Union Government to remove the inter-state restrictions placed upon the free movement of Indians throughout the Union.”

**South African Indian Conference.**

The following are among the resolutions passed at the Conference held in January last—

“In view of the fact that since the inauguration of the Union, British Indian subjects here derived very little benefit therefrom, and as the word ‘Union’ has been rendered a meaningless expression by the perpetuation of a parochial policy, this conference of Indians, representing the Cape, Transvaal and Natal, resolves to ask the Union to amend the laws that operate oppressively against British Indians, including the Act that prohibits the free movement of Indians throughout the Union.”

“That this Conference of the Indian community, representing Natal, Cape and the Transvaal, respectfully ventures to draw the attention of the Union Government to the advisability of repealing the laws governing the indentured Indian immigration into Natal, as the Government of this Union and India have abolished the indenture system, and seeing that the existence of the Indian Immigration Trust Board is inimical to the interests of the Indian labouring class, this conference respectfully prays that the Government will be pleased to take into their immediate consideration the request contained herein.”

It was decided that a deputation be appointed to wait on the Minister of the Interior and to submit the resolutions passed at the Conference for his consideration.

“Having regard to the fact that since the formation of the South African Union, British Indian subjects have derived no benefit therefrom and as the laws founded on account of colour still disfigure the statute books of the Union, inflicting considerable hardship, annoyances and injustice to British Indian subjects, this Conference of the Indian community in Natal, Cape and the Transvaal respectfully ventures to ask the Imperial Government and other Allied Powers not to concede the conquered territories in German West Africa to the Union Government until the latter Government repeals all the obnoxious laws enacted on racial and religious grounds, and restore to them the rights of which they were deprived and to which they are entitled, being equal tax-payers to the State. This Conference authorises the Chairman to cable the foregoing resolution to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.”

"The Conference resolves to send at least two Indian delegates from each Province of the Union to attend the special session of the Indian National Congress to be held in London, in order to support the claim of their motherland for autonomy, and that this Conference authorises the delegates to place the cause of the S. A. Indians before all constituted authorities and others who are capable of wielding authority over the Union Government, with a view to securing equal rights for all civilised peoples in South Africa."

"This Conference resolves to establish a committee consisting of 36 members, each of the Provinces contributing 12 members, for the purpose of devising ways and means of bringing about a unification of the Indians in the Union, and authorises this committee to submit a constitution for consideration to the next South African Conference."

"The Conference strongly protests against the action of the local authorities of the Cape Province in refusing to grant licences to Indians solely on account of nationality, and urging on the Provincial Council the necessity to amend the Ordinance so as to allow an appeal to the Supreme Court."

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the South African Indian Conference a deputation consisting of all the delegates from Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape, headed by the president Sheik Ismail, waited on Sir Thomas Watt, Minister of the Interior, by the end of January.

Mr. M. Alexander in introducing the deputation referred to the fact that that was the first Conference of Indians held in South Africa.

Mr. P. S. Aiyar, on behalf of the deputation, read a statement giving an exhaustive resume of the positions of Indians in the Union, and suggested remedies that would meet the requirements of Indians domiciled in that country.

Mr. M. C. Anglia stated the grievances of Indians in Natal while Mr. P. K. Naidoo, on behalf of the Transvaal delegates, ventilated their grievances; and Dr. Gool spoke for the Cape Indians.

The Minister after a patient hearing expressed himself sympathetically and the deputation withdrew after thanking the minister.

## SIR J. D. REES ON INDIA.

*[The following appeared in the "Reynold's News of November last over the signature of Sir J. D. Rees, M.P.]*

The so-called Montagu proposals are not Mr. Montagu's proposals. He is a part, and, being who and what he is, necessarily a large part, of them, but they are the joint proposals of himself and of Lord Chelmsford. It was Lord Chelmsford, who, succeeding Lord Hardinge as Viceroy, found conditions in India such, that as a practical and moderate man of statesmanlike views and attitude, such as he has always proved himself hitherto to be, he considered an advance in the direction of self-government an urgent necessity, such as could not wait till after the War. Indeed, he found the pressure of War, and the conduct of Indian princes and peoples during its progress, such as to precipitate the necessity for giving at once an instalment of a Constitution, the eventual grant of which has been inevitable ever since we ourselves decided to educate India in Western ideas of Government. We created in fact an intelligentsia, resembling in many respects that which next after German intrigue contributed in no inconsiderable, if not in the chief degree, to the ruin of a Russia, in which there was no place and no occupation for a generation brought up on a diet of modern democracy.

German gold and German intrigue indeed stimulated this body in India also into sedition, if not into revolt, and Lord Chelmsford made such representations to the then Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, that he arranged to go out to India to inquire and confer with the Viceroy. His unexpected resignation and Mr. Montagu's appointment to succeed him, transferred this duty to the latter statesman, whom I have known throughout his Parliamentary career as a man of very great ability, with a high sense of public duty.

His proposals for the better government of India have been strongly attacked at a recent meeting of the new Indo-British Association, but if the House of Commons is any reflex of public opinion, and if the Councils of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy, composed of the most distinguished Indian authorities of the day, are judges of Indian questions, the view of the new Association are not likely to prevail. If the question were, what form of Government is best for India, there would be a great deal



to say for their attitude, and it is by no means certain that the proposed changes will lead to better government.

But the question is what steps are to be taken and when to carry out a pledge given last August in Parliament to the effect that the policy of the Government shall be the gradual development of self-governing institutions in view to the ultimate realisation of responsible Government in India.

The policy may of course be mistaken. But there is no mistake possible as to its acceptance in the democratic House, and as to the necessity for giving effect to those, or to somewhat similar reforms.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if these proposals are not accepted and acted upon without any avoidable delay justifiable disappointment will result, and further difficulty experienced in governing India. The best proof of their moderate character is that extremists in both directions, and particularly the Indian extremists, will have none of them, while they appear to satisfy moderate men at home and in India.

Everything must now await the result of the General Election, but all the news from India, and the results of such inquiries as had been held since Mr. Montagu's return, confirm the position taken by him and Lord Chelmsford, and proves that India by its articulate section will accept what is offered by way of reform, but wants it without delay.

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### MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON INDIAN CONGRESS.

(*Labour Leader*—Sept., 1918).

The Indian National Congress seems to have split for good upon the Montagu Report, but so unreliable are newspapers and press-cables that we must reserve final opinion until the Indian mails arrive some weeks hence. Meanwhile certain obvious facts may be pointed out and accepted.

Before the Montagu Report came to drive a wedge through Congress, the wedge was there. The old leaders never accepted Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak and the new Home Rule movement.

The men who had grown up in the earlier stages of India's demand for a liberal political policy found that their success came in the form, not of a political triumph against the Government, but of a new movement in the Indian opinion, far bolder in its expressions and demands and much more fundamental in its conception of political liberties.

This new movement brought new leaders; it was more moving than the old in its appeal and brought new adherents. Mrs. Besant emerging from Adyar and the more confined fields of theosophy, slipped to the front and joined hands with Mr. Tilak. In many quarters she was not acceptable, but in the more advanced sections she was, and her contributions by voice and pen, enormously aided by the stupid persecution of the Government, have given her a status and the Home Rule movement an impetus which they would not otherwise have had.

The new adherents also made the movement for the first time "popular." The old Congress did lack a popular mass. It had the support of the educated and the middle class. It was just open to the suspicion that it was a movement of landowner's, capitalists, and lawyers, and some of its resolutions on political subjects and its neglect of certain popular interests gave colour to that suspicion. Now, village life has been influenced and political tides have made their motions felt at greater depths in Indian existence than ever before. India has gone far and fast during the last four years.

That being so, another change was inevitable.

Hitherto India has had to appear to be unanimous. The Congress was an Indian movement against a non-Indian bureaucracy, and this had to remain so until the fate of the bureaucracy was settled, and the general claims of India admitted. Then it was no longer a United India demanding the recognition of Indian rights that was required, but the rights being recognised, an India of various schools of opinion and outlook, working out India's destinies by conflict, debate, and rival methods. Congress has divided because a united Congress has done its work. My old Congress friends, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Surendranath Banerjee and the others must see in this their own success even if they are sad that events have taken this form.

Mrs. Besant, with her British political experience, will not miss the significance of what has happened and ought to be able to give

the new movement wise guidance. What we are seeing is the natural evolution of a right and a left wing in Indian politics, consequential upon the freeing of the Indian political mind to discuss Indian political policy on its own merits and not merely as against the political policy of the bureaucracy.

So far from regretting the division, I believe it is natural, and I should welcome the definite formation of two wings—provided the right keeps decidedly Indian and does not allow the left to force it into an unnatural alliance with the bureaucracy, and of this I see no signs. I have the fullest trust in the Moderate leaders. They have still a great contribution to make to Indian political liberty. Their attitude to the Montagu Report is intelligent, consistent, and wise, and they will have enormous influence in modifying it in the right direction and in reaping from it a rich harvest.

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#### SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER.

But the left is also essential. India now requires robust independent thought and action. When Sir Subramanya Iyer flung back his knighthood at the feet of the Government in consequence of the attack made upon him by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, he did a fine thing. It is that spirit which is to awake India from a subordinate and cringing attitude and spirit, and India sadly needs such an awakening.

The life of India is to depend upon the two sides honestly and fearlessly setting forth their own views independently of each other, but with a sense of responsibility and tolerance. The days of meaningless compromise declarations, patchworks of the opinions of both sides and acceptable in reality to neither, have passed. India must know what its sections reply, think and choose between them. Perhaps our own Labour movement is going through a somewhat similar evolution.

On the actual points of immediate division little can be said with profit, till we have full reports of the Special Congress in front of us. The comments cabled here are pettifogging. There is agreement that the Montagu Report must be taken as a basis, must be criticised and amended. That a time limit should be placed upon the transition stage between the bureaucracy and self-

government I consider to be of very minor importance. Indian public opinion will settle that if it be worth its salt.

That kind of guarantee is always elusive. That there should be an agreement on the details of self-government I believe to be of the greatest importance, and of equal importance is a determination to eliminate from the Scheme all committees and councils and powers which, set up nominally for the transition period, will acquire such authority during it that they will become blocks in the end to the realisation of a proper system of self-government.

I should therefore concentrate opinion on the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council in London, the appointment of two Under-secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian, and an arrangement of councils and executives which should take political control out of the hands of civil servants and put it in those of the elected legislatures. That done, we may trust that the system will evolve itself, and the creation of a real public opinion in India will take care that the evolution is not unnecessarily delayed.

#### SIR. S. P. SINHA AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

Speaking at a conference of the Overseas Press Deputation in Oct. 1918, on the situation in India and the bearing of the proposed changes of the constitution upon it, Sir S. P. Sinha (now Lord) said :—

It had been always understood that the ultimate goal to the system of government in India should be responsible government. It was small wonder that Indians who had been educated on English literature should aspire to the introduction to the East of the principles of democracy which had developed in the West. There was no reason to believe that those principles would not work equally as well in other countries as they had among Western nations. All systems of government were progressive and he admitted that India must pass through many stages before she was as well educated in the application of democratic principles as England was. Speaking as an Indian, he would say that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was valuable not so much because of the measure of immediate performance which it gave, as of the promise of greater performance which it contained. If the scheme was carried out in its main principles, with possibly some of its too cautious checks and counter-checks eliminated, he thought it would give satisfaction to the great bulk of the people of India. Judging from newspaper reports and from communications he had received from India within the last few weeks, he thought he was justified in saying that the more the people of India studied the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme the more

they were coming round to the opinion that it was a measure worthy of their acceptance.

### The Economic Situation.

Referring to the economic conditions of India Sir S. P. Sinha said that he noticed the other day that Sir James Meston had been reported as having said that India was in a great state of prosperity. He had reason for believing that Sir James Meston had been misunderstood. It was not a constitution alone that was wanted for India, but contentment and prosperity. However efficient the system of Government might be in India, it would be generally admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez faire* was changed, was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past and was not prosperous now. *India had been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the rest of the Empire.* She desired and demanded a place in the Empire worthy of her glorious past, of her present resource, and of the part she had been privileged to bear in this war. With a peaceful people, fertile soil, and unlimited reserves in men and material, there was no reason why India should not be as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. They looked to the rest of the Empire, and particularly to England, to find the remedy. The industrial development of India was the most essential need of the present moment. *Without an increase of prosperity it was useless to expect India to be content and loyal to its connection with the Empire.* It was no wonder that the educated classes of India were continually asking what was wrong with the Government, because after all, it was the function of the Government and not of the people to see that there was prosperity in the land. Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things. It was essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity. What was wanted was democratic government, and there was no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country. The object of the war was that every people should have the same chance and right of self-development.

# INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS.

The following papers regarding reciprocity in matters of immigration between India and the Dominions are published for the information of those interested in the subject:—

Extract from a letter from the Colonial Office to the India Office  
*From Colonial Office to India Office, No. 35892.*

Downing Street, 7th Aug. 1918.

Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to transmit to you, to be laid before Mr. Secretary Montagu, copies of an extract from the Fifteenth Day's Proceedings at the Imperial Conference, together with copies of the memorandum prepared by Sir S. P. Sinha.

I am &c.,

HENRY LAMBERT.

To  
The Under Secretary of State of India.

ANNEX. I:—Memorandum by Sir S. P. Sinha.

The views and recommendations of the Indian representatives on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions were placed before the War Conference last year in the form of a memorandum which appears as an annexure to the printed report of the Conference. The subject was discussed on Friday the 27th April 1917, and the "Conference unanimously accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommended the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned." It is mainly with a view to eliciting information as to whether any action has been actually taken, and, if not, how soon it is likely to be taken by the Government concerned to give effect to our suggestions that a few of the outstanding questions are mentioned in the present note.

2. The Indian grievances dealt with in the last memorandum fall conveniently under the following three groups:—

(1) Treatment of Indians who are already settled and resident in the Self-Governing Dominions.

(2) The difficulties and disadvantages of Indians intending to visit the Dominions not with the object of settlement but for purpose of travel, education, or business.

(3) The question of future immigration to the Dominions.

3. As regards the difficulties of resident Indians, the disability imposed on the Sikh settlers in Canada, numbering about 4,000 men, of not being allowed to bring their wives and minor children to live with them, is a very real and serious hardship, and, as was pointed out in last year's notice, has caused acute dissatisfaction amongst perhaps the most prominent martial race in India and those who flocked with the greatest alacrity to the Indian Army for the defence of the Empire. This unfair and unnatural prohibition is the more galling because the Indians resident in South Africa have, since the passing of the Indians Relief Act of 1914, the privilege of introducing into the Colony one wife as well as her minor children. The Japanese have the right of taking not only their wives, but also their domestic servants. No further time should be lost in removing the prohibition which appears to be in force in Australia also.

4. Of the Indians settled in the Self-Governing Dominions, by far the largest number is domiciled in South Africa. Cape Colony has an Indian population of 6,606, Transvaal of 10,048, Orange Free State of 106, and Natal of 133,031 souls. The Indians Relief Act of 1914 has removed many disabilities, but from reliable materials placed before us it appears that there are still many substantial grievances and disabilities which are not merely of an administrative character, as General Smuts seemed to be under the impression last year, but are based upon already existing or impending statutory enactments.

The following would appear to be some of the principal grievances of South African Indians :—

(1) *Trading Licences.*—It is necessary to obtain a license in order to be able to carry on any trade or business in South Africa. Each Province has its own trading licence legislation, and the tendency recently has been in every Province to transfer the control of licence from the Government to municipalities. Although there is a system of appeals from the decisions of the municipalities, e. g., in Natal to Town Councils or to Licensing Appeal Boards, the right of appeal to the Courts is extremely limited. Thus, in Natal, against refusals of application for new licences there is a right of appeal in matters of procedure, but not of facts, to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, whereas, in cases of refusal to renew licences there is a right of appeal on facts also. It is generally contended that the municipalities arbitrarily refuse to grant licences to Indians with the improper and indirect object of destroying Indian trade, and the Indian newspapers are full of such instances. The trading rights of Indians in South Africa are a

vital issue. If the Indian community remains at the mercy of their European rivals in respect of the right of their members to earn an honest livelihood by trade it is only a question of time for the whole community to become impoverished and be reduced to industrial helotry. The remedy seems to be to give the fullest right of appeal in all cases of refusal of licences to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court—on questions of fact as well as of procedure.

(2) *Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise.*—As observed in last year's note, there are stronger and more obvious grounds for extending the municipal franchise to the Indians resident in South Africa than the Parliamentary franchise. It might be pointed out, however, that we are nearer to the introduction of representative institutions in India this year than we were last year, and therefore the argument for depriving the African Indians of the franchise on the ground of their coming from a country where representative institutions do not exist will carry still less weight now, and there is a strong case for granting the franchise, at least to the richer Indian merchants. Their claim to the extension of the municipal franchise in all the States seems to be much stronger as this right is enjoyed in Natal and Cape Colony, where some Indians are reported to be discharging municipal functions to their credit. The special necessity for the grant of the municipal franchise will appear from what has already been stated with regard to trade licences.

(3) *The Ownership of Land.*—Unlike their compatriots in Natal and at the Cape, Transvaal Indians, under the old Republican Law 3 of 1885, remain under the disability that they are denied the right to own fixed property, i. e., from having the legal ownership registered in their own names. The system of indirect ownership, in other words, nominal European ownership originally suggested by the Republican Government themselves, prevailed until quite recently, and is still occasionally adopted. The process is round about, cumbersome and expensive, but the facts are notorious, and the circumstances are legally recognised by the Courts.

Since about the year 1914, the practice has grown up of forming and registering, under the Transvaal Companies Act, 1909, small private companies with limited liability, whose members are all Indians (frequently an Indian and his wife), and possessing an independent legal *personal* for the purpose, amongst other things, of acquiring fixed property. All these transactions have recently received judicial recognition. It is said that attempts are now being made by interested parties to deprive Indians of this right of indirect ownership of fixed property. Recently a question was put on the subject in Parliament, and the Government spokesman replied that it was intended to examine into the question, when the new companies law was under consideration. Advantage has frequently been taken by Indians of these indirect, but quite legal, methods to open business in townships whose private regulations prohibit the sale of stands to Indians, which, in themselves, are intended indirectly to compel Indians to reside and trade in special locations, which, again, would mean financial ruin to most of them, and against which attempt the Indian community has fought since long before the Boer War.

On the contrary, the prohibition against Indian ownership of fixed or landed property should be repealed by Parliament, on the grounds that it tends to foster insincerity on all sides, to deprive Indians of some of the



elementary rights and responsibilities of citizenship, which are not denied even to the aboriginal natives and other non-Asiatic coloured peoples of the Province, and which are possessed by their compatriots in the coast Provinces, and especially in Natal, where the bulk of the Indian population of the Union is to be found. Transvaal Indians ought not to be compelled to regard themselves as possessing an inferior status, in this respect, to their compatriots resident in the coast Provinces, and such a statute as Law 8 of 1885 is an anachronism and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation.

(4) *Railway Regulations.*—In the Transvaal, for a number of years past the policy of racial segregation has been enforced on the railways. Special legislation to that end was sought in 1910, but was strenuously opposed by the Indian community, with the result that certain regulations were eventually agreed to, embodied in the papers published in Blue Book Cd. 5363 of 1910 (pages 102-5 and 114), at a time when the Indian community was in a relatively weak position, having its energies fully engaged in the passive resistance struggle which was then at its height, and which left the community powerless effectively to resist further encroachments upon its liberties. But the arrangements therein referred to were of purely local application, and were not intended in any way to affect the position or diminish the rights of Indians in the other Provinces. Recently, however, regulations applicable throughout the Union have been published, some of which have already been withdrawn in deference to strong Indian opposition, while others remain, in spite of that opposition, not only embodying provisions contained in the old Transvaal arrangement, but going much farther, and extending to other Provinces of the Union a racial discrimination not hitherto known there. The Indian community, for a long period of years, has consistently fought against statutory discrimination based upon racial distinction. Segregation in travelling would only be tolerable if designed by statute, where exactly equal opportunities and facilities were provided for the different races affected. This is impossible for financial reasons and no such remedy is available. Apart from this, the situation in the Transvaal and in South Africa generally is very different from what it was in 1910, and less than ever are Indians disposed to depart from the principle of equality under the law, which they regard as fundamental in the British Constitution, and for which they have suffered enormously in the past, and are prepared to suffer for again. Not only ought the position of Indians elsewhere in the union not be reduced to the level of that in the Transvaal, but the latter should be raised to the highest level anywhere in the Union.

The settlement of these and other outstanding difficulties should receive the earnest attention of the Provincial Governments and the Union Government. It should not be forgotten that the bulk of the Indian settlement in South Africa is the result of the action of the South Africans themselves, and Natal, where the majority are domiciled, owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. "The whole of Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population," said Sir Leige Hewlett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal in 1903. In his farewell speech at Pretoria in November 1912, Mr. Ghokhale appealed to the European community in the

following words : " You have all the power, and yours, therefore, is the responsibility for the manner in which the affairs of this land are administered. You owe it to your good name, you owe it to your civilisation, you owe it to the Empire of which you are a part and whose flag stands for opportunities, for progress, for all who live under its protection, that your administration should be such that you can justify it in the eyes of the civilised world." This noble exhortation points to an angle of vision which is much nearer reality to-day than it was in Mr. Gokhale's time, and after the promise of " peaceful and statesmanlike" solution made by General Smuts last year there should really be no difficulty now. In order to enable the Union Government to deal with Indian problems impartially and promptly, the provision of convenient agency by which Indian grievances can be brought to the notice of the Local Government authorities would be a first step. The appointment of a local agent of the Indian Government at Pretoria should be an advantage both to the Indians in South Africa and the South African Government which has to deal with them.

5. For the group of questions relating to facilities for travel, education, or business, it is clear that it should be easy to arrive at a liberal and satisfactory solution almost immediately.

The present position is that the Dominion laws allow persons with good credentials to enter on temporary visits, in Canada as " tourists ", and elsewhere by special permits, which presumably are granted in the Dominion concerned. For instance, Australian Circular No. 31 of August 1904 lays down " that any persons, *bona fide* merchants, students, and tourist travellers, provided they are in possession of passports, may be admitted; On arrival in the Commonwealth the education test in their cases will not be imposed, and such persons are to be permitted to land without restriction, but, in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve months, an application for a certificate of exemption should be made before the expiry of the term stating reasons for extended stay."

In the case of *bona fide* students intending to study at any of the Australian Universities, the above requirement of special certificate of exemption appears to be quite unnecessary. The question of the Indian student problem in Australasia has assumed special importance, because at the present moment most of the Western world is practically almost shut out from Indian students, and will be for some time after the War, on account of the great rise in the cost of living and other causes. Australian Universities

are out of the War zone and comparatively cheap, and the Indian student is poor, and the West Australian University is only about nine-and-a-half days from Colombo.

6. Finally, as regards the question of future emigration of Indians to the Colonies for purposes of settlement, there is no change from the position which was taken up last year, that in this matter the Indian British subjects have a right to expect that they should not receive a less favourable treatment than other Asiatic people who are not subjects of the British Empire. But this question is not of any immediate urgency for India, and might well wait future discussion.

On our side we are being pressed to give practical effects to the resolution of last year's Conference.

7. It is only necessary in conclusion, to emphasise the necessity of definite action and a forward advance in these matters without any more delay. "I do not lose a due sense of proportion", says the Aga Khan in his recent book, "India in Transition," "when I say that one of the deeper causes, if not of discontent or disaffection, at any rate of the distrust of England and Englishmen that appeared on the surface in India of recent years, was the strained relationship between Indians and their white fellow-subjects in East Africa. A rankling sense of injustice was aroused by the reservation of the best lands for Europeans, and by a succession of ordinances and regulations based on an assumption of race inferiority. It must be remembered that such a state of injured feeling evokes a sub-conscious spirit, which in a few decades, may lead to results out of all proportion in importance to the "original causes." If the Indian representatives did not press this aspect of the question last year it is not because they did not realise their force or importance, but because they felt that the sympathetic attitude of the oversea Ministers made it unnecessary for any special emphasis to be laid on the racial aspect of these questions. A most excellent start was made last year and the impression created in India was most favourable. It would be a thousand pities if steps were not now taken to give effect and tangible shape to the good understanding and mutual comprehension attained last year. It is also obvious that these important questions should be settled not in any petty huckstering spirit of reciprocity only, far less of militant animosity and retaliation, but on those broad principles of justice and equality which are now more than ever the guiding principles of the British Empire, and which must be the foundations of the mighty Empire round the shores of

the Pacific and the Indian Oceans which are slowly but surely rising before one's eyes.

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Annex. 2 :—Extract from Proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 24th July, 1918.

**Chairman** :—Mr. Hughes cannot come this morning, and Sir Robert Borden is away. The first subject on the agenda is Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominions, on which there is a Memorandum by Sir Satyendra Sinha, which has been circulated, and also a draft Resolution, which I understand is the result of a meeting at the India Office. Shall I read the draft Resolution as the basis of discussion ?

**Sir S. P. Sinha** :—As you please, Sir.

**Chairman** :—The Resolution is as follows :—

“The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that effect should now be given to the principle of reciprocity approved by Resolution 22 of the Imperial War Conference, 1917. In pursuance of that Resolution it is agreed that :—

“1. It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities.

“2. British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity, as follows :—

“(a) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country.

“(b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visa* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desires.

“(c) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement.

“3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful child of such Indian.

“4. The Conference recommends the other questions covered by the memoranda presented this year and last year to the Conference by the representatives of India, so far as not dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs of this Resolution, to the various Governments concerned with a view to early consideration.”

**Sir S. P. Sinha** :—Mr. Long, I am desired by my colleague, the Maharajah of Patiala, who is unfortunately prevented from being present to-day, to express his entire concurrence in what I am going to say to the Conference. I also regret exceedingly the absence of Sir Robert Bordon, because I wanted to express in his presence my deep feeling of gratitude for the generous and sympathetic spirit in which he has treated the whole question, both last year and this year. I desire to express my gratitude to him for the very great assistance he has rendered, to which I think the satisfactory solution which has been reached is very largely due—that is, if the Conference accepts the Resolution which I have the honour to propose.

Sir, the position of Indian immigrants in the Colonies has been the cause of great difficulties both in the Dominions themselves and particularly in my own country, India. As long ago as 1897, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in addressing the Conference of Colonial Premiers, made a stirring appeal on behalf of the Indians who had emigrated to the Dominions. The same appeal was made in 1907 by Mr. Asquith, and in 1911. During all this time India was not represented at the Conference and it is only due to the India Office here to say that they did all they could to assist us. In 1911, the Marquiss of Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, presented a Memorandum to the Conference, which is printed in the proceedings for that year, and I cannot do better than just read one of the passages from that Memorandum :—

“It does not appear to have been thoroughly considered that each Dominion owes responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India.

"It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realise the importance to the Empire as a whole of a country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilisations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the Imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportunities to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag; and who have been treated by their British Officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as 'coolies' and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are of course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire.

"The immigration difficulty, however, has, on the whole, been met by a series of statutes which succeeded in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of differential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominions shall not admit as permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

"But the admission of temporary visitors, to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the questions were not so grave, it would seem to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect Ruling Princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty and have placed their troops at his disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides de Camp. It is, of course, true that no person of such distinguished position would, in fact, be turned back if he visited one of the Dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the Dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time, the highest posts in the Imperial service in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the Dominions.

"The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the general attitude of the Dominions towards the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is a very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to the direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the Dominions lies in this, that on the Colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators, and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian opinions."

This, Sir, was in 1911, three years before the War; and if the position was correctly described then, you will conceive with how much greater strength the same observations apply to the present position as between India and the Dominions. Of course, since 1911, so far as South-Africa is concerned, many practical grievances which then existed have, I gratefully acknowledge, been removed, but there are still many others outstanding. Those are referred to in the memorandum which has been circulated to the Conference, and I trust my friends Mr. Burton and General Smuts, to whose statesmanship South-Africa, including all its inhabitants, owes so much, will be able, on their return to their own country in process of time to remove all, or at any rate some, of the grievances to which I refer. I recognise that it is a matter of time. I recognise their desire to remove those grievances, and I appreciate the difficulties of getting any legislation through their own Parliaments for that purpose; but at the same time I hope the matter will not be lost sight of, and that an early consideration will be given to matters which have not been the subject of agreement between us on this occasion.

But, Sir, so far as the outstanding difficulty of India is concerned, I am happy to think that the Resolution which I now propose before the Conference, if accepted, will get rid of that which has caused the greatest amount of trouble both in Canada and in India. There are now about 4,000 or 5,000 I think nearer 4,000 than 5,000—Indians in the Dominion of Canada, mostly in British Columbia, I think, in fact, all in British Columbia; and the great difficulty of their position—a difficulty which is appreciated in India—is that these men are not allowed to take their wives and

children with them. Now the Resolution, in paragraph 3, removed this difficulty—that is to say, if it is accepted and given effect to—and I consider that that will cause the greatest satisfaction to my countrymen, and particularly to that great community of Sikhs who have furnished the largest number of soldiers during the war, and to whom these 4,000 men in Canada belong.

The principle of reciprocity which was accepted by the Conference on the last occasion is again referred to with approval, and effect is to be given to it immediately as regards some of the most urgent matters concerned.

I have read from Lord Crew's Memorandum, Sir, the ludicrous position which now exists with regard to Indians of position visiting the Dominions. That position will be altogether altered if the Conference accepts the second part of the Resolution which I propose—namely, that "British citizens domiciled in any British country admitted into any other British country, including India, should be country for visits," and that the system of passports now in existence be continued, which would prevent any influx of undesirable labour population.

I think that, as the whole matter has been before the Conference so long, it would not be right for me to take up the time of the Conference further. I venture to think that if this Resolution is accepted, it will solve many of the most acute difficulties which have arisen between the Dominions and India and, speaking for India, I can assure you that it will cause the greatest satisfaction, and will help us to allay the agitation which, particularly at a time like this, is a source of grave embarrassment. That is all I have to say, Sir.

**Mr. Rowell:** There are just one or two observations I should like to make, Mr. Chairman. May I say how sincerely Sir Robert Borden regrets that he could not be here this morning for this question. He has personally taken a very keen interest in the question, and I am sure he will appreciate the very kind references which the representatives of India have made to his endeavour to find a solution of the difficulties which have existed for many years between India and the Dominions in connection with this very important problem.

The Resolution as submitted is accepted by Canada. We have had several conferences, and the terms of the Resolution represent an understanding arrived at by India and the Dominions. We look upon it as a matter of importance that the principle implied in the first paragraph of the Resolution should be frankly recognised by all the communities within the British Commonwealth. We recognise that there are distinctions in racial characteristics, and in other



matters, which make it necessary that, while we fully recognise the principle of reciprocity, each should exercise full control over its own population. The other paragraphs of the Resolution give effect to the proposals which have been discussed before the Committee set up by the Conference for the purpose, and give effect in such a way as I am sure we all hope will meet the general approval of the citizens of the Dominions and of India, as well as of the other portions of the Empire. We are glad to be able to remove the grounds of objection which India has felt, particularly with reference to the liberty of the Indian residents in Canada to bring their wives and minor children to Canada; but it was felt that this matter could not be dealt with except as part of the whole problem, and it is in connection with the solution of the whole problem that this forms an important part.

I think the number of Sikhs in Canada is not quite so large as Sir Satyendra has mentioned. While there was this number at one time, I think a number have returned to India, and the number is not now large. I am sure we all appreciate the splendid qualities which the Sikhs have shown in the War, and the magnificent contribution which that portion of India particularly has given to the fighting forces of the Empire, and I am sure it would have been a matter of gratification to us all if Sir Robert Borden could have been here when this important matter was being dealt with by the Conference. I am also confident that the effect of this resolution will be to draw together the Dominions and India into closer bonds of sympathy and to cement the bonds that bind our whole Empire together as a unit for great national purposes—for those great, humane, and Imperial purposes for which our Empire exists.

**Chairman :** Mr. Cook, do you desire to say anything on this?

**Mr. Cook :** No, I think not, Sir.

**Mr. Massey :** I am very glad that this solution of the difficulty has been arrived at. So far as New Zealand is concerned there is no serious difficulty. We have very, very few Indians in New Zealand, and so far as I know, the people of India have never shown any tendency to emigrate to New Zealand. I simply state the fact—I am not able to explain the reason. The objections, I understand, have come mostly from Canada and South Africa, and I am very glad indeed, from what has been said, to learn that those objections have been removed. Of course, we shall have the administration of the law in so far as it does apply to New Zealand, but I do not anticipate any difficulty there, and I think what has been done to-day not only removes the present difficulties, such as they are, but will prevent serious difficulty occurring in the future. I value the Resolu-

tion on that account really more than on any other. Though New Zealand, as I have said, is not seriously interested in this matter, I have no doubt if Indians had come to New Zealand in considerable numbers, objections would have been raised, and it would have been the duty of the Government to take the matter in hand. That, however, has not taken place.

I should like to learn from Sir Satyendra Sinha whether this will affect Fiji in any way. Fiji is a neighbour of ours, and most of our sugar is produced there. It is not refined there, but is sent to Auckland for refining purposes. I understand a very large number—I am not going into details, but I believe over 60,000 Indians are employed in Fiji at the present time in the production of sugar. I simply ask the question because the point is likely to be raised as to whether it will affect them.

**Sir S. P. Sinha :** In no way.

**Mr. Massey :** I am very glad to hear it. I hope as far as Fiji labour is concerned that even in Fiji, some satisfactory solution of the difficulty will be arrived at in connection with that Dependency of the Empire. I know there is a little friction—not serious, but a little—but as far as I can understand the position—I do not profess to know the whole details—the difficulties are not insurmountable.

**Sir S. P. Sinha :** The difficulties are of a different nature. I hope they have been practically solved.

**Mr. Massey :** That is all I wish to say, Sir.

**Mr. Burton :** The matters which were raised by Sir Satyendra Sinha and the Maharaja in connection with this question present, I suppose, some of the most difficult and delicate problems which we have had to deal with, and which it is our duty as statesmen to attempt to solve satisfactorily if the British Empire is to remain a healthy organisation. I am sure we all feel, as far as we are concerned—I have told Sir Satyendra myself that my own attitude has been, and I am sure it is the attitude of my colleagues—sympathetic towards the Indian position generally. There are, of course, difficulties, and it would be idle to disguise the fact that many of these difficulties are of substantial importance, which have to be faced in dealing with this matter. But I do not despair of satisfactory solutions being arrived at.

Sir Satyendra Sinha has been good enough to refer to the attitude adopted by Canada and ourselves in discussing this matter in Committee, and I think it is only right from our point of view to add that the possibility of our arriving at a satisfactory solution on this occasion has been due very largely indeed to the reasonable and moderate attitude which the Indian representatives themselves

have adopted. But for that, of course, the difficulties would have been ever so much greater. As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see, as he himself expressed it, that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner.

As to the details, I need not go into all of them. Paragraph No. 3 embodies, as a matter of fact, the present law of the Union of South Africa. That is our position there, so that our agreement as to that is no concession. I pointed out to Sir Satyendra when we were in Committee, that in some of these points which he brought up as affecting South Africa, I thought in all probability, if he were in a position to investigate some of them himself, he would find that perhaps the complaints had been somewhat exaggerated. I cannot help feeling that that is the case, but I will not go into these matters now. As far as we are concerned in South Africa, we are in agreement with this Resolution, and also with the proposal referring the Memorandum to the consideration of our Government, and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can, certainly.

**Sir Joseph Ward:** Mr. Long, this is a development in connexion with the Empire that I regard as one of the very greatest importance. At the last Conference we made a move in the direction of meeting the wishes of India, and this Resolution, now embodying the results arrived at by the Committee which has been enquiring into this matter, carries the matter, I think rightly so, a good deal further. I think it is a move in the right direction. The underlying recognition of the right of the overseas communities to control their own populations within or coming to their own territories is one as to which no recommendation from this Conference, if it were made in the opposite to their wishes, could have the least effect within any portion of the British Empire, and in that respect it is laying down a foundation upon which I regard the whole of these proposals as being based.

The important factor in connection with it is this. All our countries, at all events, New Zealand, have in the past, from causes or reasons one need not specially refer to, viewed with some concern the possibility of large numbers of Indians coming to them and becoming factors that would disturb, interfere with, or change the course of employment. I am of the opinion that the first proposal submitted is one that would be agreed to by every reasonable person in our country and would meet with their approval.

I take the opportunity of saying that sub-clause (c) of the second paragraph of this draft Resolution "Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement"—completely meets the position that a good many peoples have had difficulties about, and I assume the Indian representatives are just as familiar with them as we are.

Upon the question of the introduction—although I have nothing to do with it as a representative here—of the wives of those men who have been admitted into Canada, that is, in my opinion, not only a wise thing to do, but on the highest grounds, possibly moral grounds—it seems to be a legitimate corollary to what the Canadian Dominion have done with regard to the 4,000 or 5,000 men who are there.

And I want to say with regard to the Memorandum which has been placed before us by the Indian representative on those several matters, that as far as I am concerned I have read the Memorandum very carefully this morning, and I shall be glad, at the proper time, to give the matters referred to the fullest consideration in our country.

**Mr. Montagu :** Mr. Long, may I just detain the Conference one minute to express, on behalf of the Government of India and my colleagues, our gratitude for the way in which this Resolution has been received at this meeting of the Conference. Sir Joseph Ward has rightly said that this Resolution has taken the question a good deal further. I emphasise that by way of caution, and I hope I shall not be charged with ingratitude when I say that it would not be fair to the Conference to regard that Resolution as a solution of all outstanding questions. Many of them can only be cured by time. Many of them, as Mr. Burton has said, require careful study. But I feel sure that the spirit in which the Resolution has been met, and the whole attitude which the representatives of the various Dominions have taken towards it, will prove to India that as matters progress, and as time advances, there is every prospect that Indians throughout the Empire will be treated not only as human beings, but will have all the rights and privileges of British citizens.

**Mr. Cook :**—Mr. Long, may I just say one word, lest my silence be misunderstood. As my friends know, I attended the Committee meeting yesterday, and concurred in these proposals, and the reason I do not occupy the time of the Conference is that there is nothing specifically relating to Australia in them. That is to say, many of the things referred to in this Memorandum are concessions which have already been agreed to in Australia very many years ago, even with regard to the bringing of the wives and minor children. Whatever the technical difficulties may be, I do not

think there is trouble occurring along those lines.' At any rate, I am one of those who believe that when we admit a man to our shores we should admit his wife also and his family, and if we are not prepared to admit his wife and family, we have no right to admit him. It seems to me that is among the elementary things. I concur entirely with the proposal in that respect, but that being the only outstanding feature of the proposal which can in the remotest degree affect Australia, I will not take up time in discussing the matter, but agree cordially with what has been suggested and what has been done. I think we owe a great debt of gratitude to India for the attitude she has taken since this War began.

**Chairman** :—Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word in putting the Resolution. It will only be a very brief one. Last year the Conference was specially marked by the addition to our councils of the representatives of India, and I think we all feel that that made the Conference more complete and more real than it ever claimed to be before. This year sees another steady step forward and I am bound to say that I think, having followed these proceedings very closely—I had the privilege to be present at the meeting which the Prime Minister of Canada was good enough to summon last year, when Sir Satyendra put the general case before us, and I think you will agree that that was a very useful meeting and started us in the direction which has been consistently followed since—I think this steady advance is due, as has been said, not only to the wise, moderate, and extremely able line taken by Sir Satyendra and his colleagues—last year it was Sir James Meston and the Maharaja of Bikanir who represented India with him, while this year it is the Maharaja of Patiala—but also to the very statesmanlike view which has been taken of their responsibilities by those who speak on behalf of the great Self-governing Dominions of the Empire. And certainly I rejoice more than I can say to see this evidence of the steady progress of the Empire along those lines which have been always followed in the past, and which, I believe, have made the Empire what it is—the recognition of fundamental principles, and a steady refusal to deny to any citizen of the Empire the privileges of Empire simply because of the accident of birth or locality. I regard this as a very important decision. On behalf of the Conference, I may perhaps be allowed to offer my congratulations to those who represent India and the Dominions upon this very considerable step in the development of our Empire. May I put the Resolution?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

## Savoy Hotel.

### Dinner to Lord Sinha—Mar. 12, 1919.

The MAHARAJAH OF BIKANIR presided on March 12, 1919 at a complimentary dinner to Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of State for India, at the Savoy Hotel.

Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, returned from Paris in order to attend; and among those present were :—

H. H. The Aga Khan, Lord Carmichael, Messrs Fisher, Barnes, Lords Hardinge, Donoughmore, Elphinstone, Cromer, Islington, Leigh, Willingdon, Brassey, H. Cavendish Bentinck, the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj, Lords Sligo, Lamington, Gainford, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Sir George Foster, Sir Arthur Lawley, Major Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, Sir Thomas Berridge, Sir W. R. Lawrence, Colonel Sir J. Dunalop Smith, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Colonel Thakar Sadul Singh, Mr. B. N. Basu, Mr. T. Lall, Sir Charles Balley and others.

#### Bikanir's Speech

The Maharaja of Bikanir proposing the health of Lord Sinha said : he had the greatest pleasure in associating himself whole-heartedly with Lord Sinha's other friends, whose name was legion, in offering the warmest congratulations upon the honour which the King-Emperor had been graciously pleased to bestow upon him. Another object of this function was to enable Indians to express their grateful appreciation of the true statesmanship and rare stroke of imagination which had prompted the Secretary of State to suggest and the Premier to accept Lord Sinha's appointment, which India welcomed as clearly emphasising the determination of His Majesty's Government to carry out without unnecessary delay a substantial measure of constitutional reform. The Maharaja of Bikanir paid a tribute to Lord Sinha's modesty and profound patrio-

tism combined with the utmost loyalty to the British Crown and his grateful appreciation of all that India's connection with British meant for India, also his high sense of public duty, his political insight and strength of character. He had never attempted to court cheap popularity by playing to the gallery. He had always unhesitatingly spoken and acted according to the dictates of his conscience in support of what appeared to him best for India and the British Empire. Law, order, and good government had been as dear to Lord Sinha as the continued political advancement of his countrymen. These characteristics had distinguished Lord Sinha throughout his career. His sterling worth had won for him both east and west of Suez the respect of Englishmen and Indians alike. His country was justly proud of this great Indian who had led the way in so many spheres with such conspicuous merit and success.

If there was one Indian whose appointment as Under-Secretary was certain to evoke widespread approbation it was Lord Sinha. The cordial reception with which the innate sense of justice and fairplay characterising the British people had been extended to Lord Sinha's appointment virtually unanimously by the responsible press and informed public opinion in England, had been noted with lively gratification in India, but there had been a few insinuations and misrepresentations by those who posing 'as experts on India had been assiduously carrying on an anti-Reform and anti-Indian campaign.

#### He continued :—

It is an open secret—and I hear that that popular Governor, Lord Willingdon (cheers) told the story in a sympathetic speech at the dinner recently given in his honour—that for some years the highest authorities in India had been urging upon His Majesty's Government the pressing necessity for a declaration of British policy in relation to Indian aspirations. I think I can add without impropriety that it subsequently fell to the lot of those of us who had the honour of representing India here two years ago further to press this consideration. This view was accepted by that high-minded statesman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain. His successor, within a few weeks of receiving the seals of office, made the most welcome and historic announcement of the 20th August, 1917 (cheers), with the full authority of His Majesty's Government and the concurrence of the Government of India. Two months later, in the Upper House, Lord Curzon showed the necessity for this action in the following eloquent terms :

"You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosened and at

work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every hemisphere and every ocean ; and believe me, the events happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount (Lord Midleton) had been at the India Office in the past summer he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its head to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched, I think, in most moderate and certainly in well thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet."

The Declaration and the official visit to India of Mr. Montagu at the express invitation of the Viceroy, were productive of immense good (cheers)—a view which is widely shared by both the Princes and people of India.

#### **The Anti-Indian Agitation.**

We knew some of our old Anglo Indian friends too well to expect them to be in real sympathy with such a declaration. And no reasonable person will for a moment cavil at honest differences of opinion. But what do we find ? On the 30th of October, 1917—several days before Mr. Montagu had reached India on the mission with which His Majesty's Government had specially entrusted him—the Indo-British Association held its inaugural meeting in London. The minutes of its proceedings were published under the surprising title of "The Interests of India." (Laughter.) Perhaps it was chosen because one of the professed objects of the Association is, we are told, "to promote and foster the unity and advancement of the Indian peoples." (Laughter.) The methods, arguments, and manifold activities of the Association have, however, singularly disguised this avowed aim, and all that we can say is—Save us from such friends. (Cheers.)

! The Association does not expressly oppose the Declaration. But its real hostility to the policy of His Majesty's Government is revealed in almost every phase of its activity. From the first it has been developing a ceaseless pamphleteering and press propaganda. The booklets and leaflets it issues so freely are intended to alarm the ordinary man as to the condition of India, to belittle in every possible way the educated classes of that country (and indeed everyone who



has the temerity to disagree with its views), and to appeal to the personal and class interests at one time of the working man, at another—and more frequently—of business firms participating in Indian trade. Such firms were asked by circular, intended to be private, but which found a publicity unwelcome to the authors, for subscriptions to the Association of any sums from £1,000 downwards. The suggestion was made in this begging letter that such subscriptions could be regarded as “insurance premiums for British interests in India.” We believe in an industrial as well as a political future for our country, but we have yet to learn that the Indian Empire exists for exploitation by any particular commercial interests. As my right honourable friend, Mr. Chamberlain, publicly said when Secretary of State, India refuses to be regarded any longer in the economic sphere as a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. But industrial development means increased purchasing power, and British trade stands to gain and not to lose thereby.

#### Unjustifiable Attacks.

My Lords and Gentlemen, if I have not been greatly misinformed, I think that the word “reaction” has not been entirely unknown in connection with your domestic policy (Laughter). And one section of your extremists in this country—for India has no monopoly of this class of people (laughter)—are sounding shrill notes of alarm about India. Without going back to earlier occasions, we recollect that similar cries were raised some twelve years ago, when the Morley-Minto Reforms were under consideration; but with this difference, that as there is now an Indo-British Association, the anti-reform agitation is more noisy and persistent. Uneasily conscious that they are fighting a bad case, the Association—and in my remarks to-night I include generally the writer and speakers who have been co-operating in the campaign—freely resort to wholesale vituperation and personal abuse. Indians—including the dangerous and scheming Bengali Peer on my right (laughter)—have been indiscriminately branded as agitators, and India represented as seething with sedition and crime.

The policies of four consecutive Secretaries of State—Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Montagu—and of three consecutive Viceroy—Lords Minto, Hardinge and Chelmsford (cheer)—have been criticised in the most unjust terms. In fact, the “noncontents” would have you believe that they are right and that the Prime Minister, His Majesty’s Government, the

Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the Government of India are all wrong. (Laughter.) We are even asked to believe that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are out to weaken British authority in India, and that they are courting a grave political disaster. The burden of their jeremiad comes to this: Carry the reforms through, aim at responsible government in India, and you strike a blow at the rule of the King-Emperor in India. But they have deliberately suppressed the fact that the Indian leaders fully recognize and have repeatedly stated that their ideal of self-government can only be realized by India remaining an integral part of the British Empire. This recognition is prompted not only by that deep and universal loyalty of the Indian people to their beloved Sovereign which their religion and traditions enjoin, but also by what has been termed "reasoned attachment."

#### **The Rowlatt Report.**

The mendacity and unfairness of such a campaign is nowhere more conspicuous—and that is saying a great deal—than in a pamphlet of the Association, under the title of "Danger in India: Seditious and Murder," an annotated epitome of the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. You can imagine how eagerly anti-reform capital is made therein of these findings. Lamentable and serious as are the outrages dealt with in the Report, they relate to the nefarious activities of an infinitely small number out of a loyal Indian population of 315 millions, constituting one fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. (Cheers.)

It cannot too often be emphasized that India, especially in the last decade or so, has been progressing at such a rapid rate that the people who left the country even five years ago are not entitled to speak as experts. And it is all very well to refer to isolated incidents and opinions of individuals—usually anonymous—claiming to represent this or the other class in India. What India asks is that her affairs should be judged as a whole and by the public declarations of her responsible leaders.

#### **The Ruling Princes.**

Finally, I must deal with an issue on which I claim a first-hand knowledge, at least not inferior to that of the Indo-British Association or even of vehement leader-writers in organs echoing its views. (Cheers.) The impression has been very freely conveyed that the Princes of India are hostile not only to Lord Sinha's ap-

pointment but also to the reforms under contemplation. As one who has the honour to represent in England for the second time the Princes of India, I feel it my bounden duty to give to this gross misrepresentation the most authoritative and emphatic denial.

May I preface what I have to say with a word of explanation: As is well known the Indian Princes belong to no political parties whether here or in India. Their territories, representing an area of about one-third of the vast Indian Empire, are outside the limits of British India proper, and British jurisdiction is inapplicable therein. The interests of the Princes and their subjects—who constitute more than one-fifth of the entire Indian population—are thus already safeguarded in many ways by treaties of friendship and alliance concluded, almost invariably at least a century ago, and sometimes longer, between the Rulers and the East India Company. When the administration of British India was transferred to the Crown more than sixty years ago, these treaties were accepted as permanently binding both by Queen Victoria and the British Parliament. Such assurances have been graciously reiterated by each successive British Sovereign in regard to the pledges and rights secured by the Princes through such treaties.

It follows that in matters relating to administrative reform in British India, the Ruling Princes are in the direct sense disinterested parties, actuated by no selfish considerations or personal motives, and that they have no axe to grind. I hope that their loyal and deep devotion to the King-Emperor and their attachment to the Empire need no words from me. (Cheers) Their only concern is to see such measures adopted as will further popularize, strengthen, and preserve the ties that bind England and India together. They have amply demonstrated time and again that in any matter endangering the Empire they can always be relied upon unhesitatingly to fight for the British Throne, and to range themselves in a solid phalanx on the side of constituted authority. (Hear, hear.) Nothing is more true than what has been repeatedly stated by the high officers of the Crown and the Princes themselves that there is a very great and real identity of interests between the British Government and the Princes.

Is it conceivable, therefore, that the Princes would be in sympathy with, much less advocate, measures of a revolutionary nature, or prejudicial to the stability of the King-Emperor's rule in India.

### Sympathy with the Political Advance.

Nearly two years ago, speaking publicly in London for the Princes, I stated that the Rulers of the Indian States, far from being alarmed at or resenting any political advance in British India, would rejoice at such progress. Nevertheless, persistent allegations to the contrary have continued to be made by Lord Sydenham and others. It has even been stated in a recent book, described in Mr. Garvin's paper, by one speaking with authoritative knowledge of India, as "a harmful and spiteful contribution to the study of Indian reform," that some of us (and the reference to myself is obvious) do not represent the views of our Brother Princes; whilst in another page it is definitely asserted that the Maharajah of Patialla and myself were merely re-echoing the "gentle words" of Lord Sinha! (Laughter).

I propose, therefore to show categorically and conclusively the enlightened and favourable views held by the Princes of India generally in this connection.

He then quoted several speeches of Princes to show that the Princes favoured Reforms, the proceedings of, and the sentiments expressed at, the last Delhi Conference of Ruling Princes were next referred to and he quoted the Maharaja of Scindia.

### Turning Point.

My Lords and Gentlemen, we are now face to face with one of the most critical periods in the political regeneration of India under the aegis of the British Crown. The decisions regarding Indian constitutional reform, ultimately reached in this country, must irrevocably affect, for good or ill, India's future political progress. (Cheers). Thus a very grave responsibility lies on His Majesty's Government, and the British Parliament and people. It rests with them, by seizing the golden opportunity now offered of handling the Indian problem in a sympathetic and liberal spirit, with imagination, breadth of view and boldness, to bring about the greater happiness and the enhanced loyalty and contentment of the people of India. Thereby they will be doing a great service, not only to India, but also to the Empire as a whole, and will be acting in accord with the best traditions of Great Britain, the nursing mother of representative institutions and free nations. She has taught us to appreciate fully the rights and liberties of citizenship, which now more than at any previous time, have become the natural aim and desire of every civilized people all the world over. Not only will India be placed well on the road to the goal of responsible

government, as an integral part of the Empire, she will also be enabled to bear a still greater share in Imperial burdens and responsibilities. A great deal of what has come to be known as "legitimate unrests" will further subside, and the anxiety and uncertainty in men's minds will be replaced by an ever-increasing confidence in the fulfilment of Britain's glorious mission in India. Instead of being discredited and disheartened, the ranks of sobriety, moderation, and restraint will receive constant accessions of strength. A loyal, developing, and contented India will be an asset of immense value to the Empire. (Cheers).

#### A Note of Warning.

On the other hand, should reactionary tendencies prevail in wrecking or whittling down the reforms or leading to inadequate or half-hearted measures, inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Declaration, a situation of extreme gravity will be created. Speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King-Emperor and the vast Empire under his sway, I wish to sound this solemn note of warning. Should the counsels of the opponents of genuine reform be followed, feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong will be dominant throughout the length and breadth of India. (Loud cheers). The full force of that dissatisfaction no man can gauge; but it must be obvious that in comparison with it the unrest and discontent of recent years would seem small. Should such a situation ensue, it is a matter for earnest consideration, whether the Indian people would be held solely responsible at the bar of history for results which would be as deplorable as they would be unfair both for Great Britain and for India. Let me assure you as an Indian, that India's Princes and people ardently desire progress without disorder, reform without revolution. (Cheers).

We are persuaded to expect better things than that the British Government and Parliament should accept the guidance of reactionaries whose activities and constant libels on the Indian peoples are responsible in no small degree for the unrest, constitute a barrier to better feelings and closer understanding between Indians and Englishmen, and have so baneful an influence upon impressionable youths. Let us not forget Edmund Burke's striking axiom that "a great empire and little minds go ill together." As Lord Carmichael, another popular Governor, pointed out in the House of Lords last August, we cannot stand still; we must either go back or go forward. To go back, he said, is a policy the people of the Empire

will not tolerate. Liberal'ty, sympathy, and bold statesmanship have invariably answered well and advanced the greatness of the Empire in the past—notably in the case of the South African Union—and they will certainly not be misplaced in the India of to-day. (Cheers). Some two and a half years before the outbreak of war, His gracious Majesty said in his ever-memorable speech at Calcutta :

“Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy : to-day, in India I give to India the watchword of hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life.”

India has amply proved her right to share in the fairer and better world which we have all been promised on every hand, at the victorious termination of the mighty struggle. If the British Government will but seize occasion by the hand to shape the promised reforms on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity, they will confirm the solidarity of the widely varied dominions of His Imperial King Majesty George V by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness. (Loud applause.)

My Lords and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of Lord Sinha.

#### Lord Sinha.

The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, who was received with great enthusiasm, said :—

Your Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen—I can hardly express my sense of gratefulness to your Highness for the very kind, much too kind, and cordial terms in which you have proposed the toast of my health, and to you, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your very generous response. I should be more than human, less than human if I may say so, if I failed to be touched to the innermost recesses of my heart by this warm expression of your goodwill towards me, and I say without exaggeration that it will leave an abiding impression on my mind. But I am sure you will not think me vain enough to take this generous appreciation on your part of the position to which I have been called by the King-Emperor as in any sense personal to myself. My appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India is a striking illustration of the principle which Great Britain has adopted in the government of our commonwealth as applied to India. We, the loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty, have been holding fast for now more than sixty years to the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, emphasizing the abolition of all distinctions of race and

religion in the administration of India as the great Charter of our rights ; but slowly, steadily, almost imperceptibly, the march of events has taken us far beyond the position which that great proclamation gave us. India has been given a recognized and honoured place in the central councils of the Empire in war and peace, her Princes and her people have been treated as the equal custodians of our joint heritage, and Indian aspirations are measured today not in terms of our country, great as she is, but in terms of a greater fatherland of which India forms an integral part. (Cheers.) Indian representatives have participated on equal terms with the rest of the Empire in the anxious deliberations of war and peace ; and though I frankly confess (not in any spirit of assumed humility, but in all seriousness) that I am all too unworthy of the great honour done to me, England has shown to the world that in her Imperial family she recognizes the claims of all its members and disregards the prejudices which have prevailed for centuries.

### Equal Citizenship.

I have no doubt that you are here tonight, not so much to do honour to me as to put the seal of your approbation to this policy, to let all whom it may concern know that England is not going to retrace her steps because the danger with which she was threatened is over, but that she holds fast to that great principle of freedom and equality in vindication of which she staked her very existence. (Loud cheers). It is that aspect of my appointment which has given such universal gratification to my countrymen. I have had the honour of receiving congratulatory telegrams which have come pouring in from all parts of India, and indeed from all parts of the world wherever there are Indians, from our great ruling Princes, from heads of ancient religious foundations, from our territorial aristocracy, from the leaders of Indian thought of all shades of opinion, and resolutions of approval and gratitude have been passed by different provincial councils, municipal corporations, district boards, public associations, and at public meetings in towns and villages. What can be the meaning and the significance of this universal acclamation from India ? It is not because of me, for I only occupy the position of an illustration of a great principle ; it is because the great principle to which I have referred has been so strikingly upheld and vindicated, and more especially because such vindication has largely dispelled, as I firmly believe, the doubts and misgivings which were everywhere arising in India owing to indis-

criminate and ill-informed attacks against the educated classes of India, not merely by irresponsible critics in the Press, but even by some who have held high and responsible office in India.

### **Loyalty of the Educated Classes.**

And, sir, I should like to take this opportunity to enter a solemn protest, not so much against scornful sneers or offensive epithets, for these may be left to be their own answer, but against the idea that appears still to prevail in certain quarters that the educated classes of India are unfriendly to British. If by British rule is meant autocracy and domination in the name and under the garb of efficiency, we are opposed to it. (Loud applause.) We should not be worthy of our long connection with Great Britain and of our education if we were not. It is this critical attitude of mind which has in the past brought down upon our devoted heads invectives of reactionary politicians and officials.

I do not deny that there have been occasional aberrations on the part of a very small number, but I venture to think that, when not due to enemy intrigues, these have been almost solely due to the doubts and misgivings I have already referred to—often unreasonable, often unfounded, but still there. I can only express a hope that in the future no act or speech of responsible journalists and statesmen will foment or add to these suspicions. (cheers)

Sir, I venture to assert that the educated classes, without exception, ardently desire to remain within the fold of the British Empire with the status of equal British citizens. They desire equality within the Empire and not severance therefrom. (cheers.) How otherwise is it possible to understand the thrill of pleasure which was felt by all India when Lord Morley referred to me as "one of the King's equal subjects"? How otherwise can we explain the wave of enthusiasm that has passed over India with regard to my recent preferment?

### **British Congratulations.**

Sir, I must also take this opportunity to say what a source of peculiar pride and pleasure it is to me that hosts of my Anglo-Indian and British friends, officials as well as non-officials, have sent me their congratulations in terms no less appreciative, so far as I am personally concerned, and what is more precious to me—recognizing equally with my own countrymen the political



value of the unprecedented step that has been so boldly taken by those who are responsible for the future destiny of this far-flung Empire. To all and each of these friends of mine, I have tried to reply either by cable or by letter, but I take this opportunity of thanking them again, singly and collectively.

The Press, too, both in this country and in India have accorded almost without exception their sanction and approval to my appointment and elevation, and I should like to express grateful thanks, both for myself and my country, for their generous attitude. I hope I may be pardoned for referring to another personal aspect of the matter. I know that there are many countrymen of mine far more deserving than myself of the honours which have been bestowed upon me ("No, no") I can honestly say, I wish that these honours had gone to one of them, But uppermost in my mind to-day, and indeed ever since, the thought that there was one man who would and could have done far the greatest service to India if my position to-day were his—Gopal Krishna Gokhale (loud applause)—whom India shall ever mourn as one of her most patriotic sons and whose untimely death was one of the greatest of our misfortunes. Nor can I help giving expression to a poignant sense of regret that the true friend of Indian aspirations, than whom no man worked more hard or more unselfishly for our advancement—Sir William Wedderburn (cheers)—should not have lived to see what I am sure he would have hailed as a token of the new spirit which to-day animates Great Britain in her relations with India. A high British official and friend of mine has written to me that India has taken my appointment as "clearly showing that His Majesty Government mean business when they declare that it is their intention to raise India to the position of an equal partner in the Empire." (Cheers).

### **The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.**

I have no doubt they mean business, and I am confident that a liberal and a generous scheme of reforms will be passed by the Parliament of this country—and that the pre-occupations of the coming peace and the necessity for full consideration of the Reports of the different Committees will not cause any great delay. I am confident that a reform scheme will be in operation within the next twelve months. (cheers.)

There is at present, at any rate, one well considered scheme before the public—the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. I agree

with so much of what is said in a leading article of yesterday's *Times* that I make no apology for quoting one sentence from it :

"The great need of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme at this juncture is neither laudation nor abuse, of both by which it has had far too much, but constructive criticism of which there has been far too little."

Large parts of that scheme were accepted by all shades of opinion : namely, firstly closer connection between Indian States and British India ; secondly, necessity for as complete decentralisation as possible between the Secretary of State, the Government of India and Provincial Governments ; thirdly, the necessity for complete freedom in local self-Government ; fourthly much larger inclusion of Indians in the superior services, civil and military, fifthly, full industrial development ; sixthly broadening of the franchise of Legislative Councils ; and seventhly transfer of so much control as was consistent with the interests of law and order from the bureaucracy to representatives of the people. Controversy centred principally round the extent of such control and the method of transfer. He trusted that when there was so much agreement a satisfactory solution would be found. Lord Sinha concluded by appealing to Indians not to lose trust in England which had given conspicuous proof that she deserved all their trust in the responsible duties with which she was entrusted (cheers.)

#### Mr. Montagu.

After this substantial feast, gastronomic and intellectual I am reluctant to detain you many minutes. But I do want to take this opportunity for a little plain speaking (A Voice : That's what we want). The politician who regards it the prime function and duty of his life to promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian Empire, labours under the disadvantage of the rareness of occasions on which he can speak to audiences in England of the situation in the Indian Empire. If, therefore, I abuse your hospitality to-night, it is because I have got the chance of saying just one or two things that are uppermost in my mind.

It is now a little more than eighteen months since I accepted the responsible and high office I now hold, and my experience in that time gathered in India, in England and in Paris, has amplified and magnified the conviction with which I became Secretary of State, that the reform of the Government machine in India is vital

and urgent and ought not to be delayed (loud cheers). The whole spirit of our deliberations across the Channel today is that an Empire can alone be justified by the freedom and liberty which it guarantees, and the motive of the world's statesmanship at this moment is a hatred and detestation of ascendancy and dominion (loud cheers). Therefore I say, my Lords and gentlemen, that those who would stand in the way of Indian reform in this direction are not only in my opinion enemies of the British Empire, but are setting themselves athwart of world wide influence (cheers).

I am part author of a scheme of Indian reforms published for criticism. Never has anything been asked for to which a more generous response has been given (laughter). In pamphlets and and in books, in streams and in deluge, criticism has poured forth, much of it helpful and constructive but also much of it prejudiced and ill-willed. His Highness the Maharajah and Lord Sinha have said something about the effect of such strictures upon youth. As I listened to their speeches I felt that they conveyed a lesson for those who write about India of the harm that can be done by ill-considered words, and the mischief that can be wrought by forgetting the sensitiveness of people who are striving for progress. For the British politician abuse and criticism, however ill founded and imaginative, are the bread and butter upon which he lives (laughter.) Sometimes it is a matter of astonishment to those who do not live in England that we hardly take the trouble to answer those who make abuse their stock in trade. People who write and speak on India, however, often forget that their words are far more than for domestic consumption.

### **The True Decentralisation.**

The one thing proposed by the Viceroy and myself which seems to meet with universal satisfaction is the great project of decentralisation (cheers). In a speech I once made and which I have not since been allowed to forget, and before I was appointed to my present office, I dragged into a discussion in the House of Commons on Mesopotamia, by the kindness and toleration of the speaker, a picture of an India for which we should strive, consisting of a group of self-governing provinces or dominions, masters in their own houses, joined together for the common purpose of the country as a whole by the Government of India, and joined by a never-ending bond to the Empire which made them and gave them their liberty. (Cheers). Now nothing on the adminis-

trative side seems to me so obvious in the present administration than the irritation which is felt by those who constitute the Government of India with the horrible institution called the India Office (laughter). It is only equalled by the irritation that is felt by those who constitute the Provincial Governments with the horrible institution which is known as the Government of India (laughter). My Lords and gentlemen, this phenomenon, which is so shocking when you meet it in a partnership arrangement, seems to me inevitable when one authority sits on the head of another. I well remember looking at an excellent picture in *Punch*, drawn I think by Du Maurier, of the inside of an episcopal palace, when a letter was opened from a rector asking permission to do something or other in his parish. The bishop was warming himself in front of the fire, his wife was knitting in the armchair, and their small son in sailor suit was laboriously writing a letter: "Dear Mr. So and So, Dady says you mustn't." (laughter). That is the irritating part. Some inscrutable decree is passed many hundreds of miles away from Delhi or London, often unintelligible to those who receive it, preventing the man on the spot from doing what he wants. Harmony cannot be obtained, a quick solution of present difficulties cannot be achieved unless the Government of India is allowed to run its own affairs, and the Governments of the provinces are similarly given a free hand. (Applause).

Yes, but where does that take us? There can be only one substitute for authority from above. There can be only one substitute for the ultimate control of the British Parliament—and that is the control of the people of India (loud and long continued cheering.) If I stopped at decentralisation I should have the unanimous support of the Indo-British Association (laughter). The Governor would no longer be hampered by tedious and irritating despatches from London; he would be ruler of his own country without the necessity of bothering about the opinions of his Legislative Council. The purpose of the Viceroy and myself, however, is by no means to increase the bureaucratic character of governments in the Province. Decentralisation can only be effective and autonomy can only be brought about by the substitution of responsible government for government by the India Office. (Cheers.)

### Government by Vote.

But where does this lead us? It means that the substitute of government by despatch is government by vote. It has often been said that the reforms we propose have the unfortunate feature

that India is unfit to govern itself. To-night I am surrounded by Indians who hold, or have held, high places. We are convinced of the fitness of many. What we want to see is how India learns to use the vote on which the whole machinery will depend. (cheers.) Can Indians grudge a few years in which to see how the franchise works? How many people vote in India to-day? Only a few hand-fuls. The work of Lord Southborough's committee will enfranchise millions of Indians. Will they vote? Will they know what a vote means and what can be achieved by it? Will the constituencies which the Committee will devise be representative of the Indian Empire? If the British Parliament is the custodian of the growth of self-government in India we must have a few years in which to study the stages of that growth; and Indians have no right to tell us that in providing for this we are acting too cautiously or with too much hesitation.

### **Communal Electorates.**

The first thing to do is to devise a representative electorate. That brings me to the subject of communal representation. I repeat that to my mind this is an unfortunate expedient fraught with many risks. (Hear, hear). However, everything else, theoretical and practical, must be sacrificed to obtaining representative legislative councils. If communal electorates are the only means to this end,—provided that they are designed to give the representation demanded by the necessity of the case—well then, there must be communal representation. (Hear, hear). But if such electorates are advocated simply, as I fear they are sometimes advocated, because there are still in the world believers in the old theory that if you split a country up you can govern it more easily, then communal representation is to be rejected. (Cheers).

I hasten to add that I make an exception for the Mahomedans, to whom we are bound by pledges as solemn as any Government ever gave to any people. To those pledges I am convinced that we shall remain faithful (cheers) until the day comes when the mahomedans themselves tell us that there is no necessity for separate electorates.

May I say one more thing, prompted by the remarks of His Highness, the Aga Khan? I for one do not believe that there is any essential antagonism between the interests of one section of the Indian people and any other. (Loud cheers). If in the Peace Conference it is unfortunate that India is presented by three men

none of whom is a Mahomedan, I can assure the Mahomedans of India that their peculiar interests and aspirations are as zealously voiced and as sympathetically considered by my two colleagues and myself as the opinions, desires and wishes of any other section of the Indian people. (Hear, hear.)

### **The Services and reform.**

I want to say one word about the Indian Civil Service. There is no doubt in the minds of all thinking men that any unprejudiced and well-informed observer of Indian history and conditions will agree that services rendered to the country by the Indian Civil Service will stand for ever conspicuous as the greatest work ever accomplished in the history of the world by the men of one country for the people of another. But it is sometimes said that the reforms proposed will be to alter and prejudice the position of the Indian Services. Yes, it will alter the position. This is a time for plain speaking. The announcement of 20th August, 1917 promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom, to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. (Cheers). If we said to the Civil Service to-day that their political position will be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the announcement of H. M's Government becomes meaningless. (Hear, hear). For the past ten years I have been in close association with the Home Civil Service. Is their position unendurable? Is there any doubt about the great imperial services they render because they are subordinate to the policy laid down by Parliament? There is, believe me, for the Indian Civil Service an indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of eighteen months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India are to be gradually reposed in the people of India, and gradually taken from those who have gloriously built up India as we know it to-day (loud cheers.) Although any talk of reform in his country brings out of retirement those who walk dangerously, as it seems to me, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly on the past, I do not believe that there is any Civil Servant in India who thinks (though it is sometimes claimed on their behalf) that the appointed destiny of the country can be delayed or altered in the interests of the Service (loud cheers.)

### **Work of the Transitional Stages.**

I turn from the position of the Civil Service to that of Indian workers. It is for Parliament to decide what the Act will be. What I do know is that the reforms that are wanted for India to-day are not concessions flung to the hungry politician, but the opening of

the clearly marked road which will lead the people surely to their appointed destiny (loud cheers.) Nothing matters to me—the irritation, the peculiar anomalies, the novelties, the friction which are prophesied—so much as to be sure of seeing before us the road we are going to take (cheers.) Supposing, as I claim for the Reform Scheme which the Viceroy and I have published for criticism, that the future stages of progress depend not upon agitation but on the principles that constitute the essential ingredients of future stages, what have Indians to do? I tell you that there is only one way of ensuring rapid progress along that road, and that way does not lie in making political speeches abusing a race or class, or abusing your partners in the great experiment. Is there nothing definite that Indians can do during the transitional stages? No tongue can exaggerate the benefits of British rule in India. But education is still confined to a very small minority. Industrial development is in its infancy. Does anybody in this audience realise that last year in the great influenza epidemic no less than six million people died in India? In the State ruled by our Chairman, I believe that one out of seven died. The horrors of war are nothing to the influenza epidemic which has visited the whole earth. But has not the exceptional mortality in India something to do with poverty and the consequent lack of resisting power (cheer)? I say, supposing the questions of public health, education and industrial development were in the power of Indians to work for themselves, would these be dishonourable tasks? Would they not be the tasks for laying the foundation of a great Empire in the future?

When I was very young I was a great admirer of the game of cricket. One thing that impressed upon my youthful observation was always this, that each member of the team was left to discharge the function for which he was responsible. If the whole team ran after a particular ball it fell through their fingers. Nothing was worse for the side at the wickets than to spend its time in the pavilion criticising the batsmen. Let us see that in the new India the functions of each man and of each partner in the combination are defined, and let them each fulfil their appointed tasks without trying to interfere with the functions of others.

#### **British and Indian co-operation.**

The basis of this dinner is the honours we desire to do to our guest, Lord Sinha. He and I are called upon to work together as colleagues in the India Office. It was a proud moment of my life when I learned that the recommendation of Lord Sinha as my comrade had been accepted by His Majesty, though at the time I felt a sorrow which you will all understand at the loss of Lord

Islington (cheers) to whom I owe very much for his friendship and assistance, and to whom India owes very much (cheers). Lord Sinha's associations with me has only been a short one; but we purpose of benefiting the Indian Empire. It seems to me that if you forget personalities and just think of an Englishman and an Indian thus working together in the control of Indian administration, you will have an excellent example of the co-operation and unison between the two races which has been, and believe me, will continue to be, a creative force of all the best work to be done for India. I do not believe that, as has been said, the experiment upon which Government has embarked is a leap in the dark. I believe that the growth of Parliamentary and self-governing institution is an inevitable consequence and a result of British rule. Whether I consider the aspirations of India, or the interests of the British Empire, or the work which has been done by my fellow countrymen in India, I feel confident that the result of their labour in association with Indians, the only vision that they ought to desire to see achieved is a peaceful and prosperous India in which Indians will walk the highways of their own country conscious that they are to be the controllers of its destinies (Loud and long continued cheers).

**Lord Carmichel** briefly proposed the health of the Chairman in a humorous speech, and His Highness expressed his acknowledgments.

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# India in the Peace Conference.

*Paris—11 April, '19.*

At the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference held on the 11 April 1919, under the presidency of M. Clemenceau (French Premier) Mr Barnes on behalf of the International Labour convention placed a scheme for International Labour Organisation for insertion in the Peace Treaty. Delegates for the different countries were present including Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir as the Indian representatives and also representatives of the British Dominions.

Mr. Barnes outlined the unhappy nature of the pre-war Labour conditions, and emphasised that the workers were determined never to return to those conditions. He urged that the highest wage-earning countries were not the best successful in the world-competition. For the first time in history they were now seeking the co-operation of all concerned, namely the State, employers and workers with a view to raising the standard of life everywhere in the world. The best means of doing this was not penalties against the weak and poor workers but publicity and agreement. The fundamental idea of the proposed organisation is to bring together in a public conference all the three concerned, so that the fullest information may be collected and distributed publicly for a betterment of past and existing conditions. The organisation would work in harmony with the League of Nations. The annual conference would be held at the seat of the League of Nations. The permanent office would be situated at this seat to collect and distribute informations. The conference would consist of 4 members from each State, 2 being the state representatives, 1 for the workers and 1 for the employers. As regards the Federal States certain reservations would be embodied to allow their representation, and provision for providing special modifications in the case of countries imperfectly developed. The first conference is to be held at Washington in 1919. He concluded by emphasising the importance of the Labour Organisation; as it would strengthen the League of Nations by enabling it to take root in the daily life of the People.

**President Wilson** warmly welcomed the proposal and said that that was a Labour Charter which he accepted on behalf of the American workers.

**Sir S. P. Sinha** in the course of his speech said that from the Industrial standpoint India was in an extremely backward condition, but they hoped in the next few years a great impetus would be given to indigenous industries. If these industries were to be developed on sound foundations they must look to the welfare of the workers. Already something had been done in India. The Factory Act of some years ago had already produced some good effect, but as regards India's climatic, social and other conditions, their own Factory commission recommended that progress must be slow. As representatives of India, they had watched the developments of this convention (the Labour Convention) with some misgiving, fearing that allowance would not be made for peculiar conditions of other countries. Happily now those misgivings have been banished by Mr. Barnes' amendment which has reference to countries having special labour conditions. Happily those labour conditions of his country were vastly different from those of the Western countries, and he gladly and wholeheartedly accepted the Labour Convention with that amendment.

**The Maharaja of Bikanir** also spoke. He warmly sympathised with the efforts of the Convention to ameliorate the conditions of Labour. He was glad that special provisions, which were very necessary, have been inserted with a view to meeting the condition of countries like India. He would however like to make one point clear. As the territories of the Ruling Princes lay outside British India, and as legislation enacted for British India by the British Government could not apply to Indian States, and as the only competent authority to legislate for an Indian state was the Government of the state concerned, it should be clearly understood that the authority within whose competence the matter lies for enactment of legislation would be the constitutive authority of the various Indian or other states concerned.

#### **The Resolution.**

Mr. Barnes introduced the resolution which was unanimously accepted, that the Peace Conference approved the proposed Scheme and the Governments concerned were requested to proceed forthwith with the nomination of their representatives on the Organising Committee for the October Conference, the Committee to begin work immediately.

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# India in America.

[ *The following account of the work done in America for and by Indians during the early part of 1918 is taken from Mrs. Besant's Paper "New India."* ]

An "Indian Home Rule League of America" has been started in New York U. S. A., with the following constitution.

"Whereas, The Indian Home Rule movement is being pushed on vigorously in India and England with the help and co-operation of eminent Englishmen and Englishwomen, and

"Whereas, a large number of the Hindus in this country deeply sympathise with the movement and are anxious to further it as much as lies in their power, and

"Whereas, the war utterances of President Wilson in favour of the rights of nationalities to determine their own forms of government have made it clear that the people of this country sympathise with the efforts of subject and small nationalities to achieve autonomy ; therefore it is desirable that an Indian Home Rule League be formed and established in this country to include all such Hindus and Americans as sympathise with the cause and are prepared to give their moral and national support to it."

The aims and objects to this League shall be :

1. (a) To support the Home Rule movement in India and co-operate with the Home Rule League, the All-India Moslem League and the Indian National Congress—organisations of India and England.

(b) To further all kinds of friendly intercourse—social, educational, cultural and commercial—between India and America.

2. The membership of this League is open to all who sympathise with its object.

3. The membership will be of three kinds.

(a) Active members who will pay dollars 10 (Rs. 30) a year.

(b) Associate members who will pay dollars 3 (Rs. 9) a year.

(c) Members who will pay dollar 1 (Rs. 3) a year.

4. The affairs of the League shall be managed by a council consisting of seven, five of whom will be elected annually by the associate-members.

5. The League shall maintain an office in the City of New York where regular accounts shall be kept of all receipts and disbursements of money in connection with the League.

The President of the League is Lala Lajpat Rai.

We hear from the United States that "American interest in India is increasing rapidly, and many factors are combining to effectuate this." One of these is the League for World Liberation, founded last October by native-born Americans, who were in sympathy not only with the Allies' plan of liberating all subject peoples, but also with what they call Mrs. Annie Besant's "greater plan of a free world, that would include religious and economic equality as well as political." In fact, Mrs. Besant was offered the post of International President, but has not, at present, accepted it, while feeling grateful for the honour, since her work is already too heavy, and the difficulties of communication between India and the rest of the world are so great. The broad ideals of the League, as regards World Liberation, are stated in a small book by Mr. Shibley, who has long been identified with constructive work in Washington, and it has been sent to the leading politicians in America. We hear that a statement about India has been included in the book, but the little volume has not yet reached us.

Our correspondent says :

The League's immediate object is to help in the democratising of India along the harmonious lines suggested by Mr. Montagu, and more particularly by means of the Congress League Reform Scheme. India is the largest Nation still held subject, the one most needing relief. The representatives of the people have amicably agreed upon their demands, and the granting of their aspirations would not dislocate India's war contribution, but on the contrary enhance it. Hence the League for World Liberation feels that the granting of India's self determination would not only redound to the advantage of the Allies, but it would also be the first great step towards the realisation of a world made safe for democracy, according to President Wilson's ideals. Therefore our League is working, by loyal and peaceful methods, to awaken American sympathy and support for India's liberation and elevation to the status of a Self Governing British Dominion.

Branches of the League have been established in the principal cities of America, through which our activities are being carried on. The most important eastern centre is at Washington, D. C., where Dr. Robins and Mr. Shibley are especially helpful and devoted.

President Wilson's reception of the data on India previously sent to him was very sympathetic, and, as our correspondent says, "his heart goes out to all oppressed peoples". Petitions bearing thousands of signatures in favour of President Wilson's ideals being applied to India are pouring into Washington, and are placed in his hands by our Washington representatives.

Another very valuable piece of work which is being done is the establishment of a Research Bureau. On this our correspondent tells us :

We have classified all data concerning India, including the valuable pamphlets which we brought with us, and your books on the subject. These are all cross indexed for quick reference. We have given widespread notification that we have this data for all who desire it. We are thus enabled to supply information whenever it is needed, which is often, and upon short notice. We now have the most complete and up-to-date library in America upon Indian matters. What we greatly need is that we shall receive at least two copies of all pamphlets printed in India on important topics, and especially Mrs. Besant's speeches.

Newspapers are constantly stopped though regularly subscribed for. Still our good friends manage to present India's case pretty fully :

This is an important part of our work, as reliable, recent, and unprejudiced information is difficult to obtain. A short time ago Mr. Blum of Kansas City met Sir Frederick Smith, England's Attorney General travelling in America, who asked for a statement of India's case. Mr. Blum wrote for this and asked us if we could prepare it quickly. We said Yes, and in a few days had the Ms. ready and it was forwarded to Sir Frederick. This is only one illustration of the work which we are doing. It is unobtrusive, but highly important.

Diplomatic Work : This is also effective. Our seeing the important leaders in Washington, important Senators, editors, statesmen, as well as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers, head of the American Labour Movement, has had definite results. We have kept in touch with these people, where advisable, and shall keep them informed of new developments regarding India. The concensus of American opinion is emphatically that India must participate in the world's advance towards democracy. Among Government circles, of course, the usual diplomatic courtesy between Nations forbids any public announcement of suggested interference or bringing pressure to bear upon England. Certainly, however, recent developments in the Far East will emphasise the need of granting India any concessions necessary to keep her as an Allied friend and a generous contributor to the war.

Press Work : We have continued our publicity campaign through the newspapers, and have sent statements of India's case to Canadian dailies as well. The tremendous publicity which our mission gained last October, brought India to the attention of the

American papers as never before, and the result is that their columns are now open to Indian items. Literally hundreds of articles appear each month in American papers, where only a few appeared before. This is permeating the mind of the people with Indian thought, and the result is magnificent. In this department we suffer from lack of funds to engage clerks and shorthand writers but we are doing the best we can.

A Bureau has also been started for the defence of Mrs. Besant against the slanders circulated against her by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association.

Our friends are cooperating with Lala Lajpat Rai and the Indian Home Rule League founded by him :

They publish a small monthly magazine "young India," which will do a good work if they are tactful. We are members of the League and are helping it in every way possible. Its methods are peaceful and constitutional; in fact, they are endeavouring to counteract the bad impression made by the revolutionists who have recently been on trial in San Francisco in connection with German intrigue. Mrs. Hotchner is President of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Indian H. R. League.

[ *N. B. Lajpat Rai's "Young India" is prohibited in India—* See on this pp. 18-25, *India in Parliament* ].

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**PART III**  
**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA REPORTS**

**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**  
**REPORTS**  
**1918-19**

**EDITED BY**  
**H. N. MITRA, M.A., B. L.**

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# REPORT OF THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

## THE REPORT SUMMARISED.

The Report of the Industrial Commission, which has been sitting for the last two years under the Chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holland, K.C.S.I., is issued in a convenient volume of about 360 pages at the price of one rupee. The constructive proposals depend on the acceptance of two principles:—(1) that in future Government must play an active part in the industrial development of the country, with the aim of making India more self-contained in respect of men and material, and (2) that it is impossible for Government to undertake that part, unless provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice.

The administrative proposals include the creation of (1) imperial and provincial departments of Industries and (2) of an Imperial Industrial Service. The imperial department would be in charge of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, assisted by a Board of three members entitled the Indian Industries Board, and be responsible for the industrial policy of Government and the inauguration and carrying out of a uniform programme of industrial development throughout the country. The actual administrative work would be almost entirely decentralised and would devolve on Local Governments. The performance of these duties would necessitate the employment of a large staff of officers whose qualifications would primarily depend upon a knowledge of mechanical engineering; and the formation of an Imperial Service is suggested in order to safeguard Government against the dangers and difficulties of casual recruiting. This service would consist mainly of mechanical engineers and engineering technologists, the majority of whom would be employed under the Local Governments. The headquarters of the Department and of the Board should be with the Government of India.

The provincial department would be administered by Directors of Industries, assisted by specialists and technical advisers who would usually be selected from imperial services for work under the

**Local Government.** A provincial Director would thus be able to develop the industries of his province with the help of competent engineers and scientists. He would be advised by a provincial Board of Industries, composed mainly of non-officials; and he should hold the post of a Secretary to Government to secure expeditious and effective despatch of work.

It now remains to consider the **work which this organisation is to carry out** and the conditions of India which render essential a policy of active intervention on the part of Government in the industrial affairs of the country. The **first chapters** of the Report deal with India as an industrial country, her present position and her potentialities. They show how little the march of modern industry has affected the great bulk of the Indian population, which remains engrossed in agriculture, winning a bare subsistence from the soil by antiquated methods of cultivation. Such changes as have been wrought in rural areas are the effects of economic rather than of industrial evolution. In certain centres the progress of western industrial methods is discernible; and a number of these are described in order to present a picture of the conditions under which industries are carried on, attention being drawn to the shortage and to general inefficiency of Indian labour and to the lack of an indigenous supervising agency. Proposals are made for the better exploitation of the forests and fisheries. In discussing the industrial deficiencies of India, the Report shows how unequal the development of our industrial system has been. Money has been invested in commerce rather than industries and only those industries have been taken up which appeared to offer safe and easy profits. Previous to the war, too ready reliance was placed on imports from overseas, and this habit was fostered by the Government practice of purchasing stores in England. India produces nearly all the raw materials necessary for the requirements of a modern community; but is unable to manufacture many of the articles and materials essential alike in times of peace and war. For instance, her great textile industries are dependent upon supplies of imported machinery and would have to shut down if command of the seas were lost. It is vital, therefore, for Government to ensure the establishment in India of those industries whose absence exposes us to grave danger in event of war. The Report advocates the introduction of modern methods of agriculture, and in particular of labour-saving machinery. Greater efficiency in cultivation, and in preparing produce for the market would follow, labour now wastefully employed would be set free for industries, and the establishment of shops for the manufacture and repair of machi-

nery would lead to the growth of a huge engineering industry. After examining the resources for generating power, the Report says the coal of India is generally of a poor quality and the radius within which it can be economically used is accordingly limited. Moreover, the extension of metallurgical industries already started involves a severe attack on our visible supplies of coking coal. The Commission recommends a special survey of the coal position in India. The oil fields of Burma are being rapidly drained and no others of equal value have been proved. Wind power is too intermittent for industrial use. Attention should be directed to more economical methods of using wood fuel, and new materials for industrial alcohol should be investigated. The harnessing of water power appears, however, to afford a more reliable source of energy, especially with a view to the development of thermo-electric industries; and Government is urgently enjoined to undertake a hydrographic survey in order to determine the places which offer possibilities for the establishment of hydro-electric installations.

The next chapters deal with "The Indian Industries". They discuss measures designed to improve the efficiency of the Indian artisan and to encourage the educated Indian to take part in industrial enterprise. It is shown that the relative lowness of wages paid to Indian labour is counterbalanced by the comparative inefficiency of the individual Indian workman. The Commission assigns three causes for this inefficiency *viz.*, the absence of education, the prevailing low standard of comfort, and the effects of preventible disease. *The Commission expresses itself in favour of universal primary education*, but considers that it would be unfair and unjust to impose upon employers this duty, which devolves rather upon the State and local authorities. But education of a technical kind is also required, and the method of instruction to be followed will vary for workers in organised and for workers in cottage industries, the latter of whom, it may be remarked, considerably exceed the former in numbers. For cottage industries the Commission proposes an efficient system of education in industrial schools administered by head masters with practical knowledge of the industries taught, and controlled by the Departments of Industries. The extension of marketing facilities must go hand in hand with the teaching of improved processes. In the case of organised industries mechanical engineering is taken as a typical instance, and the proposals include the establishment of a system of organised apprenticeship for a period of four or five years, with practical training in the workshops and theoretical instruction in attached teaching institutions.

## INDUSTRIAL COM'S REPORT

The Commission places **better housing** in the forefront of its recommendations to raise the standard of comfort of the Indian artisan. Subject to certain safeguards, Government should use its powers under the Land Acquisition Act to acquire sites for industrial dwellings, and land so acquired should be leased to employers on easy terms. Special remedies are proposed in the case of Bombay, where the problems of congestion are unique. General measures of welfare work among factory employees are also suggested and special attention should be paid to the improvement of public health. The elimination of such diseases as hookworm and malaria, which are prevalent almost everywhere in India, would add enormously to the productive capacity of the Indian labourer.

The general **aversion from industrial pursuits** of the educated Indian is ascribed to hereditary predisposition accentuated by an unpractical system of education. A complete revolution in the existing methods of training is proposed. For manipulative industries, such as mechanical engineering, an apprenticeship system similar to that suggested for artisans should be adopted. The youth who aspires to become a foreman or an engineer, must learn to take off his coat at the start and should serve a term of apprenticeship in the workshops, supplemented by courses of theoretical instruction. At the conclusion of this period of training he may be allowed to specialise in particular subjects. For non-manipulative or operative industries, on the other hand, the teaching institution should be the main training ground, though practical experience is also necessary. Special proposals are made for commercial and mining education; and the future establishment of two imperial colleges is adumbrated, one for the highest grade of engineering and the other for metallurgy. To ensure the maintenance of close relations between the training institutions and the world of industry, the general control of technical education should be transferred to the Department of Industries.

The remaining chapters of the Report deal more specifically with **Government intervention in industries**. Government clung long to the tradition of *laissez faire* in industrial matters; but when in recent years it attempted to play a more active part in industrial development, its efforts were rendered futile by the absence of scientific and technical advice to assist it in estimating the value of industrial propositions and by the lack of any suitable agency to carry out approved proposals. To remedy the first of these defects, a reorganisation of the existing scientific services is advocated, in such a way as to unite in imperial services, classified according to science subjects, all the scattered workers now engaged in the provinces on

isolated tasks." Rules are suggested to govern the relations between the members of these services and private industrialists seeking advice. The situation of research institutes and the conditions and terms of employment of these services are questions for the decision of which the commission considers that the appointment of a special committee is necessary.

The administrative machinery with which Government must be equipped and some of the functions which that machinery will enable it to perform have already been described ; but there are many other directions in which the development of industries can be stimulated. Useful and up-to-date information on commercial and industrial matters is essential both for Government and for private merchants and industrialists. A scheme is propounded for collecting such information and for making it available to the public through officers of the Department of Industries. The purchase of Government stores in the past has been conducted in such a way as to handicap Indian manufacturers in competing for orders and to retard industrial development in India. The Commission proposes that the Department of Industries should be in charge of this work and that orders should not be placed with the Stores Department of the India Office until the manufacturing capabilities of India have first been exhausted. A chapter is concerned with the law of land acquisition and enunciates principles in accordance with which Government might compulsorily acquire sites for industrial undertakings ; in another, the various methods by which Government might render direct technical aid to industries are explained. The Commission considers that ordinarily Government itself should undertake manufacturing operations only for the production of lethal munitions. The administration of the Boiler Acts, the Mining Rules and the Electricity Act, the employment of jail labour, the prevention of adulteration, patents, and the registration of business names, of trade marks and of partnerships, are matters which are specifically dealt with. In the opinion of the Commission the compulsory registration of partnerships is practicable, and the question should be examined by Government with a view to legislation.

**Industrial co-operation** is discussed with reference to small and cottage industries ; and the vexed question of the effects of railway rates on industries is considered. The Commission thinks that reduced rates to and from ports have been prejudicial to industrial development and that the position requires careful examination with a view to the removal of existing anomalies. In particular it should be possible to increase the rates on raw produce for export and on import



other than machinery and stores for industrial use. The addition of a commercial member to the Railway Board and the better representation of commercial and industrial interests at the Railway Conference would help to secure a more equable system of rating. The improvement of waterways and the formation of a Waterways Trust at Calcutta are also proposed.

The Commission lays emphasis on the **disorganisation of Indian Capital** and its shyness in coming forward for industrial development. There is no lack of money in the country, yet the industrialist cannot obtain the use of it except on terms so exorbitant as to devour a large part of his profits. There is a crying necessity for the extension of banking facilities in the mofussil. The commission is disposed to favour the establishment of an industrial bank or banks; but it considers that the appointment of an expert committee is necessary to deal with this subject and asks Government to take action at an early date. As an 'interim' measure, a scheme is propounded for the provision of current finance to middle-class industrialists, by which the banks would open cash credits in favour of applicants approved by the Department of Industries on the guarantee of Government. Various other methods of financial assistance by Government are suggested, in particular the provision of plant for small and cottage industries on the hire-purchase system.

To sum up, the Commission finds that India is a country rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities, but poor in manufacturing accomplishment. The deficiencies in industrial system are such as to render her liable to foreign penetration in time of peace and to serious dangers in time of war. Her labour is inefficient, but for this reason capable of vast improvement. She relies almost entirely on foreign sources for foremen and supervisors; and her *intelligentsia* have yet to develop a right tradition of industrialism. Her stores of money lie inert and idle. The necessity of securing the economic safety of the country and the inability of the people to secure it without the co-operation and stimulation of Government impose, therefore, on Government a policy of energetic intervention in industrial affairs; and to discharge the multifarious activities which this policy demands, Government must be provided with a suitable industrial equipment in the form of imperial and provincial departments of Industries.

The recurring cost of the proposals is estimated at Rs. 86 lakhs; they involve a capital expenditure of Rs. 150 lakhs, mainly on educational institutions, and a further capital outlay of Rs. 66 lakhs is anticipated for future developments. The Commission con-

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

7

siders that this expenditure may be worked up to at the end of a period of 7 years.

### SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

Indian industries must be largely based on *agricultural products* and the Agricultural Services require strengthening to undertake the necessary research work. Attention is specially directed to the problems presented by cotton cultivation, by sugar cultivation and manufacture and to the necessity for scientific work on oil seeds.

The trade in *hides* and *skins* and the *tanning* industry are of great importance. The solution of the existing problems lies in stimulating the production of leather and of lightly-tanned hides and skins. The possession of an abundance and great variety of natural tan-stuffs lends special importance to this industry in India.

The *mineral resources* of India offer opportunities for important developments.

The *forest estates* of Government yield inadequate returns, and an expert service of forest engineers is required to facilitate extraction. Provision for the training of forest engineers should be made in India.

Special measures are required to bring *timbers* of the less-known species to the notice of consumers. Government depots under the charge of officers selected for their commercial aptitude should be established for this purpose.

The staff and equipment of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun are insufficient and additions to the staff are necessary.

Plantations should be established to secure a concentrated and, therefore, cheap supply of suitable wood for special industries and for fuel.

*Indian fisheries* (especially deep-sea fisheries) have been neglected, except in the case of Madras, and their possibilities should be developed by properly equipped Fisheries Departments. Scientific ichthyologists should be added to the Zoological Survey. The creation of Fisheries Departments in Burma and Bombay, and a substantial addition to the staff of the Bengal Fisheries Department, are suggested.

Close co-operation between the Departments of Industries and Agriculture is needed.

The Director of Industries in each province should have a workshop and laboratory equipped for the mechanical testing of small prime-movers and of the machinery that they are intended to drive.

The possibility of irrigation in Sind by means of pumps should be considered in connection with the Indus barrage scheme in order to

estimate the commercial practicability of growing Egyptian cotton on a large scale.

### POWER.

A special survey of the *coal* situation in Assam should be undertaken at an early date, with a view to introducing economies in the methods of mining and consumption. Such a review of the fuel situation in eastern India should include an examination of the measures in progress for rendering more accessible the undeveloped fields of Assam.

There are great advantages in using *wood fuel* after conversion into gas rather than directly, and, in particular, in employing charcoal for the production of gas after the removal of the by-products which are of value for industrial purposes. Any methods which are likely to cheapen the cost of fuel for gas plants should be the subjects of detailed investigation and trial.

Possible sources of *industrial alcohol* should be investigated. A liberal policy should be followed by the excise authorities when commercial requirements conflict with excise regulations.

The utilisation of *water power* is of the highest importance in view of the necessity of creating electro-chemical and thermo-electric industries and of economising the use of coal. An organisation should at once be created by Government to carry out a systematic survey of the hydro-electric possibilities. Standard conditions for hydro-electric licenses should be prescribed.

Leases of water-power to private persons should provide for the resumption or transfer of rights and for the acquisition of the hydro-electric plant on the equitable basis, should it become necessary in the public interest or should the initial industrial undertaking be compelled at any time to cease working.

Proposals for generating water power from canal falls and other irrigation works should be considered by a joint committee composed of officers of the Public Works and Irrigation Departments.

### ORGANISATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL SERVICES.

In future all scientific officers should be recruited into Imperial services, but placed under Local Governments or departments of the Government of India for administrative control. Their purely scientific work should be subject to the criticism and advice of the head of their service transmitted through their administrative

superiors. An Imperial Indian Chemical Service is most urgently required.

A special committee should be appointed, including a distinguished chemist from abroad to formulate proposals for the permanent organisation and terms of service of the staff, and for the location and equipment of research laboratories.

In the case of other scientific subjects such as Botany, Bacteriology, Zoology and Entomology (which last should be recognised as a distinct administrative unit,) imperial services should similarly be organised; and suitable committees might be appointed to work out details.

Conditions are suggested to govern the relations between Government research officers and private industrialists who may desire to employ them on specific problems.

Recruits for the scientific services should be drawn as far as possible from the Indian Universities and institutes. At first it will be necessary to import a number of specialists from England, but the ultimate object should be to man the services with officers trained in this country.

The most promising bases for the establishment of specialised institutes of research will be at the chief centres of industries; but expert opinion is necessary to fix the location of these institutes. This subject should be included in the scope of enquiry of the committees recommended to work out the organisation of the scientific services.

There are serious drawbacks to research work connected with Indian problems being undertaken abroad, and there is no longer any justification for the expenditure of Indian revenues on the maintenance of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Imperial Institute (England). In the rare cases which necessitate reference to British or foreign specialists, scientific officers in the Indian services should be empowered to communicate, through a recognised channel, with the Scientific and Technical Research Department recently established in England.

### **INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.**

The existing system of State technical scholarships for study abroad, though greatly improved by the revised Government rules recently issued, should not be utilised to enable students to acquire training in industries new to India. These scholarships should be granted only to men with some experience in existing industries, to enable them to acquire further specialised knowledge and should

not be awarded in respect of subjects for which adequate educational facilities are available in the country.

Suitable *primary education* for the artisan and labouring population is urgently necessary. When private employers undertake the task of providing it, they should be assisted by Local Governments.

*Industrial Schools* should be controlled by the Departments of Industries. Their headmasters must possess practical skill in the industries taught and knowledge of their economic conditions. These schools are a means of suitable training for cottage but not for organised industries.

Training for manipulative industries should be given in the works themselves, to which theoretical classes should be attached. There are certain cases where the individual concerns are not large enough for this ; these can sometimes be conveniently dealt with by central teaching institutions serving a group of works ; but where such an arrangement is impossible, and in the case of the textile trade where the preliminary training can best be given in a school, instruction may be more conveniently provided in technical schools with workshops or instructional factories attached.

At the large engineering shops practical training should be given to artisan apprentices on an organised system, with teaching in shop hours ; and the apprentices should be paid wages, a part of which they might receive in the form of deferred pay on leaving.

In the case of mechanical engineers also the large engineering shops should be used as the practical training ground, but a greater proportion of the time should be devoted to theoretical teaching of a higher kind than is necessary for foremen.

The *Engineering Colleges* should as soon as practicable, make over the training of subordinates to lower grade institutions and should add departments for technological training. These colleges should be administered by Councils, on which the University, the Departments of Industries, and employers should be represented, while the Council should have the privilege of electing a certain number of its members to represent it on the University Senate. The Universities would decide which of the college courses should qualify students to sit for a degree.

In addition to the existing provincial institutions, two imperial colleges seem likely to be needed ultimately, one for the highest-grade teaching of engineering and the other for metallurgy and mineral technology.

It is recommended that the engineering class in the *Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute*, Bombay, should be adapted to meet the re-

quirements of the apprentices in the railway and other workshops in Bombay, and that the courses in technology should be supplemented by two years' practical work before the full diploma can be gained.

As regards mining the *evening classes on the coal fields* should be retained and improved, and the scheme put forward for a school of mines at Dhanbaid is preferable to the present arrangements at Sibpur and should be adopted. Meanwhile the existing course at Sibpur should be improved.

The technical school at Sakchi for metallurgical training proposed by the Bihar and Orissa Government is approved, but without prejudice to the possibility of a higher-grade institution.

In respect of *commercial education* it is of the utmost importance to secure the co-operation of commercial men. Commercial colleges should be administered by Councils consisting largely of business men with representatives of the Universities; these Councils should also elect from among their members delegates to the University Senates. The Universities should retain the right to prescribe which courses of the colleges shall qualify a student to sit for a University degree.

### COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Commercial and industrial statistics should not be commented on except by an agency which has expert knowledge of their significance. The Director of Statistics should be a compiling officer only.

The Director of Commercial and Industrial Intelligence whose head quarters should be in Calcutta, should be supplied with information by provincial Directors and by the special provincial intelligence officers proposed for Calcutta and Bombay. The help of commercial associations should be utilised so far as possible.

He should advise the Government of India regarding commercial questions especially those relating to overseas trade. He should answer enquiries from the public, but should refer those relating to technical matters to the appropriate expert department.

Crop forecasts should be prepared by the Agricultural Department as soon as its staff is sufficiently strong to undertake the task.

The Indian Trade Commissioner in London should be assisted by temporarily seconded members of the Agricultural, Forest and Geological Survey Departments.

Government should consider the desirability of establishing Indian trade agencies after the war in other countries, such as East Africa and Mesopotamia.

The "Indian Trade Journal" should be replaced by periodical bulletins. More use should be made of the press for disseminating current industrial and commercial information.

#### GOVERNMENT PURCHASE OF STORES.

The creation of an organisation for the purchase and inspection of stores in India is recommended working under the Imperial Department of Industries and the local Departments of Industries in each province.

The appointment of a small expert committee is proposed to consider the precise allocation of spheres of action between the imperial and provincial agencies.

All *indents for Government* and railway stores should be met, as far as is practicable, in India. Indents from provincial officers should be dealt with first by the provincial Directors, who should fill them to the utmost possible extent from local manufactures.

The remaining items should be forwarded to the Controller-General of Stores with the Government of India, who would issue orders for those items which could be advantageously obtained in India and purchase the residue through the Stores Department of the India Office. Indents from Government railways and from such other railways as desire to participate in the scheme should be dealt with by the Controller-General of Stores, in the same way. The stocks would not be held by the Stores Department.

The Controller-General of Stores should have his head-quarters at Calcutta and should work in close contact with the Director of Commercial and Industrial Intelligence. His annual report should include for the information of manufacturers in India, a classified statement of the articles obtained by him here and from abroad.

#### LAND ACQUISITION IN RELATION TO INDUSTRIES.

Provision should be made, where necessary, in local laws to enable persons, who are prevented by legal restrictions from transferring their lands or from conferring an absolute title therein, to do so with the sanction of some proper authority, when the land is required for an industrial enterprise, more particularly for the housing of industrial labour.

In certain cases Government should compulsorily acquire land for industries and industrial dwellings.

**TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO INDUSTRIES  
BY GOVERNMENT.**

Direct technical assistance by Government is necessary to encourage certain classes of industries.

For *cottage industries*, peripatetic demonstrations of improved processes and machinery are most important, and the provision of new patterns and designs must be arranged for. The organisation of production by the establishment of small auxiliary factories and the employment of labour-saving devices are very desirable.

For *organised industries*, in addition to assistance in starting new industrial undertakings, useful work can be done by Government in helping the owners and managers of small power plants to maintain them in good working condition.

While ordinarily Government should itself carry on industrial operations only for the manufacture of lethal munitions, it will be necessary in some cases to control and assist private factories capable of producing military necessities. Assistance will also be required for industries of national economic importance.

**GOVERNMENT LAW AND PRACTICE.**

Power-driven machinery should not be allowed in jails. Provincial Directors of Industries and their Boards should be authorised to make recommendations to the Local Government on the employment of jail labour.

Regarding the adulteration of raw produce for export or local manufacture, action should be left to the trade itself. Government should do what it can to strengthen the hands of local mercantile bodies who are interested in such matters.

A system of Government certificates of quality is impracticable and unnecessary, except in the case of fertilisers, for which an Act similar to the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act of 1906 (Great Britain) should be introduced.

The Geological Survey should include a suitable staff to inspect Government concessions and to advise small mine owners. Such inspection would ensure the due fulfilment of the conditions of prospecting licenses and permit of their being framed on more elastic lines. Local Government should have power to extend their duration up to 5 years cases where the work of proving the existence of minerals necessitates operations on a very extensive scale.

The present mining lease form might be considerably shortened and simplified by including some of its provisions in local rules.



Certain provinces should prepare Mining Manuals similar to those published in the Central Provinces and Burma.

Government should encourage the industrial use of electricity supplied from central generating stations. The law should, if necessary, be amended, so as to permit of the load factor being taken into account in fixing the charges. The Electric Inspectors should be transferred from the control of the Public Works Department to that of the Department of Industries.

No change is needed in existing *patent law* which seems well suited to Indian conditions, nor is it desirable at present for India to join the International Convention, but the position may have to be reconsidered if the patent law is consolidated throughout the Empire.

The registration of trade marks or business names is not recommended.

#### WELFARE OF FACTORY LABOUR.

The inefficiency of *Indian labour* can be remedied by the provision of education, the amelioration of housing conditions, the improvement of public health, and a general policy of betterment.

*Compulsory education* should be introduced for all classes of children in areas where this is feasible; the question of amending the Factories Act may then be considered if necessary.

As regards *housing* it has already been recommended that Government should use its power to acquire land on behalf of employers for the housing of labour, subject to certain safeguards.

Land might also be acquired at the cost of Government or of the local authorities concerned, which they might lease at easy rates to employers for erecting industrial dwellings. Local authorities should be responsible for the development and lay-out of industrial areas on suitable lines and for securing the maintenance of proper sanitary conditions in such areas.

It would be undesirable and unjust to compel individual employers to house their own labour.

The question of congestion in Bombay must, however, be taken up at once. The scheme for industrial housing prepared by the Improvement Trust might be continued along with the measures which are proposed to meet the special difficulties existing in Bombay.

The possibility of reducing the present maximum factory hours, whether by a shift system or otherwise, requires further examination, as the shortening of working hours may have an important influence in raising the standard of comfort, when the workers have learned to employ their leisure hours more profitably.

The responsibility for general welfare work among factory labourers must devolve mainly on private individuals and associations. Government and local bodies, as well as employers, should however assist them as far as possible.

### COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

The ordinary census provides an unsatisfactory means for the collection of useful occupational statistics, and special enquires or surveys are needed.

The establishment of central *silk-reeling* and *twisting factories* is desirable.

The introduction of better tools and plant and of a more minute subdivision of processes should be encouraged by Departments of Industries.

In the case of *weaving*, provision should be made in the weaving schools for the instruction of a small number of pupils of a higher class, with better educational attainments, and prospects of being able to start for themselves in business. They should be given practice in the control of workmen, and should receive a training in the commercial as well as in the technical side of their profession, either in private undertakings run with Government assistance as demonstration factories, or in commercial sections attached to the industrial schools.

Directors of Industries should be empowered to grant small loans to cottage workers and to supply tools and plant on the higher-purchase system.

Provincial art officers should maintain a close connection with the draftsmen and supply them with new ideas and designs. Periodic exhibitions should be held, advertisements issued, and attempts made to introduce the art productions of the country to outside markets.

Emphasis is laid upon the necessity for improving the methods of marketing the products of cottage industries. The Department of Industries must create or stimulate the creation of sale agencies in India and where possible, abroad.

### CO-OPERATION FOR SMALL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

The way to industrial co-operation must be paved by familiarising workers with the principles of co-operative credit.

Certain co-operative functions, such as the joint use of machinery, can be better achieved by bodies created *ad hoc*, than by superimposing them as an additional object on existing primary societies.

Loans should be given by Government to agricultural or industrial societies for the purchase and employment for the common advantage of comparatively costly machinery and plant. The Director of Industries should initiate industrial societies and should give them advice in technical and commercial matters after they are started ; but he should not interfere with the administration of the Act and rules.

### INDUSTRIES AND TRANSPORT.

Internal traffic, especially in the cases of raw materials, conveyed to or manufactured materials conveyed from, manufacturing centres should be rated as nearly as possible on an equality with traffic of the same class and over similar distances to and from the ports.

Rates on traffic to ports should be fixed on the principle of what the export traffic can stand over its whole journey to the port of foreign destination.

The same principle should apply to imports, but the lowest possible rates should be allowed for machinery and stores imported for industrial use in India.

The whole distance travelled by a consignment, and not the distance travelled over individual lines, should be taken as the basis when tapering rates apply. The way in which these rates, as well as 'block' rates and 'terminal charges,' have been applied in the past has tended to operate against Indian industries. The total freight charge for a consignment passing over several lines should be calculated as a single sum, which should be shared between the different railways, allowance being made, where necessary, for any extra cost incurred by a particular line.

The addition of a commercial member to the Railway Board is suggested.

Special rate concessions for a term of years might be given to new industries, when investigation by the Department of Industries shows this to be necessary.

Government should take up the question of improving the existing waterways and should give early consideration to the prospective advantage of Waterways Trust in Calcutta.

The Department of Commerce should take steps to secure harmonious working between railway and waterway administrations (including coastwise traffic) for the development of those parts of the country which are served by both.

**INDUSTRIAL FINANCE.**

In order to meet the difficulties experienced by small and middle-class industrialists in obtaining financial facilities and generally to provide a more elastic system of industrial finance, industrial banks are needed. An expert committee should be appointed to consider what additional banking facilities are necessary, whether for the initial or for the current finance of industries; what form of Government assistance or control will be required to ensure their extension on sound lines as widely as possible throughout the country; and whether they should be of provincial or of imperial scope, or whether both these forms might not be combined in a group of institutions working together.

A scheme is explained for the provision of current *finance for middle class industrialists*, by which the banks would lend money, subject to a guarantee by Government after an examination by the Director of Industries and his expert staff of the financial standing of the applicant and the prospects of his business. This scheme deserves attention at any rate as an interim measure until industrial banking facilities are more general.

In a few cases Government should provide direct financial aid. Such assistance might take the form of guarantees of dividends, loans of money, undertakings to purchase output, or contributions to share capital. All these forms of aid should be subject to suitable precautions. Government directors, when appointed, should not act so as to delay decisions. Where industrial undertakings receive Government aid, their capital should be raised in India, under conditions which will give opportunities to small investors and encourage Indians to participate in industrial ventures. Assistance of this kind to 'national safety' undertakings should be a matter for the Imperial Government; in other cases it may be given by Local Governments if they possess the necessary expert staff to estimate the prospects of the proposed undertaking.

Assistance should also be given to small and cottage industries by the local Departments of Industries in the shape of small Government loans or by financing the purchase of plant on the hire-purchase system. Fresh legislation would be required to ensure a ready means of recovery of the money so advanced.

**PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF INDUSTRIES.**

The creation of specialised Departments of Industries is necessary to co-ordinate the various forms of provincial activity which have

been suggested, and to perform certain functions at present entrusted to other non-specialised agencies.

To ensure that Departments of Industries, Agriculture and Co-operative Credit work in close harmony, they should be under the control of the same Member of the Provincial Executive Council.

The Director of Industries should be assisted by a Board whose members should be appointed by Government, in some cases on its own selection, in others on nomination by suitable public bodies. Where the Board and the Director disagree, the matter should be referred to superior authority. The Board should consist of not less than 6 or more than 12 persons, who should be mainly non-official. The members of the Board and of sub-committees formed for special purposes might be offered fees and travelling allowances.

The Department of Industries should consist in addition to the Director, of a Deputy Director (in the larger provinces), industrial engineers, chemists, industrial specialists and teachers, and certain other officers. Initially these officers may be recruited at circumstances best allow; but as the Imperial Industrial and Scientific Services are established the provincial department should obtain its superior officers from these services. They should be entirely under the orders of the Local Government. Specialists in various lines of applied technology who are engaged in teaching would also serve as advisers to Government and to private industrialists. Subordinate officers with a knowledge of mechanical engineering will be required in territorial charges to help small industries.

### AN IMPERIAL DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES.

The direction and co-ordination of the general industrial policy of the country and the proper performance of certain functions of high national importance can only be effected through an Imperial Department of Industries, in charge of a Member of the Viceroy Executive Council; and there is a sufficient number of close correlated functions to justify the creation of a specialised imperial department for their performance.

Special arrangements are, however, required to secure the prompt and efficient performance of the administrative and executive duties which will fall to the lot of the imperial department and also to free the Member in charge from routine work, and leave him leisure to deal with questions of policy. For this purpose we propose the creation of a Board to be called the *Indian Industries Board*, consisting of three members with separate

charges. The Member in charge of the Department should be President of the Board without any special portfolio but with full power to overrule his colleagues, who, however, should have the right to place on record their opinions. The Members of the Board should ordinarily hold offices for five years only. There should also be a Secretary to the Board and the Department, as well as three Assistant Secretaries to the Board.

The various subjects and departments which the Department of Industries would control, including those to be transferred to it from other existing departments of the Government of India, fall into the following natural groups.

*Group I.*—Geology and Minerals; salt; explosives and petroleum; the chemical service and chemical research and Government factories for research or demonstration.

*Group II.*—Stationary and printing; commercial and industrial intelligence; stores; Factories Act; the general encouragement of industries and technical and industrial education.

*Group III.*—Inventions and designs; Steam boilers Acts; electricity; ordnance factories and inspection of ordnance manufactures.

Each of these should be under a separate member of the Industries board who would control the departments subordinate to him.

In order to secure unity of administration, the headquarters of the Board should be with the Government of India, though its members should tour frequently.

The Board and the Department should be assisted by a part-time Financial Adviser, who should be given a seat on the Board.

It seems necessary to create an Imperial Industrial Service to meet the requirements of the Industrial departments throughout the country. This will also afford a means of training qualified Indians to fill the higher appointments.

Officers of the Imperial Industries Service should be recruited as far as possible in India.

### CONCLUSION.

We have briefly sketched the lines of economic development along which India has moved since she first came into contact with Western traders; and have described in somewhat more detail the commercial and industrial position to which these lines of development have led her. We have shown that this position has become in many ways disadvantageous to the interest of the country; and that India's industrial equipment is impaired by deficiencies which affect the interests of national safety. The industrial system is un-

evenly, and in most cases inadequately, developed ; and the capitalists of the country, with a few notable exceptions, have till now left to other nations the work and the profit of manufacturing her valuable raw materials or have allowed them to remain unutilised. A powerful and well-directed stimulus is needed to start the economic development of India along the path of progress. Such a stimulus can only be supplied by an organised system of technical, financial, administrative assistance.

The circumstances of India have made it necessary for us to devise proposals which will bring the State into far more intimate relations with industrial enterprises than the policy of Government or public opinion has hitherto permitted. But as regards our main proposals,—technical education in practical relation to Industrial requirements, the supply of advice and assistance through organised scientific and technical services, the provision of more liberal finance for industries, so far as possible through private agency—we feel confident that these are solutions clearly indicated by the very difficulties which they are designed to surmount, as well as by the small degree of Indian experience available, and substantially supported by the best-qualified opinions of the country. Finally we have been strongly impressed by the earnest demand throughout India for economic progress and by the growing realisation of the dangers to which industrial unpreparedness exposes a nation. We feel sure that the strongest support will be forthcoming from the public generally, and from Indian capitalists and industrialists in particular, to any well-considered scheme for industrial progress which Government may see fit to adopt, and we submit our Report in the earnest hope that our recommendations will, with the approval of Government and the good-will of the Indian public, help in some measure towards the ideal of an India strong in her own strength, and a worthy partner in the Empire.

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**Note By**

**The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.**

Pandit Malaviya signed the Report subject to a separate Note from which the following are extracts. The Note is a masterly presentation of India's Industrial and Economic position and an open exposition of the causes which have operated to work her ruin. The

Note which occupies more than 60 pages of the Quarto Report is aimed mainly to give a more direct Indian tone to the recommendations of the Commission than what from its constitution and natural predisposition it may be expected to give. The feeling of Malaviya for his hapless country which will actuate him deliberately to a scheme of reorganisation must naturally be different from that of a soul-less Government Commission of which unfortunately India have had enough. We make no apology for this long extract. [Ed.]

### India—Past and Present.

Professor Hamilton.....after dwelling on the rapidity with which Japan has transformed herself from a country where "agriculture absorbed the energies of the bulk of the population" to one of the important manufacturing countries of modern times, says in a note to the commission :—

"The second fact, even more arresting from an Indian point of view, is that this remarkable transformation has been achieved by an Asiatic community. The Asiatics have long been regarded as intensely conservative, unprogressive, needing the help and guidance of western nations for the maintenance of law and order, and, even with their assistance, being with difficulty persuaded to adopt the modern aims and methods associated with economic progress."

I agree with my colleagues that "at a time when the west of Europe, the birthplace of the modern industrial system, was inhabited by uncivilised tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers and for the high artistic skill of her craftsmen," and that "even at a much later period when traders from the West made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was at any rate not inferior to that of more advanced European nations." But I do not agree with them as to the causes which they assign for the subsequent growth of industries in England, and, by implication, for the want of the growth of such industries in India.....

### India—A Manufacturing as well as an Agricultural Country.

"The skill of the Indians," says Professor Weber, "in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals and precious stones, the preparation of essences and in all manner of technical arts, has from early times enjoyed a world-wide celebrity." "There was a very large consumption of Indian manufactures in Rome. This is confirmed by the elder Pliny, who complained that vast sums of money were annually absorbed by commerce with India." "The muslins of Daacca were known to the Greeks under the name of *Gangetika*. . . . Thus it may be safely concluded that in India the arts of cotton spinning and cotton weaving were in a high state of proficiency two thousand years ago. . . . Cotton weaving was only introduced into England in the seventeenth century."—(*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Volume III, page 195.) . . . . .

"The iron industry not only supplied all local wants, but it also enabled India to export its finished products to foreign countries. The quality of the



material turned out had also a world-wide fame. The famous Iron Pillar near Delhi, which is at least fifteen hundred years old, indicates an amount of skill in the manufacture of wrought iron, which has been the marvel of all who have endeavoured to account for it. Mr. Ball (late of the Geological Survey of India) admits that it is not many years since the production of such a pillar would have been an impossibility in the largest factories in the world, and, even now, there are comparatively very few factories where such a mass of metal could be turned out. Cannons were manufactured in Assam of the largest calibre, Indian *wootz* or steel furnished the materials out of which Damascus blades with a world-wide reputation were made; and it paid Persian Marchants in those old times to travel all the way to India to obtain these materials and export them to Asia. The Indian steel found once considerable demand for cutlery even in England. This manufacture of steel and wrought iron had reached a high perfection at least two thousand years ago;—(Ranade's *Essays on Indian Economics*, pages 159-160.)

The waves of conquest which commenced from the eleventh century no doubt greatly hampered Indian industrialists for some time. But the establishment of the Mogal Empire and the safety and security of the reign of Akbar seem to have fully revived Indian industries and handicrafts. Bernier, who visited India in the reign of Shahjahan, gives a glowing description of his capital. He speaks of his immense treasures, gold and silver and jewellery, "a prodigious quantity of pearls and precious stones of all sorts" . . . and marvels over the incredible quantity of manufactured goods. "Embroideries, streaked silks, tufts of gold turbans, silver and gold cloth, brocades, net-work of gold," etc. . . . Tavernier also gives a long description of the manufactured goods, and dwells with wonder on the "marvellous peacock-throne, with the natural colours of the peacock's tail worked out in jewels, of carpets of silk and gold, satins with streaks of gold and silver, endless lists of exquisite work, of minute carvings, and other choice objects of art."

### The East India Company.

It was this trade and prosperity that lured the traders of Europe to India. As the historian Murray puts it:—"Its fabrics, the most beautiful that human art has anywhere produced, were sought by merchants at the expense of the greatest toils and dangers." (*History of India*, page 27.) After the decline of Venice and Genoa, the Portuguese and the Dutch captured the Indian trade. Merchants of England viewed their trade with envious eyes, and formed the East India Company which obtained its charter from Queen Elizabeth on 31st December 1600, to trade with the East Indies, not "to exchange as far as possible the manufactured goods of England for the products of India" (Report, para 2)—for there were few English manufactures then to be exported—but to carry the manufactures and commodities of India to Europe.

"At the end of the seventeenth century," says Lecky, "great quantities of cheap and graceful Indian calicoes, muslins and chintzes were imported into England, and they found such favour that the woollen and silk manufacturers were seriously alarmed. Acts of Parliament were accordingly passed in 1700 and 1721 absolutely prohibiting, with a very few specified exceptions, the employment of printed or dyed calicoes in England, either in dress or in furniture, and the use of any printed or dyed goods, of which cotton formed any part."—(Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.)

When Clive entered Murshidabad, the old capital of Bengal, in 1757, he wrote of it:—

"The city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London, with this difference that there were individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city."—(H. J. S. Cotton, in *New India*, published before 1890.)

"Less than a hundred years ago," wrote Sir Henry Cotton in 1890, "the whole commerce of Dacca was estimated at one crore of rupees, and its population at 200,000 souls. In 1787 the exports of Dacca muslin to England amounted to 30 lakhs of rupees; in 1817 they had ceased altogether. The arts of spinning and weaving, which for ages afforded employment to a numerous and industrial population, have now become extinct. Families which were formerly in a state of affluence have been driven to desert the town and betake themselves to the villages for a livelihood. The present population of the town of Dacca is only 79,000. This decadence has occurred not in Dacca only, but in all districts. Not a year passes in which the Commissioners and District Officers do not bring to the notice of Government that the manufacturing classes in all parts of the country are becoming impoverished." . . . .

### How India came to be an Agricultural Country.

At an early period of the Company's administration, British weavers had begun to be jealous of the Bengal weavers, whose silk fabrics were imported into England, and so not only were Indian manufactures shut out from England, but—

"a deliberate endeavour was now made to use the political power obtained by the East India Company," says Mr. Romesh Dutta, "to discourage the manufactures of India. In their letter to Bengal, dated 17th March, 1769, the Company desired that the manufacture of raw silk should be encouraged in Bengal, and that of manufactured silk fabrics should be discouraged. And they also recommended that the silk winders should be forced to work in the Company's factories and prohibited from working in their own homes."

In a letter of the Court of Directors, quoted in Appendix 37 to the Ninth Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on the Administration of Justice in India, 1783 (quoted by Mr. Romesh Dutta at page 45 of his book), it was stated:—

"This regulation seems to have been productive of very good effects, particularly in bringing over the winders, who were formerly so employed, to work in the factories. Should this practice (the winders working in their own homes) through inattention have been suffered to take place again, it will be proper to put a stop to it, which may now be more effectually done, by an absolute prohibition under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government."

"This letter," as the Select Committee justly remarked, "contains a perfect plan of policy, both of compulsion and encouragement which must in a very considerable degree operate destructively to the manufactures of Bengal. Its effects must be (so far as it could operate without being eluded) to change the whole face of the industrial country, in order to render it a field for the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufactures of Great Britain."—(*Ibid*).

Furthermore, according to Mr. Digby, in 1813, Indian cotton manufactures were liable to the following charges in England:—

	£	s.	d.
Calicoes or dimities for every £100 of value ...	81	2	11
Cotton, raw (per 100 lb.) ...	0	16	11
Cotton, manufactured ...	81	2	11
Hair or goat's wool, manufactures of, per cent ...	84	6	3
Flowered or stitched muslins of white calicoes (for every £100 in value) ...	32	9	2
Other manufactures of cotton not otherwise charged ...	32	9	2

"These burdensome charges were subsequently removed, but only after the export trade in them had, temporarily or permanently, been destroyed." (*Prosperous British India*, page 90.) On the other hand, ever since English power was established in India, English goods entered India either with no import, or with a merely nominal import duty. At the time Indian cotton goods were liable to the heavy duty of £81 per cent. in England, English cotton goods imported into India were subject to a duty of only 2½ per cent. In addition to this, the steam engine and the power loom had in the meantime been perfected in England, and English manufactures had begun to come in increasing quantities to India. The result was well described by Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, who had, on retirement from India, become a Director of the East India Company. Writing in 1823, he said:—

"The silk manufactures. (of India) and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed, have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and, of late partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent., but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics which heretofore constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country."—[*Memorials of the Indian Government*, being a selection from the papers of Henry St. George Tucker (London 1853), page 494, quoted by Mr. Romesh Dutta at page 262 of his *Economic History of British India*.]

Another important Indian industry which succumbed to the jealousy of English manufactures, was ship-building. That ship-building was an ancient industry in India, and that Indians carried on navigation to far distant climes east and west, has been fully established by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee in his valuable "History of Indian Shipping." Both Darius and Alexander had hundreds of vessels constructed in India. Indian rivercraft navigated Africa and went as far as Mexico. Again from the Coromandel Coast Indians navigated as far as Java, Sumatra, Borneo and distant Canton.

"A hundred years ago," says Mr. Digby, "ship-building was in so excellent a condition in India that ships could be (and were) built which sailed to the Thames in company with British-built ships and under the convoy of British frigates."

The Governor-General (Lord Wellesley) reporting in 1800 to his masters in Leadenhall Street, London, said:—

"The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England . . . From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the art of ship-building has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress and supported by abundant and

increasing supplies of timber), it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage, to whatever extent may be required for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal."—(Quoted by Mr. Digby in *Prosperous British India*, page 86.)

But, says Mr. Taylor :—

"The arrival in the port of London of Indian produce in Indian-built ships created a sensation among the monopolists which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The ship-builders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm ; they declared that their business was on the point of ruin, and that the families of all the shipwrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation."—(*History of India*, page 216.)

The cry prevailed. The Court of Directors opposed the employment of Indian ships in the trade between England and India. In doing so, says Mr. Digby, they employed an argument which, in some of its terms, sounds very curious at the present time, when so many lascars are employed by all the great lines of steamers running to the East. After reciting other reasons against ship-building and ship-manning in India, the Court said in their despatch, dated 27th January, 1801 :—

"XVII. Besides these objections which apply to the measure generally there is one that lies particularly against ships whose voyages commence from India, that they will usually be manned in great part with lascars or Indian sailors. Men of that race are not by their physical frame and constitution fitted for the navigation of cold and boisterous latitudes ; their nature and habits are formed to a warm climate, and short and easy voyages performed within the sphere of periodical winds ; they have not strength enough of mind or body to encounter the hardships or perils to which ships are liable in the long and various navigation between India and Europe, especially in the winter storms of our northern seas, nor have they the courage which can be relied on for steady defence against an enemy . . . . But this is not all. The native sailors of India are . . . on their arrival here, led into scenes which soon divest them of the respect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character . . . . The contemptuous reports which they disseminate on their return cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of our Asiatic subjects, whose reverence for our character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our supremacy in the East, will be gradually changed . . . and the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental . . . . Considered, therefore, in a physical, moral, commercial, and political view, the apparent consequences of admitting these Indian sailors largely into our navigation, form a strong additional objection to the concession of the proposed privilege to any ship manned by them."—(Appendix No. 47—Supplement to Fourth Report, East India Company, pages 23-24, quoted by Mr. Digby in *Prosperous British India*," at pages 101-103.)

The lascars of to-day are only the successors of those who emerged from the ports of Kathiawar and navigated from thence to Aden and Mocha to the East African coast and to the Malay Peninsula. It is possible an Indian lascar in the early nineteenth century, finding himself in London, may have indulged himself just as Jack to-day does, when he lands in any important Indian port. But it cannot but be regretted that such small considerations were allowed to weigh at all against Indian navigation to England. And it is difficult to express in words the economic and political losses which this attitude has meant for England as well as India. How much better would have been the position of India, how

infinitely stronger than that of England, if Indian shipping had been allowed to grow, and had grown as shipping in other countries has grown during the last forty years, and been available to India and the Empire in this hour of need.

Mr. Romesh Dutta has shown in his "Economic History of British India" that this continued to be the settled policy of England towards India for fifty years and more; that it was openly avowed before the House of Commons and vigorously pursued till 1833 and later; and that it effectually stamped out many of the national industries of India for the benefit of English manufactures. Mr. Arnold Toynbee has expressed the same view:—

"English industries would not have advanced so rapidly without protection, but the system, once established led to perpetual wrangling on the part of rival industries, and sacrificed India and the Colonies to our great manufactures."—(*The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England*, by Arnold Toynbee, page 58.)

### English Industrial Revolution.

Let us now turn to England to see what happened there during the same period. The industrial revolution, which has powerfully affected Indian industries, is said to have begun in England in 1770:—

"In 1770," says Mr. Cunningham, "there was no Black Country, blighted by the conjunction of coal and iron trades; there were no canals or railways and no factory towns with their masses of population. All the familiar features of our modern life, and all its most pressing problems, have come to the front within the last century and a quarter."—(*The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, by W. Cunningham, Part II, page 613.)

Mr. Cunningham has pointed out:—

"Inventions and discoveries often seem to be merely fortuitous; men are apt to regard the new machinery as the outcome of a special and unaccountable burst of inventive genius in the eighteenth century. But . . . to point out that Arkwright and Watt were fortunate in the fact that the times were ripe for them, is not to detract from their merits. There had been many ingenious men from the time of William Lee and Dodo Dudley; but the conditions of their day were unfavourable to their success. The introduction of expensive implements, or processes, involves a large outlay; it is not worth while for any man, however energetic, to make the attempt, unless he has a considerable command of capital, and has access to large markets. In the eighteenth century these conditions were being more and more realised. The institution of the Bank of England, and of other Banks, had given a great impulse to the formation of capital; and it was much more possible than it had ever been before for a capable man to obtain the means of introducing costly improvements in the management of his business."—(*Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Part II, page 610.)

The Bank of England had been formed in 1694 as an instrument for procuring loans from the people at large by the formal pledge of the State to repay the money advanced on the demand of the lender.

"But for more than sixty years after the foundation of the Bank, its smallest note had been for £20, a note too large to circulate freely, and which rarely travelled far from Lombard Street. Writing in 1790, Burke said that when he came to England in 1750, there were not 'twelve bankers' shops' in the provinces, though then (in 1790) he said, they were in every market town. Thus the arrival of the Bengal silver not only increased the mass of money, but stimulated its movement; for at once, in 1759, the bank issued £10 and £15

notes, and in the country private firms poured forth a flood of paper."—(Brooks Adams *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, pages 263-264—quoted by Mr. Digby at page 33 of his book.)

"In 1756, when Clive went to India, the nation owed £74,575,000, on which it paid an interest of £6,753,000. In 1815 this debt had swelled to £861,000,000, with an annual interest charge of £32,645,000." (*Ibid.*, page 33) . . . "The influx of the Indian treasure, by adding considerably to the nation's cash capital, not only increased its stock of energy but added much to its flexibility and the rapidity of its movement." (*Ibid.*, page 31.) . . . "Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous, for all authorities agree that the industrial revolution, the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760. Prior to 1760, according to Baines, the machinery used for spinning cotton in Lancashire was almost as simple as in India; while about 1750 the English iron industry was in full decline because of the destruction of the forests for fuel. At that time four-fifths of the iron used in the kingdom came from Sweden."

"Plassey was fought in 1757, and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760 the flying shuttle appeared, and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, in 1779 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the power-loom, and, chief of all, in 1768 Watt matured the steam engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralising energy. But, though those machines served us outlets for the accelerating movement of the time, they, did not cause the acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded, but in motion."—(Brooks Adams *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, pages 259-260.)

"England's industrial supremacy owes its origin to the vast hoards of Bengal and the Karnatik being made available for her use. . . . Before Plassey was fought and won, and before the stream of treasure began to flow to England, the industries of our country were at a very low ebb. Lancashire spinning and weaving were on a par with the corresponding industry in India so far as machinery was concerned; but the skill which had made Indian cottons a marvel of manufacture was wholly wanting in any of the Western nations. As with cotton so with iron, industry in Britain was at a very low ebb, alike in mining and in manufacture."—(*Ibid.*, pages 30-31.)

Though the power loom was constructed in 1784, power weaving did not become a practical success until the dressing-frame was invented in 1803. Up to 1801, the cotton goods sent out from England to India amounted in value to £21,000; by 1813 they had risen to £108,824. When the charter of the East India Company was renewed in that year, its monopoly of trade with India was abolished, and British traders obtained a fresh outlet into this extensive Empire. The enormous increase of the imports of English manufactured cottons into India in subsequent years hardly needs description. By the end of the century, India had become the largest single market for them, its demands for British cotton goods having been just under £20,000,000. In the year before the war they had risen to £44,581,000.

The policy which the Government has hitherto pursued has been one of encouraging the exports of raw produce. Its policy has not been to encourage the conversion of our raw cotton into manufactures. The doctrines of free

trade and of *laissez faire*, and an undue regard for English interests and the fear of interference with English trade, have prescribed the policy which it has had to pursue.

### Railway and Telegraph.

India is indebted to Lord Dalhousie for the railway, as also for the telegraph. Says his eminent biographer, Sir William Hunter:—

"This was Lord Dalhousie's masterly idea—not only would he consolidate the newly annexed territories of India by his railways, and immensely increase the striking power of his military forces at every point of the Empire, but he would use a railway construction as a bait to bring British capital and enterprise to India on a scale which had never entered the imagination of any previous Governor General.

"In all these arrangements," continues Sir William Hunter, "Lord Dalhousie had from the outset a vigilant eye to the mercantile aspects of his railway routes. 'The commercial and social advantages,' he wrote in his masterly minute on Railways, 'which India would derive from their establishment are, I truly believe, beyond all present calculation. Great tracts are teeming with produce they cannot dispose of. Others are scantily bearing what they would carry in abundance, if only it could be conveyed whither it is needed. England is calling aloud for the cotton which India does already produce in some degree, and would produce sufficient in quality, and plentiful in quantity, if only there were provided the fitting means of conveyance for it from distant plains to the several parts adopted for its shipment. Every increase of facilities for trade has been attended, as we have seen, with an . . . increased demand for articles of European produce in the most distant markets of India.

"The unprecedented impulse which Lord Dalhousie thus gave to Indian trade may be realized by the following figures. During his eight years of rule the export of raw cotton more than doubled itself from 1½ millions sterling to close on 3½ millions. The export of grain multiplied by more than threefold from £890,000 in 1848 to £2,900,000 in 1856 . . . The total exports of merchandise rose from 13½ millions sterling in 1848 to over 23 millions in 1856.

"The vast increase of productive industry, represented by these figures, enabled the Indian population to purchase the manufactures of England on an unprecedented scale. The imports of cotton goods and twist into India rose from three millions sterling in 1848 to 6½ millions in 1856. The total imports of merchandise and treasure increased during the eight years from 10½ to 25½ millions."—[*Dalhousie, Rulers of India* Series by Sir W. W. Hunter, pages 191, 193-196.]

As Lord Dalhousie's minute shows, one of the objects which they were intended to serve was the promotion of English trade and commerce with India. That was then the policy of the Government. I do regret that it was not then also the policy of Government to promote Indian industries, for then India would have prospered as well as England. It is particularly to be regretted that when they decided to develop a vast system of railways in India, they did not also decide to develop the iron and steel industry. For if they had done so, there would have been a much greater and more rapid extension of railways, because they would have cost India much less—according to official testimony, the price of iron was increased fifty per cent. by reason of freight and landing charges—and would have spelled much greater benefits to the country than they have. The adoption of such a policy had been urged long

ago, both by Indians and by Englishmen. In a paper which he read before the Industrial Conference at Poona in 1893, Mr. Ranade said:—

“Many years ago Captain Townsend of the Ordnance Department observed in his work on the mineral Wealth of India that nothing strikes the stranger who studies Indian economy so much as the contrast between the bounty of Nature and the poverty of Man in the matter of this iron industry. Endowed more richly in iron ore than almost any other country in the world, India has, in a commercial sense, no iron industry at all.”—(*Essays*, pages 158-159.)

“Mr. Ball, Deputy Superintendent of the Geological Survey, in his work on Economic Geology observes that if the Government had started the manufacture of iron on an extended scale at the time of the first opening of the railways, great benefits would have accrued to the State. If the State was justified in undertaking the construction of its own railways, there was nothing inconsistent with principle in its undertaking the manufacture of its own iron any more than in its manufacture of salt or opium. The effect of its establishing factories for iron manufacture throughout India would have, in Mr. Ball's opinion, enabled the State to keep vast sums of money in circulation, and would have given employment to large numbers of people who now resort to agriculture as their only resource. The golden opportunity was allowed to pass, and we find ourselves in anomalous situation that after one hundred and fifty years of British rule, the iron resources of India remain undeveloped, and the country pays about ten crores of rupees yearly for its iron supply, while the old race of iron smelters find their occupation gone.”—(*Essays*, pages 164-165.)

That this could have been done is proved by the success of the great Tata Iron and Steel Works.

I have dwelt at some length upon these facts to remind my English fellow-subjects how largely England is indebted for her “industrial efficiency” and prosperity to her connection with India, and how grave an economic wrong has been done to India by the policy pursued in the past, with the object that this should induce them the more to advocate and insist upon a truly liberal policy towards India in the future. I have also done this to dispel the idea that Indians are to blame for the decline of their indigenous industries, or that they suffer from any inherent want of capacity for industrial development on modern lines, and that Europeans are by nature more fitted than Asiatics for success in manufacturing pursuits. I have shown that up to the middle of the eighteenth century England herself was an agricultural country; that for thousands of years and up to the beginning of the last century India excelled in manufactures as well as in agriculture, and that if during the century she came to be predominantly agricultural, this was due to the special treatment to which she had been subjected and not to any want of industrial capacity and enterprise among her people.

### The Result—Frequent Famines.

The decline of Indian industries, the growing imports of British manufactures and the exports of raw produce from India, led inevitably to the impoverishment of the manufacturing classes in all parts of the country and drove a growing proportion of the population to depend more and more upon the land. . . . Sir Horace Plunkett, . . . pointed out in 1896, that similar causes had led at an earlier period to similar results in Ireland. Speaking of



the effect of legislation which had struck at all Irish industries, not excepting agriculture he said :—

“It forced the population into entire dependence on the land and reduced the country to an economic condition involving periodical famines.”

In India there were five famines between 1800 to 1825; two between 1825 to 1850; six between 1851 to 1875; eighteen between 1876 to 1900. According to Mr. Digby, the total mortality according to official records, between 1854 to 1901 was 28,825,000. Writing in 1901, Mr. Digby said :—

“Stated roughly, famines and scarcities have been four times as numerous during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century as they were one hundred years earlier, and four times more widespread.”

In this connection it has been said :—“In regard to palliatives much has been done; but in respect of prevention, the hand has been slack.” And this I regret to say, notwithstanding the fact that many of the remedies which we recommend to-day were recommended nearly forty years ago by the famine commission.

### Progress of other Nations in Manufactures, and its effect on India.

Reference has been made in Chapters II, VI and VII of our Report to the growth of certain industries in India during recent years with Indian capital and Indian control, the most important among them being the cotton mill industry, the Tata Iron and Steel Works and the Tata Hydro-Electric Works. So far as this goes, this is a matter of sincere satisfaction. But the progress is altogether small. In the meantime, since 1870, other nations have made enormous progress in manufacturing industries. I would particularly mention Germany, Austria, the United State and Japan, as their progress has specially affected India. They have each done so by devising and carrying out a system of general and technical education for their peoples, accompanied by a system of State aid and encouragement of industries. And these nations—and several others besides—most of which have built up their industries by some form of State aid or protection, have taken all advantage of the policy of free trade to which India has been subjected, to purchase raw produce from India and to flood her markets with their manufactured goods. India has thus been exposed to ever-extending commercial subjugation by these nations without being armed and equipped to offer a resistance and without being protected by any fiscal walls or ramparts. This incessant and long-continued attack has affected her agricultural as well as manufacturing industries. Her indigo industry has nearly been killed by Germany. Before 1897, when Dr. Bayer produced artificial indigo, Germany had been importing vegetable indigo of the value of over one million sterling. A few years afterwards she was importing artificial indigo of three times that value. Germany's bounty-fed beet sugar gave the first serious shock to the ancient sugar industry of India, and it has suffered and is continually suffering from the competition of foreign sugar. In 1913-14 Germany and Austria purchased from India raw materials amounting to £24220,400 in value, or just a little less than one-sixth of the total output, while the imports to India from these two countries amounted to £11,304,141. The exports to the United Kingdom in the same year amounted to £38,236,780, and the imports from the United Kingdom to £78,388,149.

Forty or fifty years ago, Japan was far behind India both in agriculture and industries. But her Government and people, working in conjunction,

have brought about a wonderful development of her industries built upon a system of technical education which included everything required to enable her to occupy her proper place among the manufacturing nations of the world.<sup>1</sup> Japan takes in a large proportion of the exports of our cotton, and she sends us an increasing quantity of her cotton goods and other manufactures. The average of her total imports of the five pre-war years 1909-10 to 1913-14 was 2.5 per cent. of our total imports. The share of her imports in the year ending March 1917, was 8.9 per cent. of the total. The total imports of India (excluding £28,959,766 of treasure, but including Government stores) amounted, in the year ending 31st March 1914, to £127,538,638. In the imports of the five pre-war years 1909-10 to 1913-14, the average share of the United Kingdom was 62.8 per cent.; of the other parts of the British Empire, 7 per cent.; of the allies (excluding Japan), 4.6 per cent.; of Japan, 2.5 per cent.; of the United States, 3.1 per cent.; of Java, 6.4 per cent.; and of the other foreign countries (principally Germany and Austria-Hungary), 13.6 per cent. The share of the principal countries in the imports of the year ending 31st March 1917, was the United Kingdom, 58.7 per cent.; other parts of the British Empire, 7 per cent.; allies (excluding Japan), 3.3 per cent.; Japan, 8.9 per cent.; the United States, 7.3 per cent.; Java, 8.9 per cent.; and other foreign countries, 5.9 per cent.

The extent to which India has thus come to be dependent upon other countries for the raw materials and manufactured articles necessary in the daily life of a modern civilised community is deplorable. The following classified table of the imports which came into India in the year ending March 1914, will give an idea of the extent of this dependence:—

	£
<b>I.—Food, drink and tobacco</b> ... ..	16,441,330
Fish (excluding canned fish) ... ..	208,330
Fruits and vegetables ... ..	753,583
Grain, pulse and flour ... ..	185,560
Liquors ... ..	1,251,642
Provisions and oilman's stores ... ..	1,649,087
Spices ... ..	1,154,875
Sugar ... ..	9,971,251
Tea ... ..	152,409
Other food and drink, i.e., coffee (other than roasted or ground) hops, etc. ... ..	511,623
Tobacco ... ..	601,923
<b>II.—Raw materials and produce, and articles mainly unmanufactured</b> ... ..	7,038,380
Coal, coke, and patent fuel ... ..	710,920
Gums, resins, and ice ... ..	175,764
Hides and skins, raw ... ..	101,066
Metallic ores and scrap iron or steel for manufacture ... ..	41,977
Oils ... ..	2,934,611
Seeds, including oil seeds ... ..	53,431
Tallow, stearine, wax ... ..	150,638
Textile materials ... ..	1,204,510
Wood and timber ... ..	615,690
Miscellaneous (including shell, chank, cowries, fish manure, pulp of wood and rags for paper) ... ..	1,149,873

III.—Articles wholly or mainly manufactured ... ..	96,769,433
Apparel ... ..	1,669,389
Arms, ammunition and military stores ... ..	236,713
Carriages and cars, including cycles and motor cars ... ..	1,422,667
Chemicals, drugs and medicines ... ..	1,605,699
Cutlery, hardware, implements (except machine tools) and instruments ... ..	4,291,140
Dyes and colours ... ..	1,510,933
Furniture, cabinet-ware, and manufactures of wood ... ..	224,323
Glassware and earthenware ... ..	1,728,687
Hides and skins, tanned or dressed, and leather ... ..	266,683
Machinery of all kinds (including belting for machinery) ... ..	5,508,397
Metals, iron and steel and manufactures thereof ... ..	10,633,249
Metals, other than iron and steel and manufactures thereof ... ..	41,010,801
Paper, paste board, and stationery ... ..	1,524,982
Railway plant and rolling stock ... ..	6,689,794
Yarn and textile fabrics ... ..	50,360,043
Miscellaneous (including prints, engravings, pictures, rubber manufactures, smokers' requisites, soaps, spirits perfumed, sticks and whips, stones and marble, toilet requisites, toys, and requisites for games and sports, umbrellas and umbrella fittings) ... ..	5,055,963
IV.—Miscellaneous and unclassified, including living animals, fodder, bran pollards and articles imported by post ... ..	1,916,135
V.—Government stores ... ..	5,373,350
Total value of all imports, excluding treasure	£127,538,638

Chapter IV of our Report gives a more analysed and critical summary of the industrial deficiencies of India. It similarly points out that the list of industries which, though the materials and articles we import are essential alike in peace and war, are lacking in this country is lengthy and ominous and that until they are brought into existence on an adequate scale, Indian capitalists will, in times of peace, be deprived of a number of profitable enterprises, whilst, as experience has shown in the event of a war which renders sea transport impossible, India's all-important existing industries will be exposed to the risk of stoppage, her consumers to great hardship, and her armed forces to the gravest possible danger. With the abundance of our raw materials, agricultural and mineral, with the great natural facilities for power and transport, with a vast home market to absorb all that we may manufacture, it should not be difficult to effectively cut down this list, if the Government will equip the people for the task by providing the necessary educational and banking facilities and extending to them the patronage and support of the State. How the Government may best do this is the question we have to answer.

### Government Industrial Policy in Recent Years.

I have little to add to the history of Government industrial policy in recent years which is given in Chapter VIII of the Report. The account gives

there of the efforts made by Government for the improvement of Indian industries shows how little has been achieved. But I do not agree with my colleagues when they say (paragraph 111) that this has been "owing to the lack of a definite and accepted policy, and to the absence of an appropriate organisation of specialised experts." I share with them the regret that Lord Morley did not approve that part of the proposal of the Madras Government made in 1910, which urged that Government agency should be employed to demonstrate that certain industrial improvements could be adopted with commercial advantage; and I am thankful that in modification of that order, Lord Crewe, by his telegram, dated the first February, 1916, authorised the Government of India, pending final orders on this Commission's Report, "to instruct Local Governments that in cases in which they desire to help particular industries they may do so, subject to your approval and to financial exigencies, without being unduly restricted by my predecessor's rulings." But I cannot endorse that part of the Report which speaks of "the deadening effect produced by Lord Morley's dictum of 1910 on the initial attempts made by Government for the improvement of industries." (Introductory, page xix). I think my colleagues have taken an exaggerated view of the effect of Lord Morley's refusal to sanction the particular part of the Madras Government's proposal to which reference has been made above. In justice to Lord Morley, and in order that the orders which he passed on the subject of technical education may be properly appreciated, I will quote below the following two paragraphs from the despatch in question, dated the 29th July 1910. Said his Lordship:—

"I have examined the account which the Madras Government have given of the attempts to create new industries in the province. The results represent considerable labour and ingenuity, but they are not of a character to remove my doubts as to the utility of State effort in this direction, unless it is strictly limited to industrial instruction and avoids the semblance of a commercial venture. So limited, interference with private enterprise is avoided, while there still remains an ample and well-defined sphere of activity. The limit disregarded, there is the danger that the new State industry will either remain a petty and ineffective plaything, or will become a costly and hazardous speculation. I sympathise with the Conference and the Madras Government in their anxiety for the industrial development of the province, but I think that it is more likely to be retarded than promoted by the diversion to State-managed commercial enterprises of funds which are urgently required for the extension of industrial and technical instruction.

"The policy which I am prepared to sanction is that State funds may be expended upon familiarising the people with such improvements in the methods of production as modern science and the practice of European countries can suggest; further than this the State should not go, and it must be left to private enterprise to demonstrate that these improvements can be adopted with commercial advantage. Within the limits here indicated it appears to me that the objects which the Industrial Conference had in view can all be accomplished by means of technical and industrial schools; it is in such schools that a knowledge of new industries and new processes can be imparted, that the use of new implements can best be taught and the technical skill of the artisans most readily improved. In a leather school the method of chrome tanning can be demonstrated and taught; in a weaving school the indigenous hand loom can be improved and the advantage of the improvement demonstrated. If the schools are properly managed they will supply the private capitalist with

instructed workmen and with all the information he requires for a commercial venture. To convert the leather or weaving school into a Government factory in order to demonstrate that articles can be manufactured and sold to the public at a profit, goes, in my view, beyond what is desirable and beyond what is found necessary in other provinces. My objections do not extend to the establishment of a bureau of industrial information, or to the dissemination from such a centre of intelligence and advice regarding new industries processes or appliances, provided that nothing is done calculated to interfere with private enterprise."

As Lord Crewe pointed out in his despatch No. 24-Revenue, dated March 12th, 1912:—

"The Government of Madras seemed to have placed too limited a construction upon the orders given in my predecessor's despatch of 29th July 1910. The policy which he then sanctioned was that State funds might be expended upon familiarising the people with such methods of production as modern science and the practice of European countries could suggest. This need not be interpreted as confining instruction solely to industrial schools. I am prepared to recognise that in certain cases instruction in industrial schools may be insufficient and may require to be supplemented by practical training in work shops, where the application of new processes may be demonstrated; and there is no objection to the purchase and maintenance of experimental plant for the purpose of demonstrating the advantage of improved machinery or new processes and for ascertaining the data of production."

Indian public opinion no doubt desired that the Government should go farther than Lord Morley had sanctioned. But even so, they would have been grateful if action had been taken within the "ample and well-defined sphere of activity" which he had sanctioned; if the funds which it was proposed to divert to State-managed commercial enterprises, had been devoted to "the extension of industrial and technical instruction" for which his Lordship said they were "urgently required"; if State funds had been "expended upon familiarising the people with such improvements in the methods of production as modern science and the practice of European countries could suggest." Their complaint was that that was not done. It is said in paragraph 199 of the Report that the government (of India) "had neither the organisation nor the equipment to give effect even to the comparatively limited policy sanctioned by Lord Morley." The obvious answer is that the necessary organisation and equipment should have been created.

### A. Welcome Change.

The outbreak of the war drew forcible attention to the extent of India's dependence upon countries outside the British Empire, particularly upon Germany and Austria, for the supply of many of the necessaries of life for her people, and some time after the commencement of the war, the Government of India resolved to examine the question of the industrial policy which the Government should pursue in the altered state of things in India. In their despatch to the Secretary of State dated the 26th November 1915, Lord Hardinge's Government put the case for a change of policy in very clear and forceful language. They said:—

"It is becoming increasingly clear that a definite and self-conscious policy of improving the industrial capabilities of India will have to be pursued after

the war, unless she is to become more and more a dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations who will be competing the more keenly for markets, the more it becomes apparent that the political future of the larger nations depends on their economic position. The attitude of the Indian public towards this important question is unanimous and cannot be left out of account. Manufacturers, politicians and the literate public have for long been pressing their demands for a definite and accepted policy of state aid to Indian industries: and the demand is one which evokes the sympathy of all classes of Indians whose position or intelligence leads them to take any degree of interest in such matters." The despatch emphasised "the need for an industrial policy which will enable technical education in India to produce its best results, and which will lighten the pressure on purely literary courses and reduce the excessive demand for employment in the services and callings to which these courses lead up."

Finally the Government said:—

"After the war India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford to enable her to take her place, so far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country."

The acceptance of this policy by the Secretary of State for India and the appointment of this Commission to consider and report in what ways this help may be given was welcomed by Indians with feelings of gratitude and hope, like the dawn of day after a dark and dreary night. But the hope is occasionally clouded by a recollection of the fact that the Labour Party joining with the Irish Nationalists and the Lancashire vote mobilised its force against the Government in England against the raising of the import duty on cotton goods in India—even while the Indian cotton excise duty which India has regarded as a great and crying grievance all these twenty-one years, was still allowed to continue—and that so highly honoured a statesman as Mr. Asquith gave his support to the Government policy only on the understanding that this in common with all other fiscal issues would be reconsidered at the end of the war. Indians remember, however, with gratitude the firm attitude which Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the then Secretary of State for India, adopted in the matter, and the reply which he gave to the Lancashire deputation that waited on him with reference to that simple fiscal measure, without which, as he told the deputation, it would have been impossible for India to make the contribution of £100 millions to the cost of the war.

The brief narrative which I have given here of the industrial relations of India with England, and of the policy which England has pursued towards India, will, I hope, lead some of those of my English fellow-subjects, who are unwilling to let the Government of India protect and promote Indian industries under a wrong apprehension that that would injure English interests, to recall to mind how much India has contributed to the prosperity of England during a century and a half, and how much she has suffered by reason of the illiberal policy which has hitherto been pursued towards her. It will lead them, I hope, to reflect that the result of this policy is that, after a hundred and fifty years of British Rule, India, with all her vast natural resources and requirements, is the poorest country in the world, and that comparing her pitiable condition with the prosperous state of the self-governing Dominions which have enjoyed freedom to develop their industries, they will recognise the necessity and the justice of allowing India liberty to regain national health and prosperity. Such a policy will not benefit India alone. It will benefit England also. For if India will grow rich, if the standard of living in India will rise, her vast population

will naturally absorb a great deal more of imports than it does at present. This view was repeatedly urged by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and it is fully supported by the history of other countries which have become prosperous during recent times. The United States offer an illustration. The following figures show how their imports have grown with their prosperity :—

Year.	Imports in millions of dollars.
1860 ... ..	353
1870 ... ..	435
1880 ... ..	667
1890 ... ..	789
1900 ... ..	849

The same truth is illustrated by the history of the commerce of Japan. As Japan has been developing her own manufactures and growing in affluence, she has been furnishing a rapidly growing market to the merchants of the world. The following table makes this clear :—

ANNUAL AVERAGE IMPORTS OF JAPAN IN RECENT DECADES.

*Values in Millions of Yen.*

	From the United Kingdom.	From Germany.	From U. S. A.	From other Countries.	From all Countries.
1881-1890 ... ..	19.6	3.4	4.3	19.3	46.5
1891-1900 ... ..	46.6	14.8	22.8	87.0	171.2
1900-1909 ... ..	84.3	36.1	65.8	199.8	386.0

Commenting on the growth and variety of imported manufactures in the United States noted above, Mr. Clive Day Says in "History of Commerce" (page 586):—

"It is probable that the United States will always continue to import manufactured wares like those named above, in great variety and amounting in the total to considerable value. We cannot afford to refuse the contributions of peoples who have specialized in various lines, and by reason of inherited taste and skill, or with the aid of exceptional natural resources, can offer us what we cannot readily produce ourselves."

This is exactly what I would say with regard to our future, assuming that we are allowed to develop our home industries to the fullest extent we can. But I need not labour this point further. I am glad to find that "the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy after the War" of which Lord Balfour of Burleigh was the Chairman, has expressed the same view. In paragraphs 232 and 233 of their Final Report they say :—

"Whilst Europe as a whole may be said to be divided into settled fields of international competition where local circumstances, convenience of transport, and suitability of production for local needs, have become the

controlling factors, there remain vast markets till practically untouched for the future development of the exporting nations of the world. China, with its 400 millions of population, an old and industrious civilisation, must in the near future develop its already great and growing demands for products of our trades. There are great potentialities in India and there is also the demand of Siberia and the smaller Far Eastern countries, which are likely in future to afford profitable markets.

"It is true that in this sphere the competition of Japan will have to be increasingly reckoned with, but we have no doubt that with a rise in the standard of living of Eastern peoples, there will come a corresponding increase of the quantity and improvement of the quality of the goods demanded. This development cannot fail to be of advantage to British industry, and for this reason, if for no other, we desire to emphasise the importance of all measures, including particularly the rapid extension of Railways, likely to promote the economic well-being of India."

### Industries and Agriculture.

In this connection I would draw attention to the opinion of Mr. James MacKenna, the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India. At page 29 of his valuable pamphlet on "Agriculture in India," published 1915, he says:—

"We have seen that the introduction of European machinery has always figured prominently in the efforts of the amateur agricultural reformer. Much success has, undoubtedly, been obtained in the introduction of grain-winnowers, cane-crushing machinery, etc. But in recommending the introduction of reaping machines or heavy English ploughs, caution is necessary. Reaping machines may be useful on large estates where labour is scarce, but the whole rural economy of a tract where population is dense may be upset by their use. A large amount of cheap labour which ordinarily does the reaping is thrown out of employment; the gleaners lose their recognised perquisites. In the case of heavy ploughs, the advisability of deep ploughing has first to be proved. In both cases the capacity of the available cattle and the difficulty of replacing broken spare parts and of carrying out repairs are serious obstacles to the introduction of foreign machinery. As in the case of plants, the improvement of the local material which the cultivator can himself make and repair and which his cattle can draw, seems the more hopeful line of improvement."

I entirely endorse this opinion. The difficulties pointed out by Mr. MacKenna apply with equal, if not greater, force, in the case of power-driven machinery for the purposes indicated above. As my colleagues have observed "in India agricultural conditions are widely different from those in Europe and Germany," and "as yet very little of mechanically operated plant has come into use" here, "chiefly because holdings are small and scattered, and ryots possess little or no capital." "The results achieved in this direction in the south of India" are also "not very important perhaps if measured by their immediate economic effect." While, therefore, I appreciate the value of the use of power-driven machinery in the development of agriculture, when economic conditions should favour its introduction I do not agree with the recommendation "that it should be an important function of the Departments of Industries and Agriculture to encourage



their introduction in *every possible way.*" I apprehend that with such a recommendation from the Commission, the zeal for promoting mechanical engineering interests and establishments may push the use of power-driven machinery without due appreciation of the economic interests of agriculturists in the present circumstances of the country. For these reasons, and because in any case the introduction of power-driven machinery will take a long time, I think it my duty to draw attention to other means of improvement, particularly to agricultural education.

The history of agriculture in India during British rule has recently been told by Mr. MacKenna in his pamphlet referred to above. Agriculture is by far the greatest of the industries of India, and nearly 200 millions of its immense population are dependent for their livelihood on agriculture or on industries subsidiary to it. The Famine Commission of 1890 made very strong recommendations as to the necessity of establishing departments under a Director in each province to promote agricultural enquiry, agricultural improvement and famine relief. The departments were constituted, but by a Resolution published in 1881 the Government of India decided to postpone agricultural improvement until the scheme of agricultural enquiry had been completed. Nothing was done till 1889, at the end of which year the Secretary of State sent out Dr. Voelcker of the Royal Agricultural Society to enquire into and advise upon the improvement of Indian agriculture. After touring over India and holding many conferences, Dr. Voelcker recommended a systematic prosecution of agricultural enquiry and the spread of general and agricultural education, and laid down in considerable detail the lines on which agricultural improvement was possible. An Agricultural Chemist and an Assistant Chemist were appointed in 1892 to carry on research and to dispose of chemical questions connected with forest and agriculture. In 1901 an Inspector-General of Agriculture was appointed. Two other scientists were added to the staff in 1903. Mr. MacKenna says :—

"The object aimed at was to increase the revenues of India by the improvement of agriculture; but nothing was done for that improvement, and the expansion of the Land Records staff and the compilation of statistics almost entirely occupied the attention of the Provincial Departments.

An Agricultural Research Institute was established at Pusa in 1905 with the help of a generous donation of £30,000 made to the Viceroy by Mr. Henry Phipps of Chicago. In 1905-06 the Government of India announced that a sum of 20 lakhs (subsequently raised to 24 lakhs) would annually be available for the improvement of agriculture. Agricultural colleges were accordingly re-organised or started at Poona, Cawnpore, Sabour, Nagpur, Lyallpur and Coimbatore. These colleges have been doing good work, but very little progress has been made with the agricultural education of the people. I wish to acknowledge here the improvement which has been brought about in agriculture by means of our large irrigation works, which the Government have constructed, the improvement of wheat and cotton and in other ways. That improvement has been great and the Government is entitled to full credit for it. But I wish to draw attention to the urgent need and great possibilities of further improvement. Irrigation requires to be much more extended. A more systematic and extended programme of improvement requires to be adopted, the most important item in which should be agricultural education.

## Agricultural Education.

Writing in 1915 on this subject Mr. Mac Kenna said :—.....“ The Famine Commissioners, so long ago as 1880, expressed the view that no general advance in the agricultural system can be expected until the rural population had been so educated as to enable them to take a practical interest in agricultural progress and reform. These views were confirmed by the Agricultural Conference of 1888 . . . . The most important, and probably, the soundest proposition laid down by the conference was that it was most desirable to extend primary education amongst agricultural classes. But with the enunciation of this basic principle other resolutions were passed which, while containing much that was excellent, probably led to the extraordinary confusion of subsequent years.” For some time “ the dominating idea was that it was necessary to teach agriculture some-how or other, in rural schools. Fortunately this idea has now been abandoned. It is now agreed that agriculture, as such, cannot be taught in schools; that rural education must be general and agricultural education technical ” . . . . “ The view now taken is that, instead of endeavouring to teach agriculture as such an attempt should be made to impart to the general scheme of education a markedly agricultural colour and to encourage powers of observation and the study of nature with special reference to the surroundings of each school. With this object text-books are being re-written so as to include lessons on familiar objects; nature study is being taught and school gardens have been started. There are, however, serious difficulties in obtaining suitable teachers. But, as I have already said, more will depend on the natural awakening of the intelligence of pupils by the spread of general education than on specialised training. And in primary schools the essential thing is to establish general education on a firm basis so that the pupils may develop powers of observation and of reasoning. If this be done interest in their surroundings will naturally follow.”

Mr. MacKenna says in the end : -

“ Any attempt to teach agriculture in India, before investigation has provided the material, is a fundamental mistake which has seriously retarded development and this mistake has affected, not only elementary, but to a much greater extent collegiate education.”

This is where we stood after thirty-five years of inquiry, discussion and trial!

Other civilised countries took a much shorter period to decide upon a definite course of agricultural education and have prospered on their decision. In Sir Horace Plunkett's Report of the Recess Committee of 1896 an account is given of the systems of State aid to agriculture and industry which were prevalent before that year in various countries of Europe. Though these countries, as also America and Japan, have made much greater progress since then both in agricultural education and improvement, that report is still of great value to us and will amply repay perusal. I will extract only one passage from it here. Said Sir Horace Plunkett and his colleagues :—

“ The most positive action of the State in assisting agriculture is taken in connection with education. Everywhere it is accepted as an axiom that technical knowledge and general enlightenment of the agricultural class are the most valuable of all levers of progress. The great sums spent by the various countries in promoting technical education as applied to agriculture, as well as to other industries, prove this. M. Marey-Oyens, the head of the Dutch Board of Commerce and Industry, and President of the Agricultural

Council, says:—'Every guilder spent in the promotion of agricultural teaching brings back profit a hundredfold.' 'Every franc spent in agricultural teaching brings a brilliant return,' says the Belgian Minister of Agriculture in his message to Parliament last year. M. Tisserand attributes the great progress made by French agriculture since 1870, in a large measure "to our schools, our professors, our experiment stations, and the illustrious men of science, whom the administration has induced to devote themselves to the study of agricultural questions." Mr. M. H. Jenkins, in his Report to the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, says, 'the results of agricultural education in Denmark have been something extraordinary. Danish butter is now the best in the world; in 1880 it was described by the British Vice-Consul at Copenhagen as "execrably bad"; the progress since is directly traceable to agricultural education.'—(Report, pages 54-55).

It is hardly necessary to refer at any length to the great progress of agricultural education and improvement in America or to the enormous wealth and prosperity which has resulted therefrom. But I might refer here to the case of Japan. We know that Japan has made remarkable progress in agriculture. She developed an excellent system of agricultural education many years ago. In the valuable "Note on Agriculture in Japan" which Sir Frederick Nicholson submitted to the Commission along with his written evidence, he describes the system of agricultural education which he found at work in Japan in 1907. It is not necessary for me to describe the system here. My object simply is to draw attention to the necessity, in the interests of the improvement of agriculture and agriculturists, of early steps being taken to devise a system of both general and agricultural education for the masses of our agricultural population.

I would also recommend that the attention of the Agricultural Department be invited to the desirability of carrying out those other recommendations of Dr. Voelcker which have not yet been carried out, particularly those relating to the "establishment wherever possible of Fuel and Fodder Reserves." Our attention was particularly drawn to the fact that the high prices of fuel and fodder are inflicting serious hardship and loss upon the people in general and of agriculturists in particular. I may note that we were informed that last year about 40,000 acres of irrigated plantation were established by the Forest Department in the Punjab, in order to meet provincial requirements.

The high prices of foodstuffs and the consequent suffering to which the bulk of the people are exposed have made the question of increasing the yield of our food crops also one of great and pressing importance. In his pamphlet on the "Agricultural Problems of India," which Rai Gangaram Bahadur submitted to the Commission, he argues that "we are producing in a normal year, just enough to meet our requirements (of food consumption) with no surplus to meet the contingency of a failure of the rains in the ensuing year." We are also confronted with the fact that in India the yield per acre of crops is very much lower than what it is in other countries. The figures given by Rai Gangaram Bahadur at page 12 and in Table VIII of his book are instructive. The average yield per acre of wheat in Bombay and the United Provinces was 1,250 lbs., in the United Kingdom, it was 1,973 lbs.; in Belgium 2,174 lbs.; in Denmark, 2,526 lbs.; in Switzerland, 1,858 lbs. The average yield per acre of barley in the United Provinces was 1,300 lbs.; in the United Kingdom, 2,105 lbs.; in Belgium, 2,953 lbs.; in Denmark, 2,456 lbs.; in Switzerland, 1,940 lbs. The average yield per acre of maize in the North West Frontier was 1,356 lbs.; in Canada, 3,487 lbs.; in New Zealand, 3,191 lbs.; in

Switzerland, 2,198 lbs. The average yield per acre of rice in India is only half of what it is in Japan. The possibilities of development that lie before us are therefore vast, and the call for measures for improvement is urgent and insistent. It is the call both of India and of the Empire, and I strongly recommend that the matter should receive prompt and adequate attention from the Agricultural Departments—both Imperial and Provincial.

In this connection I desire also to draw attention to the necessity of providing greater financial facilities for agricultural improvement. So long ago as 1882, that revered friend of India, Sir William Wedderburn, advocated the establishment of agricultural banks for this purpose. The Indian National Congress pressed the suggestion upon the attention of Government. But it has not yet been carried out. I would draw attention to the very valuable paper on "The Re-organization of Rural Credit in India," which was read by Mr. Ranade before the first Industrial Conference at Poona in 1891.—(Ranade's *Essays*, pages 41-64.) It is a powerful plea for the establishment of agricultural banks. I might add that, besides other countries mentioned by Mr. Ranade, Japan has provided such facilities as are here recommended for the improvement of its agriculture. The Japan Year Book for 1917 says:—

"There are two kinds of agricultural credit. They are long credit and short credit, the former for the purchase of farm land and for the development of farm land and other permanent improvements for which a loan for a term of 50 years or less is allowed. The short-term credit is one that is to be used mostly for the purchase of fertilizers, farm implements, or food for cattle. Our banks usually give credit for a term of five years or less. There are also credit associations for supplementing these agricultural banks."

### Technical Education.

England has made a great deal of provision since then for imparting technical and scientific education in her schools, colleges and universities. The number of these latter has been raised from 1860 from nine to eighteen. It is this which has enabled England to maintain her high position and to keep up her industrial eminence. It is this which has enabled her to fight the splendid fight she has fought in this war. For, though every lover of liberty must rejoice at the invaluable help which the United States of America are now giving to the cause of freedom, it is but bare justice to say that, unprepared though England was before the war, it is British brains and British technical skill, united no doubt with French brains and French technical skill, and supported by British and French hearts of steel, that have enabled Britain and France to baffle Germany, and made it possible for the Allies to achieve a final victory. And yet as the reports of the various departmental committees of 'the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy after the War' show, the wisdom and experience of England is loudly calling for "widespread and far-reaching changes in respect of primary and secondary education and apprenticeship," and for 'better technical and art education' for her people in order that her industrial position after the war may be quite secure. . . .

Our education to-day is in many respects nearly in as bad a condition as was England's in 1869. It was the misfortune of India that when our English fellow-subjects, who have taken upon themselves the responsibility for the welfare of the people of India, were convinced of the need of universal elementary education in England, they did not introduce it at the same time in India

also. If this had been done, India would not have stood so far behind other nations as she does to-day. However the neglect of the past should be made up as much as possible, by the adoption of prompt and effective measures now. The need for such measures has become greater by the great changes which have taken place during the interval. The commercial war which has long been going on will become much keener after the war. India will be much more exposed to the competition of nations which have built up their industries upon a wide-spread and comprehensive system of technical education. In this category come not only the nations of Europe and America, but also Japan.

It is clearly established that the development of Japanese industries has been built upon "a system of technical education which included everything required to enable her to occupy her proper place among the manufacturing nations of the world." If the industries of India are to develop, and Indians to have a fair chance in the competition to which they are exposed, it is essential that a system of education at least as good as that of Japan should be introduced in India. I am at one with my colleagues in urging the fundamental necessity of providing primary education for the artisan and labouring population. No system of industrial and technical education can be reared except upon that basis. But the artisan and labouring population do not stand apart from the rest of the community; and therefore if this *sine qua non* of industrial efficiency and economic progress is to be established, it is necessary that primary education should be made universal. I agree also in urging that drawing and manual training should be introduced into primary schools as soon as possible. In my opinion until primary education is made universal, if not compulsory, and until drawing made a compulsory subject in all primary schools, the foundation of a satisfactory system of industrial and technical education will be wanting. Of course this will require time. But I think that that is exactly why an earnest endeavour should be made in this direction without any further avoidable delay.

Sir Fredrick Nicholson says in his Note on Japan :—

"The leap at education which the whole nation has made under the compulsory system is shown by the fact that while the primary school system was only formulated in 1872, by 1873 the number at these schools had already reached 23 per cent., by 1883, 51, by 1893, 59, and in 1904, 93 per cent. of children of a school-going age."

This furnishes us with an estimate of the time that will be needed and also an exhortation to move forward. It is upon this basis that industrial and technical education now rests in Japan. But the two kinds of instruction have grown together there, and so I think they should largely grow together here also. Towards this end, I should connect the measures of industrial and technical education which my colleagues have proposed, a little further with the system which already exists in the country. I would utilise the existing schools as far as possible not only for imparting a progressive course of drawing, but also for offering an optional course in elementary physics and chemistry, and carpentry and smithy. I would suggest that the Directors of Public Instruction of each province may be asked, in consultation with the Directors of Industries, to recommend changes in the curricula of the schools, primary, secondary and high, with a view to make them practical, so that they may form a part of the system of technical education.

I cannot close this portion of my note better than by adopting, with necessary modifications, the concluding remarks of Mr. Samuelson on the subject of technical education :—

"In conclusion I have to state my deep conviction that the people of India expect and demand of their Government the design, organisation, and execution of systematic technical education, and there is urgent need for it to bestir itself, for other nations have already *sixty years'* start of us, and have produced *several* generations of educated workmen. Even if we begin to-morrow the technical education of all the youths of twelve years of age who have received sound elementary education, it will take seven years before these young men can commence the practical business of life, and then they will form but an insignificant minority in an uneducated mass. It will take fifteen years before those children who have not yet begun to receive an elementary education shall have passed from the age of 7 to 21 and represent a completely trained generation; and even then they will find less than half of their comrades educated. In the race of nations, therefore, we shall find it hard to overtake the *sixty years* we have lost. To-morrow, then, let us undertake with all energy our neglected task; the urgency is twofold,—a *small proportion* of our youth has received elementary, but no technical education: for that *portion* let us at once organise technical schools in every small town, technical colleges in every large town, and a technical university in the metropolis. The *rest* of the rising generation has received no education at all, and for them let us at once organise elementary education, even if compulsory."

### The Training of Mechanical Engineers.

There are at present only two teaching Universities in India. I hope that the Calcutta University will soon develop further teaching functions. In my opinion every teaching University should be encouraged to provide instruction and training in mechanical and electrical engineering under its own arrangements. The needed measure of workshop practice can be provided by arrangements with railway and other workshops existing in or near the cities or towns where they exist; and where this may not be feasible, they should be encouraged to establish sufficiently large workshops to be run on commercial lines as a part of their engineering departments. Under such an arrangement the students will be able to spend their mornings in the workshops and their afternoons at the classes at the University, they will live in an atmosphere of culture, and will cultivate higher aims and ideas than they are likely to, in schools attached to railway workshops. As our mechanical engineers are to play a great part in the future development of the country, it seems to me highly desirable that they should combine culture and character with expert knowledge and technical skill. And nothing is better calculated to ensure this than that they should be brought up under the elevating influences of a University and should bear its hall-mark.

Provision for the training of electrical engineers should be made simultaneously with that for mechanical engineers, and should not be postponed to an indefinite future date.

### Imperial Engineering Colleges or an Imperial Polytechnic Institute.

I agree with my colleagues that in the immediate future the demand for higher scientific training can only be met by the provision of scholarships to enable students to proceed abroad. I go further. I think that even when we have established our proposed higher colleges, we shall have to send our

best scholars abroad to improve and perfect their knowledge. With all the provision for higher education which Japan has made in her own country, she has continued to send a large number of her students abroad. The Japanese Year Book for 1917 shows that there were 2,213 *ryugakusei* or foreign-going students, staying abroad in 1915—the bulk of them in the United States of America. The number of students of both sexes which Japan has sent to Europe and America since the opening of the country to foreign intercourse must reach enormous figures, says the same Year Book, especially when students who have gone abroad at their own expense are included. The demand for expert knowledge and technical skill will be so great in India, if we are to achieve in any measure the progress we desire, that it is desirable that the provision for scholarships should be greatly increased, and students should be largely selected as is done in Japan, from among those who have done teaching work for some years after completing their academic courses.

But after all that may be done in this direction, the large needs of the education of the youth of a country which is equal to the whole of Europe minus Russia, cannot be met in this manner. Those needs, and the vast possibilities of development which lie before us, demand that at least one first-class Imperial Technological or Polytechnic Institute should be established in India without any further delay. Indian public opinion has long and earnestly pleaded for the establishment of such an institute in the country, as witness the resolutions of the Indian National Congress and the Indian Industrial Conference, and of various Provincial Congresses and Conferences. Here again Japan furnishes us an example. Japan recognised the need and value of a similar institution when she started on her present career.

"When Iwakura's embassy was in London in 1872, the attention of Mr. (now Marquis) Ito was drawn to the advisability of starting an engineering college in Tokyo." (*The Educational System of Japan* by W. H. Sharp, 1906 page 206.)

Since then Marquis Ito has repeatedly spoken of the establishment of this College as one of the most important factors in the development of Japan, since from it have come the majority of engineers who are now working the resources and industries of that country. (*Japan by the Japanese*, page 65.) Mr. Dyer was assisted by a number of foreigners to whom Japanese were added as soon as possible. The course then extended over six years, the last two years being spent wholly on practice. The college being under the Public Works Department, the students had the run of all the engineering establishments and works under its control; and graduates who were sent abroad for further work invariably distinguished themselves.

I earnestly hope that with the distressful record, to which our Report bears witness, of all the loss and suffering which India has undergone owing to the want of sufficient and satisfactory provision for technical and technological instruction in this country, the Government will be pleased not to delay any further the institution of an Imperial Polytechnic Institute in India. This is absolutely demanded in the interests of the country and the large recommendations which we make for industrial development.

### Commercial Education.

The Government should invite the Universities to establish Commercial Colleges and should help them to do so by substantial grants. I would reproduce here what I wrote in 1911 on this subject:—

"The importance of commercial education, is now fully recognised in the advanced countries of the West. Those nations of the West which are foremost in the commerce of the world have devoted the greatest attention to commercial education. Germany was the first to recognise the necessity and usefulness of this kind of education. America followed suit; so did Japan; and during the last fifteen years England has fully made up its deficiency in institutions for commercial education. The Universities of Birmingham and Manchester have special Faculties of Commerce with the diploma of Bachelor of Commerce. So has the University of Leeds. Professor Less-Smith who came to India two years ago at the invitation of the Government of Bombay, in addressing the Indian Industrial Conference at Madras said:—'The leaders of commerce and business need to be scientifically trained just as a doctor or a barrister or professional man is . . . Modern experience shows us that business requires administrative capacity of the very highest type. It needs not merely technical knowledge, but it needs the power of dealing with new situations of going forward at the right moment and of controlling labour. These are just the qualities which Universities have always claimed as being their special business to foster; and we therefore say that if you are going to fulfil any of the hopes which were held out yesterday by your President, if you are going to take into your own hands the control of the commerce of this nation, then you must produce wide-minded, enterprising men of initiative, men who are likely to be produced by the University Faculties of Commerce.—The University Faculties of Commerce is intended, of course, to train the judgment and to mould the minds of men. It is claimed that although it must give primarily a liberal education, it is possible to give that education which has a direct practical bearing on business . . . That kind of man (a man so trained) has immense possibilities in the world of commerce; he is the kind of man on whom you must depend to lead you in the industrial march in the future'

When it is remembered that the export and the import trade of India totals up more than 300 millions every year, it can easily be imagined what an amount of employment can be found for our young men in the various branches of commerce, in and out of the country, if satisfactory arrangements can be made to impart to them the necessary business education and training. Here also the experience and practice of Japan afford us guidance and advice. Higher commercial education has made great progress in Japan during the last twenty years. Before the end of the last century the candidates who sought advanced commercial education at the Tokyo Higher Commercial School exceeded a thousand a year, though the school could accommodate a much smaller number than. Since 1901 Higher Commercial Schools have been established, at Osaka, Kobe, Nagasaki and Yamaguchi, and at the Waseda University. In banks and other firms, graduates of commercial schools have been employed to an increasing extent every year. 'Formerly it was held that no advanced education was needed for a merchant! But to-day stern reality shows that the measurement of any large-scale enterprise must be undertaken only by the highly educated.' Experience in Japan has shown that though in the earlier years, the talented youth of the country sought places in official circles, as commerce and industry began to grow even those who had made a special study of politics and law, not infrequently chose to enter the commercial world; and I believe that in view of the industrial development which our recommendations foreshadow, if a College of Commerce is established in every major province of India, a number of our young lawyers, who find the bar



overcrowded, will be glad to take advantage of such education and become efficient means of promoting the growth of industry and commerce in the country.

### INDIAN BANKS.

Since the failures of certain Indian banks in 1913 and 1914, an opinion has grown up in certain circles that Indians lack the capacity to manage joint-stock banks. When those failures occurred certain foreign papers held these *swadeshi* banks up to ridicule. That there were mistakes both of policy and of management in the case of these banks is indisputable. But these mistakes should not be exaggerated, and they should not be made the basis of an indiscriminating condemnation of Indian capacity for joint-stock banking and for extolling the capacity of Europeans for such business. A certain number of failures has been a common feature in the History of joint-stock banking, in England and America as well. Englishmen regard the Bank of England, and with pardonable pride, as the greatest financial institution in the world; and yet even that institution—the safest bank in the whole of the United Kingdom—has had its share of vicissitudes. "From 1819 to 1870, the Bank of England came to the verge of bankruptcy every ten years" (*History of the Bank of England* by Dr. Andreades, page 404), while the list of Banks that failed in England is of enormous length. To mention only a few, during the years 1791 to 1818 about a thousand banks suspended operations in England. In the financial depression of 1839, 29 banks went out of existence, out of which 17 had never paid any dividend. In the year 1862 the Limited Liability Law was passed, and within the space of three years 300 companies were formed with a nominal capital of 504 million pounds, of which 270 failed shortly afterwards. This was followed by a financial crisis in which a large number of banks failed, and the greatest of them, Overend Gurney, with liabilities of £18,727,917 closed its doors on the morning of what is known in the history of banking in England, as the Black Friday. Other banks failed also. The estimated liability of the various failures amounted to 50 millions and the losses were also very great. In 1890 the great firm of Baring Brothers, which had helped the Bank of England out of its difficulties in 1839, failed. Have these numerous failures led to any general condemnation of Englishmen as being unfit to manage joint-stock banks? Why then should the failures of a few banks started by Indians lead to such general inference being drawn against them?

Let us now turn to the history of banking in India. The first joint-stock bank was started in 1770 by Messrs. Alexander and Co. It was called the Hindustan Bank. It issued notes. These notes, though not recognised by the Government, obtained a local circulation which occasionally reached 40 or 50 lakhs. They were received for many years at all the public offices in Calcutta, scarcely excepting the treasury itself. This bank failed in 1832. In 1806 was established the Bank of Bengal, but it received its charter of incorporation in 1809. The East India Company contributed one-fifth of the capital and appointed three of the Directors. Since 1809, and more particularly from 1813, when the Act was passed which removed certain restrictions from Europeans settling in India, banking received a stimulus and several banks were established. Between 1829 and 1833 most of these agency houses failed. In 1838 a joint-stock bank named the Union Bank was started. It was intended to afford in the money market that facility which the Bank of Bengal owing to its charter could not afford. The bank failed in January 1843

although long before that it was known to be "in a hopelessly insolvent state." "The dividends it declared and of which it made so great a parade were taken not from the capital, for that had gone long before, but from the deposits that people were still confiding enough to make." "The bank had indiscriminately invested in indigo and the directors freely helped themselves to the bank money." One English firm were debtors to the bank of 24 lakhs of rupees, one-fourth of the whole capital of the bank, and another firm had taken cash credits to the amount of 16 lakhs of rupees. There were scandals connected with the failure of the first Benares Bank in 1849. The Bank of Bengal itself violated its charter in the crisis of 1829-32. The first Bank of Bombay was established in 1840, the Bank of Madras in 1843. These banks were established under conditions similar to those of the Bank of Bengal, with the East India Company as a share-holder of one-fifth of the capital. In 1868 the Bank of Bombay failed. A Commission was appointed to enquire into the causes of the failure. The Report of the Commission, which was published in 1869, ascribed the failure to the following causes:—

- "(a) The Charter Act 'which removed many restrictions contained in the former Act and permitted the Bank to transact business of an unsafe character' ;
- "(b) 'The abuse of the powers' given by the Act 'by weak and unprincipled secretaries' ;
- "(c) The negligence and incapacity of the Directors ;
- "(d) The very exceptional nature of the times."

Sir C. Jackson (President of the Commission) summed up his views on this point in the dictum that—

"The great lesson the failure taught was that banks should not lend money on promissory notes in a single name or on joint promissory notes, when all the parties were borrowers and not any of them sureties for others."—(*An Account of the Presidency Banks*, page 31.)

I draw attention to this with special reference to the statement contained in paragraph 284 of our Report that "we have received evidence in favour of a relaxation of the restrictions of the Presidency Banks Act, which prevent loans from being for longer than six months, and require the security of two names."

Another Bank of the same name with similar rights, but this time without the contribution of the Government was started in the same year in Bombay. It worked well till 1874, in which year appeared a famine in Bengal. The Government balance at the Bank was one crore, and it was intended that 30 lakhs might be drawn to purchase rice from Burma for the purposes of relief in Bengal. The Bank was unable to pay the money. It did not close its doors only because the money was due to the Government. This incident gave rise to the Reserve Treasury system, which dates from 1876. In this year was also passed the Presidency Banks Act which imposed important limitations on the Banks.

Of the seven European banks that existed in India in 1863, all but one have failed. That one is the Allahabad Bank. About 1875 five new banks were established. Of these only one, viz., the Alliance Bank of Simla, Limited, the Punjab Banking Co. having been amalgamated with it, survives. Amongst those that failed was the Himalaya Bank Limited, which stopped payment in 1891. Besides these joint-stock banks, the big banking firm of Sir George Arbuthnot failed in 1907. The Bank of Burma was established in 1904. It failed in 1911. When it failed it had a working capital of a crore and 19 lakhs.

It was found that one-third of the working capital had been advanced to a firm in which the Directors were interested. Last of all came the failure of the Bank of Upper India. Indians were not responsible for the management of any of these banks. They were all managed by Europeans.

The history of the Indian banks for which Indians were responsible is neither so long nor so eventful. It goes back only to the year 1881, in which year the Oudh Commercial Bank was founded. It was followed by some other small banks. The Punjab National Bank was established in 1894. Both these banks have carried on their business without interruption. The People's Bank of India was founded in 1901. When it closed its doors in 1913, it had nearly a hundred branches in various places, mostly in Upper India. The other ill-fated institution, the Amritsar Bank, was started in 1904. It failed in 1913. With the year 1905—the year of the partition of Bengal—began an era of new *swadeshi* indigenous activities in India and from 1906 there began to be established banks large and small all over the country. These totalled 476 in 1910. The most important of these were the Bank of India and the Indian Specie Bank, started in 1906, the Bengal National Bank and the Indian Bank of Madras in 1907, the Bombay Merchant Bank and the Credit Bank of India in 1909, the Kathiawar and Ahmedabad Banking Corporation in 1910, and the Central Bank of India in 1911. Of the 11 important Banks started since 1901, six collapsed during 1913-14. But taking large banks and small, in all about two dozen Indian banks failed. Though the failure of even one bank is a matter for regret, two dozens out of 470 cannot be said to be a very large number.

There is no doubt that in some of the banks that failed there was a fraudulent manipulation of accounts, and that in others large sums of money were advanced to enterprises in which some of the directors were interested. There were also mistakes of policy, as for instance, in the financing of long-term business with short-term deposits, and the sinking of far too great a proportion of these funds in a single industry. But that the failures were more to these causes than to dishonesty and fraud is attested by the fact that the number of criminal prosecutions in connection with these failures has been conspicuously small.

Regarding the failures in the Punjab, Pandit Balak Ram Pandya, Auditor of Accounts, Lahore, said in his written evidence submitted to us:—

“Indeed, when we compare the recent bank and industrial failures in the Punjab with similar incidents in other countries, we are astonished at the comparatively small proportion of cases in which the failures in our case were due to dishonesty or selfishness. The price we have paid for our inexperience is undoubtedly heavy, but it is by no means heavier than what other countries have paid before us. If we have only learnt the lesson which the disasters of the last four years so impressively teach, there is surely no room for despondency.”

In pursuance of a recommendation contained in the preliminary note on the scope of enquiry by the Indian Industrial Commission, a Committee was appointed by the Punjab Provincial Industries Committee to examine and report upon the causes of the recent failures in financial and industrial enterprises in the Punjab. Their report throws much valuable light upon the subject. The Committee said:—

“All the evidence produced before us insisted on the want of business knowledge and experience in company promoters, managers, and staff as a primary cause of failure. There were few competent managers, whether of banks or of industrial concerns. Consequently egregious blunders were made

and some of the so-called dishonesty seems to us very like ignorance; much of it was due to anxiety to cloak losses."

After describing the defects and mistakes of the banks, the Committee said:—

Lest, however, it should be imagined that the state of *swadeshi* banking and industry was altogether rotten, we must hasten to point out two relieving features: (a) in the first place the survival of the Punjab National Bank showed that a purely Indian directorate and staff were capable of steering a bank through circumstances as trying as ever any financial institution had to face; (b) and again the fact that several banks, as the following statement shows, have paid in full, and others are likely to pay, is evidence that by no means all of the banks were inherently unsound."

(I) omit the statement because I understand that much more has been paid up since June 1917, when the Committee made their report.)

The Committee summed up the result of their investigation as follows:—

"Thus speaking generally, our feeling is that the collapse can be referred to two fundamental causes:—

(i) The inexperience, and the defects of the machinery, inevitable to the starting of every new venture;

(ii) The lack of palliation or remedial action such as Government itself or quasi-Government agencies, i.e., a state-supported Provincial Bank, might supply."

### Indians need Government Support and Education in Banking.

This brief review would, I hope, make it clear that there is little ground for any general disparagement of Indians in the matter of joint-stock banking. It shows that if Indians receive (a) the same sympathy and support from the Government which Europeans have received through the Presidency Banks and (b) if they also receive the necessary measure of education in modern banking, Indians will give as good an account of themselves in this branch of important national activity as any other people have given. As regards the first, I would strongly recommend that the question of a Central State Bank, having branches in every Province, should be taken up at early date. The Presidency Banks have tendered inestimable service to Europeans in carrying on trade and commerce with India. They cannot under their existing charter help industries. There has also been a complaint that even in matters of such loans as they can advance and do advance to Europeans, these banks do not easily accommodate Indians. This complaint found strong expression at Lahore. The Official Committee of Lahore to which reference has been made before, said in their report:—

"During the crisis there was no co-operation between the Indian banks themselves, or between them and the English banks, or between them and the old-fashioned Indian banks. We attach peculiar significance to the statement made by witnesses as to the position of the Bank of Bengal. While the fact that the Punjab National Bank has been received on the clearing list-only, however, after surviving the crisis—shows that at present good relations do exist and that there is future possibility of better, yet the absence of a provincial bank probably meant the downfall of sound banks which might have been saved. The Bank of Bengal is too big, not local in its sympathy, ignorant of provincial conditions, and not susceptible to the influence of the Provincial Government. The Lahore Branch was willing to help and made recommendations to Calcutta, but these were rejected with curtness, and not even on the deposit of Government paper would the Bank of Bengal consent to advance money to the Punjab National Bank.

When the Government withdrew the right of issuing notes from the Presidency Banks in 1860, they agreed to help them by allowing the use of public balances. In a Finance Department memorandum of 20th December 1860 to the Bank of Bengal (quoted by Mr. Brunyate at page 81 of his "Account of the Presidency Banks") the extent to which the Government admitted the obligation to compensate the Banks for the withdrawal of the right of issue was indicated as below:—

"The Bank (of Bengal) cannot be admitted to have any claim *as a right* compensation, but they are certainly in a position deserving of much consideration and one in which they may equitably look for all reasonable support on the part of Government."

Government agreed to compensate them by giving them their cash balances without interest, to the extent of 70 lakhs to the Bank of Bengal and 50 lakhs to the Banks of Bombay and Madras. In practice the Banks have been allowed to enjoy the use of much larger balances during the decades that have since passed. But as Mr. Brunyate points out in his book at page 99:—

"Long before 1876 the Secretary of State had come to the conclusion that the Banks had been sufficiently compensated for the loss of their note issue."

It is high time therefore that the Government should cease to place public balances with the Presidency Banks and that balances should be kept in a State Bank, the benefits of which would be available to a larger public.

The proposal for a single "Bank of India" to take the place filled by the three Presidency Banks was before the Government between 1860 and 1876. But no decision was arrived at on the subject. The question was taken up by the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency. They expressed no final opinion upon it, but recommended that it should be taken up at an early date. They said in paragraph 222 in their Report:—

"We regard the question, whatever decision may ultimately be arrived at upon it, as one of great importance to India, which deserves the careful and early consideration of the Secretary of State and the Government of India. We think, therefore, that they would do well to hold an enquiry into it without delay, and to appoint for this purpose a small expert body, representative both of official and non-official experience, with directions to study the whole question in India in consultation with persons and bodies primarily interested, such as the Presidency Bank, and either to pronounce definitely against the desirability of the establishment of a State or Central Bank in India at the present time or to submit to the authorities a concrete scheme for the establishment of such a bank, fully worked out in all its details and capable of immediate application."

This recommendation was made in 1914. The consideration of it was postponed because of the war. I can only express the earnest hope that it will be taken up as early as may be practicable. The interest of the country demands the early creation of an institution which will at once be the central reservoir to which all public balances should belong and the central fountain which will feed all fruitful national activities throughout the country.

Not the least important advantage of the establishment of a State Bank will be that adequate facilities will be provided for training Indians in banking work. The need for such training is obvious. In paragraph 282 of the Report my colleagues say:—

"But there is in India at present a lack of trained bank employees, owing to the absence in the past of facilities for commercial education and of any regular system of training Indians in banking work, while the country folk do not yet realise the advantages to themselves of organised banking. For these

reasons, the extension of banking in the mofussil has been slow. Where, as in the case of the Punjab, too rapid progress was made, it was attended with grave risks and followed by disaster. There was mismanagement at the head quarters of the banks, and many of the branches did little but receive deposits."

The opinion of the Lahore Committee, which I have quoted above also emphasised the need of promoting a knowledge of banking business. Here again I would draw attention to the marvellous development of banking in Japan. At the time of the Restoration in 1868 "ignorance concerning the methods of foreign finance, or of banking, or of joint-stock companies was universal, although Japan was not entirely without some financial machinery." "National Finance and economy were both in a perilous condition." "The Japanese had not been accustomed either to the combination of capital or the formation of corporations. They had undertaken every enterprise individually, and the financial businesses which then existed were not in a prosperous condition." "As early as 1870, Mr. Hirobumi Ito (afterwards Prince Ito), of the Finance Department, memorialized the Government that the proper management of finance and economy was the foundation upon which the State affairs must be conducted, and that unless sound institutions were established for this purpose no good administrative results could be attained." At his suggestion he was sent in the same year to America to study financial institutions and their working. And as the result of his observations he submitted to the Government the following three propositions:—

"First, the standard of currency should be gold; secondly, bonds would be issued for the conversion of the notes; thirdly, companies should be established for the purpose of issuing paper money."

After much discussion of these and certain alternative proposals, regulations were drafted in 1871 and promulgated with the sanction of the sovereign for organising National Banks. The first National Bank was established at Tokyo in 1873, and began business in less than ten months. It is not necessary for me to trace the history of banking in Japan further than to say that there are now five kinds of banks in Japan, viewed in relation to the line of business respectively followed, viz., (a) Home trade, (b) Foreign commerce, (c) Industry, (d) Agriculture and (e) Colonisation; and that in 1913 the total number of these banks was 2,152, of which 2,100 represented ordinary and savings banks at the end of the first half-year, and 52 in number of special banks at the end of the year. The paid-up capital of these banks amounted in 1913 to 436,188, 271 yen, the reserve fund to 139,109,917 yen, the total deposits to 10,811,884, 300 yen.

In "Fifty Years of New Japan" (by Count Okuma, Volume I, page 532) Baron Shibusawa, the President of the First National Bank, concludes his chapter on the development of banking in Japan as follows:—

"Before concluding this essay the writer cannot refrain from expressing his profound satisfaction at the fact that the small spring of banking business, which had been so insignificant at the time of the Restoration, has, by a gradual process of accretion, become a broad, navigable river, as it is now, and his conviction that this is the result of having followed the example of European and American nation, to which the Japanese are much indebted. Again the Japanese are very grateful for the valuable services of Mr. Alexander Allan Shand, now a Director of the Paris Bank, London, who came to Japan at the invitation of the Issue Department in 1872, acted as Adviser in banking to that Department, wrote valuable books on banking, instructed young Japanese

in that line and thus paved the way for the development of banking business in the country."

India was far ahead of Japan in 1872. She stands far behind Japan to-day. No doubt banking in India to-day is far in advance of what it was in Japan in 1872. But if it is to develop as it should, I would recommend that the Government of India should do even now what the Government of Japan did long ago, viz., take definite steps to impart the best instructions to young Indians in banking through the best teachers it can appoint. Even if a State Bank should be slow in coming, the Presidency Banks and other banks which receive help from Government, should be asked to take in a few Indians—preferably graduates of a College of Commerce—as apprentices for higher training in banking.

### Organisation of Industries.

There are two classes of Industrial enterprises which can be taken up in this country. The first class, and this is by far the larger class, consists of those which can be started by the importation of machinery and experts as first managers. In this class of work we have to imitate and not to initiate. As soon as the provincial Departments of Industries, with their Advisory Boards, have been constituted in the provinces, they should decide, with such expert advice as may be necessary, what industries of this class can be started within the province, and should invite and encourage Indian capitalists by information and technical assistance to organise them. It was the adoption of such a course that enabled Germany and Japan to achieve rapid industrial development. Sir Frederick Nicholson urged the adoption of this course on us in the following passages in his note:—

"On the whole, then, I consider that the best way both for starting selected industries in India and for training the future managers is, after the fashion of Germany and Japan and other countries, for the promoters, whether Government or private, to draw liberally on Great Britain, etc., for real experts as first managers of any projected industries; then to select young men, preferably men already trained in technological institutions, and to put them through close disciplined, industrial and business training under these experts till they are fitted either to start on their own account or as reliable business managers to capitalists."—(Minutes of evidence, Vol. III, pages 396-397.)

Mr. Charles Tower also says:—

"In the manufacture of steel ware and of machinery, Germany is usually credited, not without justice, with being rather an imitator than an initiator. Her success in this line has been achieved by the rapidity with which Germany had adopted the improvements invented elsewhere."—(*Germany of to-day*, Home University Library, page 173.)

This is also the course which was adopted by America. Up to 1860 America had made little progress in developing the manufacture of steel. In 1862 Park Brothers and Company imported the biggest crucible steel plant of all up to that time, and imported also several hundred English workmen to ensure success. Since then the progress of the steel industry there has been phenomenal. In 1860 the output of pig iron in the States was only 0·8 million tons, and of steel nil; by 1900 America was producing 13·7 millions of tons of pig iron and 10·1 of steel, and in 1913 while the production of pig iron amounted to 19·8 million tons in the United Kingdom, it amounted to 81 million tons in the United States. Last but not least, we have an eloquent illustration in India itself of the soundness of this policy in the success of the Tata Iron and Steel Works. The works were organised with the advice, and

have been carried on under the supervision of the best experts imported from abroad, and they have been a conspicuous success. This, therefore, is the right policy which should be followed in regard to the many other industries the need for which has been pointed out in our chapter on the industrial deficiencies of India. Raw materials and labour abound, capital exists and only wants organising, the home market is extensive, the machinery and the expert can be imported, the profits to the Government and the people will be considerable; all that is needed is that the Government should be wholeheartedly lead and assist Indian capital in organising the industries.

But to carry out industrial development in this wise it is essential, as Mr. H. P. Gibbs, the General Manager of the Tata Hydro-Electric Supply Company, so well put it in his written evidence before us, that—

"no man should be imported into India unless he is a recognised expert in his particular line. He too should be engaged on short-time contract and made to understand he is being engaged and paid to teach our local men just as much as to introduce and carry on his work. The young man from abroad who is educated but inexperienced should not be brought to India and allowed to get his practice here,"

### Provision for Scientific Research.

The second class of industries consists of those for which some research work is needed. . . . I am not opposed to the idea of creating an Indian Chemical Service and an Imperial Industrial Service at the right time and under the right conditions. But I regret I do not agree with my colleagues as to the time when, and the conditions under which, these services should be organised. In my opinion our first duty is to create the material for these services in this country. One important means of doing this is the starting of industries, as I have urged above under imported experts and placing our select young-men, already trained in technological institutions, under them. The other measures which in my opinion are needed are :—

(i) that steps should be immediately taken for developing the teaching of science and technology in our existing Universities and other collegiate institutions, (a) by strengthening their staff and equipment, and (b) by awarding a sufficiently large number of scholarships to encourage the study of science and technology at our schools, our colleges and our Universities ;

(ii) that an Imperial Polytechnic Institute, manned by the most distinguished scientists and engineers, whose co-operation we can secure, should be established in the country, for imparting the highest instruction and training in science and technology ; and

(iii) that the provision of scholarships for study in foreign countries should be largely increased to enable the most distinguished of our graduates to finish their education in the best of foreign institutions.

The view which I humbly urge here is strongly supported by the recommendations made in the "Interim Report of the Consultative Committee on Scholarships for Higher Education," of which the Right Hon'ble Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland was the Chairman.

### Recruitment of the Scientific Services.

For the recruitment of the scientific services, the Indian Chemical Service, and others, my colleagues recommend that "to the utmost extent possible the junior appointments should be made from science graduates of the Indian



Universities, and that the senior and experienced men who will be required to initiate and direct research work should be obtained on special terms from England, *when such are not available here.*" The qualifying clause which I have emphasised must be appreciated at its practical value. My colleagues recognise that a "relatively small field of selection at present exists in India." They say:—

"As development of science teaching at the Universities proceeds, and opportunities for technical training in India increase, we believe that the necessity for importing specialists will greatly diminish, and that ultimately the services will be mainly filled with officers trained in this country."

But they say further on that "it will be some years before it will be possible to obtain the full necessary staff in India."

They therefore rely for such recruitment mainly on England. But they recognise that—

"there will be similar post-war demands made at home and in the dominions for scientific, especially chemical, experts, which will render it difficult to obtain suitable recruits from England. It is probable, consequently, that salaries higher than the pre-war rates will be demanded by suitably qualified experts."

But I think that qualified English experts will not be available, at any rate in any number for some years even for higher salaries than those of the pre-war period. The Committee of the Privy Council said in their Report for 1915-16:—

"It is in our view certain that the number of trained research workers who will be available at the end of the war will not suffice for the demand that we hope will then exist. We are too apt to forget in this country that with industry as with war, a brilliant group of field officers, and even a well-organised general staff, need armies of well-trained men in order to produce satisfactory results."

In view of these facts, it will be wise of us not to rely upon our being able to indent on England for the "senior and experienced men who will be required to initiate and direct research work in India." Besides, though they advocated that "senior and experienced men" should be obtained from England, what my colleagues have actually proposed is very different from it. They have proposed that "recruits for these services—especially chemical services—should be obtained at as early an age as possible, preferably not exceeding 25 years." They leave no room for doubt as to what they mean. They say:—

"We should thus secure the University graduate, who had done one or perhaps two years' post-graduate work, whether scientific or practical, but would not yet be confirmed in specialisation. We assume that the requisite degree of specialisation will be secured by adopting a system whereby study leave will be granted at some suitable time after three years' service when a scientific officer should have developed a distinct bent."

In their recommendations regarding the recruitment of the Imperial Industrial Service also, they say that "the age of recruitment should not usually exceed 25 years," and that they think it desirable, "if the young engineers whom we propose to recruit are to develop into valuable men, that they should be encouraged after about three years' service to take study leave." It is obvious then that under the scheme proposed by my colleagues the men to be recruited from England will not be "senior and experienced men" but raw graduates from Universities who will be expected to specialise after joining the service in India. Specialisation almost always involves delay. Therefore we must take in only raw graduates and remunerate them during

the years they are qualifying themselves for effective research work, I think it is very desirable that we should take in Indian graduates whose training will be less costly, and who will serve the country throughout life, whereas in the case of an English graduate, there will always be the apprehension that he may leave us for higher emoluments elsewhere, and the certainty that he will leave the country after the period necessary to qualify for a pension, taking away with him the knowledge and experience which he had gained in its service. Having regard to all the considerations which have been urged above, I think the idea of recruiting this service from England should be abandoned, and that it should be decided that it shall be recruited entirely from among graduates of the Indian Universities and of the Imperial Polytechnic Institute, which I have recommended.

My recommendation has the further merit of being entirely in consonance with the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India regarding the recruitment of scientific and technical services. Indians have a very sore feeling about the imperial Indian services. The importation of experts from England for these services has not only necessarily increased the cost of these services to India but has had the very great disadvantage of preventing Indians from being trained for higher work in these services. We can never forget that so distinguished an Indian as Dr. P. C. Roy did not find admission into the Indian Educational Service. We know that though the Geological Survey of India has been in existence for 64 years, up to 1913 only three Indians had been appointed to the superior service in it. In this connection I put the following question to Dr. H. H. Hayden, Director of the Geological Survey of India :—

"Has the department kept it as an object before it that it should train Indians to qualify themselves for employment in the higher grades of the department ?

And his answer was :—

"We have been for many years training men in the subordinate ranks of the department, but they do not necessarily qualify for appointments in the higher grade. It is always open to them to apply for an appointment in that grade . . . My Hon'ble colleague Mr. Low then asked Dr. Hyden :—

"You have these research scholars. Is it not one of the objects of research scholarships, that the scholars, if possible, should qualify themselves for recruitment to the department ?"

And the answer was :—

"That is one of the objects of the efforts we have made in educating them in geology in the Presidency College and the Calcutta University. I think geological education was initiated in Calcutta by the Geological Survey. We have had more Indians in the subordinate branch of the service."

The Indian witnesses before the Royal Commission quoted the opinion of Dr. Oldham, the first head of the Geological Department, concerning the fitness of Indians for this department, which showed that he had "the most unshaken confidence that with even fair opportunities of acquiring such knowledge (that of the physical sciences) many Indians would be found quite competent to take their place side by side with European assistants either on this survey or in many other ways," and yet the evidence for the Royal Commission showed that competent Indians had found the door of admission barred against them and that up to 1913, only three Indians had been appointed to the superior service.

My colleagues say that the ultimate object should be to man the services they propose with officers trained in this country. Similar language was used in

the past in relation to other imperial departments. For instance, it appears that in the Agricultural Department the intention of the Government of India from the very commencement was that it should be staffed largely by Indians.

"We adhere firmly," wrote the Government of India to the Secretary of State in 1910, "to our frequently declared policy that the service (the Agricultural service) should be manned ultimately by Indians and that the object to be kept steadily in view is to reduce to a minimum the number of experts appointed from England and to train up indigenous talent so as to enable the country to 'depend' on its own resources for the recruitment of its agricultural staff in the higher branches."

But in spite of this clear declaration, the Imperial Service has become the monopoly of Europeans, while Indians have been confined to the Provincial Service. The evidence of Dr. Harold Mann and of the representative members of the Provincial Service before the Royal Commission showed that many highly qualified Indians, several of whom possessed European degrees or experience, had been unable to find admission into the Imperial Service, which had been manned by recruits imported from Europe, who, said Dr. Mann, laboured under the serious disadvantage that their experience related to a system of agriculture, "which in its organization is quite foreign to most parts of India and will be for a long time to come."

So also with regard to the Imperial Forest Service. The Inspector General of Forests stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission that

" . . . when the Forest Department was instituted, and for a long time afterwards, both the Government of India and the Secretary of State expressed the opinion that it was a special department in which the service of Indians should be utilised as largely as possible."

Yet from 1891 to 1906 no steps were taken to provide for direct recruitment to the Provincial Service, and it was laid down in 1912 that candidates for the Imperial Forest Service "must have obtained a degree with honours in some branch of natural science in a University of England, Wales or Ireland, or the B.Sc. degree in pure science in one of the Universities of Scotland." At the time the Royal Commission took evidence, the total number of Officers in the superior service in the Agricultural, Civil, Veterinary Forest, Geological Survey, Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments was 407. Of these only six officers were statutory natives of India!

### The Estimate of Cost.

. . . Speaking generally, I would say that a substantial part of the expenditure that is proposed for salaries should be saved, partly by reducing the number of appointments proposed and partly by fixing the salaries at the standard which will be suitable for Indian graduates and scholars. The expenditure proposed on buildings will also, on my opinion, admit of a very substantial reduction. Here again the example of Japan affords us guidance. They spend very much less on their educational buildings than is spent in India. A scheme for the award of scholarships to encourage the study of science and technology can be best prepared by the Education Department.

As regards grants to Universities, I would recommend that on an average an annual grant of a lakh and a half should be made to each University for the purposes of providing instruction and teaching in science and technology, particularly in mechanical and electrical engineering, applied chemistry, commerce and agriculture. A capital grant of about 15 lakhs each should be made for the necessary educational buildings and residential quarters and for

equipment. And lastly, I would recommend that, to start with, a capital expenditure of 30 lakhs, and an annual grant of six lakhs a year should be sanctioned for an Imperial Polytechnic Institute.

**Conclusion.**

I cannot conclude this note better than by endorsing the following generous and wise words of Sir Frederick Nicholson:—

"I beg to record my opinion that in the matter of Indian industries we are bound to consider Indian interests firstly, secondly and thirdly.—I mean by 'firstly' that the local raw products should be utilised, by 'secondly' that industries should be introduced, and 'thirdly' that the profits of such industry should remain in the country."

If measures for the industrial development of India are taken in this spirit, India will become prosperous and strong, and England more prosperous and stronger.

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

**REPORT OF THE ROWLATT COMMITTEE  
(ON SEDITION),**

**The Recommendations.**

The measures recommended to be taken are (1) Punitive, and (2) Preventive.

**Punitive measures (permanent).**

Legislation may take the shape either—

- (a) of changes in the general law of evidence or procedure which if sound would be advisable in regard to all crime, or
- (b) changes in the substantive law of sedition or modifications in the rules of evidence and procedure in such cases designed to deal with the special features of that class of offence.

(c) Some changes have been suggested to us:—

- (1) An amendment of the law which excludes confessions or admissions unless made as required by section 164 of the Criminal Procedure Code.
- (2) A relaxation of the rule of practice which requires corroboration of the testimony of an accomplice.

There could be no justification for making either of these changes in order to facilitate prosecutions in cases of sedition if in other cases they are allowed to remain as a proper safeguard against injustice. These and many other matters connected with Indian criminal procedure may be well worth investigating, but we cannot engraft an inquiry of that magnitude upon our task. We therefore only note the above points and pass from them.

We think, however, that no harm can be done by amending section 343 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (which prohibits promises or threats to induce an accused person to disclose or withhold any matter) so as to make it clear that there is no prohibition of a promise, whether to an accused or any other person, of protection against injury caused by the criminal acts of others.

(b) As regards changes specially relating to seditious crime, we recommend three permanent additions to the law.

In the first place we think that a permanent enactment on the lines of Rule 25A under the Defence of India Act is required. That rule provides for the punishment of persons having prohibited documents (which may have to be defined anew) in their possession or control with (as we read the effect of the words used) intent to publish or circulate them. In its presents form, however, the substance of the offence is confounded with the presumptive evidence of it. The drafting should, in our judgment, be recast, and the penalty seems too high for times of peace, seeing that the offence is merely possession with an intent not yet acted upon.

We also recommend that the principle of section 565 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (which provides for an order requiring notification of residence after release in the case of persons convicted a second time for certain offences) should be extended to all persons convicted of offences under Chapter VI of the Penal Code (offences against the State) whether previously convicted or not. Such persons might be ordered to give security for a period not exceeding two years for good behaviour so far as offences under Chapter VI are concerned, and in default be directed to notify their residence to Government, who should have power to restrict their movements for the period of two years after their release and prohibit them from addressing public meetings,—the term “public meetings” including in its scope political subjects as in section 4 of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1907.

Lastly we think that in all cases where there is a question of seditious intent, evidence of previous conviction for seditious crime or association (of an incriminating kind of course) with persons so convicted should be admissible upon written notice to the accused with such particulars and at such a time before the evidence is given as might be fair. What we have called seditious crime would of course have to be accurately defined.

Punitive and Preventive measures not to come into force save upon a notification of the Governor-General in Council. This will provide for possible future emergencies. We shall suggest, however, a proviso that in respect of matters which have occurred hitherto or may occur (say) before the end of the war the scheme shall be in force at once without any notification. This will deal with the present emergency.

The powers which we shall suggest for dealing with future emergencies must be ready for use at short notice. They must therefore be on the statute book in advance. That fact alone is calculated to have some moral effect, for it is then known exactly what a renewed anarchical movement will encounter. To postpone legislation till the danger is instant, is, in our view, to risk a recurrence of the history of the years 1906-17. Still, its emergency character must be emphasised.

### Emergency provisions for trials.

Provision should be made for trials of seditious crime by Benches of three Judges without juries or assessors and without preliminary commitment proceedings or appeal. In short, the procedure we recommend should follow the line laid down in sections 5—9 inclusive of the Defence of India Act. It should be made clear that section 512 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (relating to the giving in evidence under certain circumstance of depositions taken in the absence of an absconding accused) applies to these trials, it having, we understand, been questioned whether section 7 of the Defence of India Act has that effect.

We think it necessary to exclude juries and assessors mainly because of

the terrorism to which they are liable, and because they are too much inclined to be affected by public discussion.

As regards the procedure and the absence of right of appeal, we think it essential that the delay involved in commitment proceedings and appeal be avoided. It is of the utmost importance that punishment or acquittal should be speedy both in order to secure the moral effect which punishment should produce and also to prevent the prolongation of the excitement which the proceedings may set up. Furthermore, the delays involved by commitment proceedings and the double examination of witnesses increase the chance of the witnesses being intimidated, add to the hardships involved in their attendance with the consequence of making them less ready to come forward, and also afford time for them to forget the facts.

One important amendment should be made in the procedure. Under the temporary scheme now in operation charges are formulated after the evidence for the prosecution has been closed. In our opinion some expedient must be found for defining the issues and communicating them to the accused a reasonable time before he has to meet or rebut them. To meet this difficulty we suggest:—

(a) Commitment proceedings to be abolished in these cases.

(b) Proceedings to start with a detailed written complaint to be drawn up by the Government Prosecutor setting out full particulars of what is intended to be proved against each accused.

(c) The prosecution witnesses to be first examined in chief, but the accused not to be called upon to cross-examine at this stage.

(d) The charge to be framed with regard to such of the accused against whom there is *prima facie* evidence.

(e) The case should be adjourned and the Court should fix the period of adjournment suitable to each case, but such period should not be less than 10 days.

(f) The accused to remain in the "custody of the Court" as opposed to the "custody of the police," or in other words, the Superintendent of the Jail should be under the directions of the Court so far as the accused are concerned. This does not indicate any real change, but perhaps an insertion of a provision of this nature will have the effect of silencing much mischievous criticism.

(g) The police papers will of course be placed before the Court. The Court after going through the papers may, if it thinks right, allow copies of some of these papers to the accused. Of course in this matter the Court will have absolute discretion, and the Court may refuse to allow copies of any of the police papers to the accused.

(h) At the expiry of the period of adjournment the cross-examination of the witnesses and the rest of the trial will proceed.

### Composition of Courts.

182. While, however, we recommend in substance the procedure established under the Defence of India Act, we think the constitution of the tribunals as provided by these Acts should be altered. Moreover, as the right of appeal is taken away, the tribunals should be of the highest strength and authority. They should be composed of High Court or Chief Court Judges selected by the head of the Court.

### Testimony of accused.

The principle upon which an accused person cannot at present give evidence is that he is interested and interested persons were incompetent

as witnesses by the common Law in all cases, civil as well as criminal. This incompetency was gradually removed in England until the only remnant of the original rule was the case of a person under criminal trial. The incompetency in this case also was gradually removed as regards one crime after another until in 1898\* it was swept away in all cases by an act of general application. The change was really the concession of a new facility to prisoners, though doubtless it had its inconveniences for persons really guilty. It was hedged about with important safeguards from the prisoner's point of view of which the following are most notable:—

- (a) he cannot be called except with his own consent;
- (b) if called, he cannot be asked questions as to his character, including previous convictions, unless either—
  - (i) the facts put would be evidence against him in chief, independently of the Act, as showing design or the like, or
  - (ii) he has given of his own good character or the character of witnesses for the prosecution has been attacked on his behalf.

In other words, there is a special code limiting his examination, and if the principle were introduced in India, the application of sections inconsistent with it, such as section 165 of the Indian Evidence Act, would have to be excluded.

This new principle, at first much mistrusted, has been found to work well in England; and in India where, as is so frequently the case the grave issue arises whether a confession has been improperly extorted, it would seem much more conducive to the discovery of the truth that the accused should be entitled to depose on oath to what has occurred subject to cross-examination than that it should be left to suggestion. And so also as to other issues.

No doubt only an experienced Court should try cases under these conditions in order to make sure that an ignorant prisoner does not misunderstand his position and is not unfairly dealt with. This safe-guard is ensured when the cases come before three Judges of the highest rank, and upon the whole we think the provision should be introduced. If it were a question of its general application we should, having regard to the above-mentioned considerations, be against it.

A suggestion made to us that the Court should be at liberty to put any question it pleases to an accused, even though he does not tender himself as a witness, is one that we cannot approve of.

#### Perpetuation of testimony in particular circumstances.

If our proposal is accepted that there shall be no commitment proceedings, the re-enactment or retention of section 13 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act (XIV of 1908) in its present form will not be appropriate. It is, however, necessary that the object which that section was intended to attain, namely, the protection of important witnesses and the perpetuation of their testimony, should be provided for. We think the statements of dead or absent witnesses made at either of two stages of the investigation should be made available for use by the Court, namely, (1) statements proved to have been made to a police officer not below the rank of Superintendent, where such statements have been recorded by such officer and read over and explained to the person making it and signed by him; (2) statements of witnesses made at the trial and not yet cross-examined upon—the condition making them admissible being in each case the same, namely, the belief of the Court that the death or absence of the deponent has been caused in the interests of the accused.

The Court should have the power if necessary, to sit in camera.

\* 61 and 62, Vict. c. 86.

### Emergency measures (preventive).

It is necessary, in order to keep the conspiracies under control in the future, to provide for the continuance after the expiry of the Defence of India Act of some of the powers which that measure introduced in a temporary form. By those means alone has the conspiracy been paralysed for the present. This will involve some infringement of the liberty of the subject. We have endeavoured to make that infringement as small as possible.

The possibilities to be provided for range from incipient sedition to incipient anarchy.

### Existing temporary powers.

The powers at present temporarily possessed by the Government are to be found in rules 3-7 inclusive and 11 A under the Defence of India Act, 1915. Shortly stated, their effect is to give power to require persons by executive order to remain in any area to be specified or not to enter or remain in any such area, with penalties for breach of such requirement. These orders may be made and served on the person affected, whereupon they become binding upon him, or the person may be arrested without warrant and detained for a period not exceeding in all one month, pending an order of restriction. There is also a power of search under search warrant. It will be observed there is no provision for an examination of the cases of such persons. The decision lies solely with the Local Government. There is also the power of confinement under Regulation III of 1818.

### Scope of our proposals.

We think that provision ought to be made for powers going to the full extent of those above quoted subject to the observance of four main principles—

(i) No interference with liberty must be penal in character. Nothing in the nature of conviction can be admitted without trial in strict legal form. If in the supreme interests of the community the liberty of individuals is taken away, an asylum must be provided of a different order from a jail.

(ii) Any interference with liberty must be safeguarded by an inquiry which, though circumstances exclude the possibility of its following forensic forms, must be judicial in the sense that it must be fair and impartial and as adequate as it can be made.

(iii) Every order (which should be made by the Local Government) authorizing such interference must recite the holding of such inquiry and declare that, in the opinion of the Local Government, the measures ordered are necessary in the interests of public security.

(iv) The order must be made for a limited time only (say, not exceeding year) and must be renewable only by a new order (not necessarily a new inquiry) reciting that the renewal is necessary in the interests of public security.

### Two grades of powers desirable.

The powers to be acquired should be of two grades capable of being called into operation separately.

The first group of powers should be :—

- (i) to demand security with or without sureties ;
- (ii) to restrict residence or to require notification of change of residence ;
- (iii) to require abatement from certain acts, such as engaging in journals, distributing leaflets or attending meetings ;



## RECOMMENDATIONS.

(iv) to require that the person should periodically report to the police.

The second group of powers should be—

- (i) to arrest ;
- (ii) to search under warrant ;
- (iii) to confine in non-penal custody.

It is not conceivable that the second group of powers would be called into play without the first. Therefore after arrest and search there would be no objection (if thought sufficient) to making an order under the first group of powers.

## Creation of an investigating authority

An "investigating authority" or "authorities" should be constituted, as to which we shall say more later on.

If the first group of powers only is in force, the Government before making a final order should be required to refer the case to the investigating authority. They should, however, have power to make an interim order for a limited time. If the second group is in force, the person might be arrested and kept in custody for a time to be limited before the reference and thereafter pending the reference.

The duty of the investigating authority will be to inquire *in camera* upon any materials which they may think fit and without being bound by rules of evidence. They would send for the person and tell him what is alleged against him and investigate the matter as fairly and adequately as possible in the manner of a domestic tribunal. It would not be necessary to disclose the sources of information, if that would be objectionable from the point of view of other persons. No advocates would be allowed on either side or witnesses formally examined, nor need the person whose case is under investigation be present during all the inquiry. Should such person indicate that other persons or any other inquiries may throw light on the matter from his point of view, the investigating authority would endeavour to test the suggestion if it seems relevant and reasonable. At the close of the inquiry the investigating authority would certify their conclusion to the Local Government.

## Scope of investigation.

This seems to us the most difficult of all the matters with which we have had to deal, and yet it is one as to which exactness is imperative. We think what is to be aimed at is that the order of restriction or the like should be executive, but on a basis of fact ascertained judicially (in the sense explained) by the investigating authority. If the investigating authority are to deal with the question of the order to be made, they acquire power without the responsibility for the results. The executive are responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The worst solution of all is that the investigating authority should recommend and that the executive should be able to disregard the recommendation. If, however, the investigating authority is to confine itself to facts, what is the question of fact to be? The states of fact contemplated cannot be reduced to definitions like crimes such as murder and so on. If they could, no list that we can contemplate would cover the ground. Under these circumstances we suggest the following solution. Let the Government propound to the committee in plain language what they suggest the man has done or is likely to do, and let the authority return in plain language what they find upon the subject. Then let the Government recite that finding in its order and proceed to deal with the man as it thinks necessary. The great object will thus be

attained of making it known exactly what is ascertained against the man in fact apart from executive conclusion, but the responsibility for action will still rest solely on the Government. It is for consideration whether the order should not be published.

The nature of the above suggestion explains why we have used the term "Investigating Authority" instead of "Advisory Committee." The use of the latter term seems to condemn one in advance to the embarrassments from which it is the whole object to escape.

It has been suggested to us that the judicial, the executive, and the non-official elements should be represented upon the body or bodies in question. Having indicated the functions which we recommend for the investigating authority, we do not feel that we are driven to give our views as to its exact composition. But we think we may say that one member should be a non-official Indian selected for his knowledge of the people.

### **Visiting Committees.**

We think there should be Visiting Committees to report upon the condition of persons restricted in residence or in custody. We do not go into the question of the composition of these Committees. This may well vary in different parts of India and possibly in different parts of the same province or with reference to different communities. The Committees appointed must, of course, be persons who are prepared to accept the scheme and work it effectually though sympathetically.

### **Administration of preventive measures.**

Our function is to suggest a scheme of law, not of administration. Nevertheless, inasmuch as we have necessarily gathered something of the psychology of these offenders in the course of our inquiry and as these impressions have necessarily guided us in reaching our conclusions, we think we may indicate generally the lines on which we have contemplated that they may be worked out administratively. These revolutionaries vary widely in character. Some merely require to be kept from evil associations and to be brought under the closer influences of sensible friends or relations. At the other extreme are some desperadoes at present irreconcilable to the point of frenzy. Some are ready to quit the movement if only it can be made easy for them. More may be brought to this frame of mind in time. It is obvious that extremely elastic measures are needed both for those whose liberty is merely restricted and those from whom it is at least temporarily taken away. As regards the former, the prospects of the individual in point of health and a livelihood in any particular area should be considered along with the associations which he may be likely to form. For the latter there should be provided an institution for their reformation as well as confinement. It is to be borne in mind that while some already possess a good deal of education they all lack habits of occupation and, in a measure, reason.

### **Provision for existing danger.**

The scheme above set forth is designed for emergencies regarded as contingent. The powers involved are therefore to be dormant till the event occurs.

There are, however, a limited class of persons, namely, those who have been involved in the troubles which have been described who constitute a danger not contingent but actual. Special and immediate provision is required for their case.

## RECOMMENDATIONS.

In the first place, there are a number of persons still at large, such as Rash Behari Basu of the Benares conspiracy case, who, if tried at all, ought to be tried, even if arrested after the Defence of India Act expires, under special provisions. Moreover, further offences may be committed before that time to the authors of which similar considerations apply. On the other hand, it would not be proper to proclaim a province under our scheme merely for the purpose of such particular trials.

Secondly, there are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some absconding are still at large.

Some, if not most, of these persons are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the war. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of 4 murders and has been concerned in 18 dacoities, of which 5 involve further murders. There are others like him both in custody and at large. Such men are the leaders and organizers of the movement. They are now detained or their arrest is intended under Regulation III of 1918. We do not discuss that measure. It is applicable to many cases not within the scope of our inquiry.

Assuming, however, that it is not desired to continue to deal with these men under the Regulation, we ought to suggest an alternative.

Lastly, it may be that a few of those now merely interned and some of the convicts who will be released may require some control. At any rate, it is to be deprecated that the persons interned should have the assurance that on the expiry of the Defence of India Act they will at once and all at the same moment be immune from all restriction. They should be liberated gradually.

It seems to us that the simplest device is to provide that in respect of acts committed before the Defence of India Act expires (or an earlier date if preferred) and danger apprehended by reason of such acts in the future, it should be lawful to proceed against any person under any of the provisions which we have outlined without any notification. In other words, the new law is to be deemed to be operative for that purpose immediately.

### Net results of our proposals.

The short result of the whole is that we suggest a scheme under which past and (say) war-time matters are immediately provided for, subject to which all special powers become dormant till there is a notification. It will be observed, for the purposes of drafting, that this is not the same thing as providing a scheme to be in force (say) only during the war but capable of revival afterwards upon notification. The division in time applies not with reference to the whole operation of the enactment but with reference to the occurrence of the subject-matter.

## THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

On August 20th, 1917, the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, made the following announcement in the House of Commons:—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction shall be taken as soon as possible and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

### SUMMARY OF THE REPORT.

In accordance with the policy outlined in that statement, Mr. Montagu visited India in the cold weather of 1917-18 and in July of the latter year there was published the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which had been signed by the Secretary of the State and the Viceroy on 22nd April. The proposals set forth in that report are

really the application to practical conditions of four general propositions. For the sake of clearness, these propositions may be set out thus—

I.—There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies, and the largest possible independence for them of out-side control.

II.—The provinces are the domain in which the earliest steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions admit. This involves at once giving the provinces the largest measure of independence, legislative, administrative and financial, of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.

III.—The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, and saving such responsibility its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged, and made more representative, and its opportunities of influencing Government increased.

IV. In proportion as the foregoing changes take effect, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and Provincial Government must be relaxed.

What has been done by the proposals may be summarised in the words of those who drew them up.

What we have done is to afford Indians a fair share in the Government of the entire country, while providing in the provinces the means for them to attain the stage of responsible government, to which the beginning of responsibility for the Government of India itself must be the sequel.

### The Proposals.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT does not really fall within the scope of these proposals at all, since the aim of Government is to place the institutions connected with it entirely under popular control. As is universally recognised, the growth of local self-government is intimately connected with educational extension and educational reform. It is part of the contemplated political advance that the direction of Indian education should be increasingly transferred to Indian hands. Progress

all along the line must depend upon the growth of electorates and the intelligent exercise of their powers; and men will be immensely helped to become competent electors by acquiring such education as will enable them to judge of candidates for their votes, and of the business done in the Councils. The reformed Councils contemplated in this Report will be in a position to take up and carry forward boldly proposals for advance along the lines both of the local self-government and of education.

**PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.**—The object of the proposals is the progressive realisation of responsible government. Responsible government implies two conditions, first, that the members of the executive government should be responsible to their constituents, and secondly that these constituents should exercise their power through the agency of their representatives in the Assembly. These two conditions entail first, that there exist constituencies based on a franchise broad enough to represent the interests of the population generally, and capable of selecting representatives intelligently; secondly, that there is recognised the constitutional practice that the executive government cannot retain office unless it commands the support of a majority in the Assembly. In India, these conditions are not realised. There must be a period of political education which can only be achieved through the gradually expanding exercise of responsibility. Practical considerations, such as those outlined in paragraph 9, make the immediate handing over of complete responsibility impossible. Accordingly the principle is adopted of transferring responsibility for certain functions of Government while reserving control over others, *while at the same time establishing substantial provincial autonomy.*

**FINANCIAL DEVOLUTION.**—Since substantial provincial autonomy is to be a reality, the provinces must not be dependent on the Indian Government for the means of provincial development. The general idea of these proposals on this matter is that an estimate should first be made of the scale of expenditure required for the upkeep and development of the services which clearly appertain to the Indian sphere: that resources with which to meet this expenditure should be secured to the Indian Government: and that all other revenues should then be handed over to the provincial Governments which will thenceforth be held wholly responsible for the development of all provincial services. The principal change in detail will be the abolition of divided heads of revenue. Indian and provincial heads of revenue are to be retained as at present: but to the former income tax and general stamps are to be added, and to the latter land revenue

irrigation, excise and judicial stamps. It follows that expenditure on famine relief and the protective irrigation works will fall upon the Indian Government which could never wholly renounce responsibility in the case of any failure on the part of the provinces.

This arrangement will leave the Government of India with a large deficit. In order to supplement this, it is proposed to assess the contribution from each province to the Government of India as a percentage of the difference between the gross provincial revenue and the gross provincial expenditure.

On the basis of the figures taken by the framers of the proposals, this percentage works out at the figure of 87, and would constitute the first charge upon the provincial revenues. The figure may be open to revision hereafter, but not subject to change for a period of, say, six years. And in the event of sudden emergency it must be open for the Central Government to make a special supplementary levy upon the provinces.

**PROVINCIAL TAXATION.**—It is proposed that a schedule of taxation should be drawn up in consultation between the Government of India and the provincial Governments. In this schedule certain subjects of taxation are to be reserved for the provinces, the residuary powers being retained with the Government of India. A tax falling within the schedule would not require the Government of India's previous sanction to the legislation required for its imposition, but the Bill should be forwarded to the Government of India in sufficient time for the latter to satisfy itself that the Bill is not open to objection as trenching upon the Central Government's field.

**PROVINCIAL BORROWING.**—In order to avoid harmful competition, it is recommended that Provincial Governments continue to do their borrowing through the Government of India. But if the Government of India finds itself unable to raise the money in any one year which a province requires, or if there is good reason to believe that a provincial project would attract money not to be elicited by a Government of India loan, it is proposed that the Provincial Government might have recourse to the Indian market.

While the above proposals will give Provincial Governments the liberty of financial action which is indispensable, these Governments must also be secured against unnecessary interference by the Government of India in the spheres of legislative and administrative business. Accordingly, while the Government of India is to retain a general overriding power of legislation, for the general protection of all

the interests for which it is responsible, the provincial legislature (are) to exercise the sole legislative power in the spheres marked off for provincial legislative control. It is suggested that it might be recognised as a matter of constitutional practice that the Central Government will not interfere with the operations of the provincial legislatures unless the interests for which it is itself responsible are directly affected.

### Executive Government in the Provinces.

In all the provinces, there is to be a collective administration, the system of a Governor in Council. At the head of the Executive will be the Governor, with an Executive Council of two members, one Englishman and one Indian, both nominated by the Governor. Associated with the Executive Council as part of the Government will be one or more Ministers chosen by the Governor from among the elected members of the Legislative Council and holding office for the life of the Council.

We have seen that complete responsibility for the Government cannot be given immediately without inviting a breakdown. Some responsibility must, however, be given at once. Accordingly the plan is adopted of making a division of the functions of the Provincial Government, between those which may be made over to popular control and those which for the present must remain in official hands. How the division is to be made is explained in a paragraph below. These functions may be called "transferred" and "reserved" respectively. It is proposed that in the Provincial Executive constituted as explained above the Governor in Council would have charge of the Reserved subjects. This would be one part of the Executive. The other part of the Executive would consist of the Governor and Minister or Ministers and would deal with the "transferred" subjects. As a general rule the Executive would deliberate as a whole although there would necessarily be occasions upon which the Governor would prefer to discuss a particular question with that part of the Government directly responsible. The decision upon a transferred subject and on the supply for it in the provincial budget would be taken after general discussion by the Governor and his Ministers; the decision on a reserved subject would be taken after similar discussion by the Governor and the members of his Executive Council.

**RELATION OF THE GOVERNOR TO HIS MINISTERS.**—The Ministers would not hold office at the will of the legislature but at the will of



their constituents. Their salary while they are in office would be secured to them and not be at the pleasure of the Legislative Council. They, together with the Governor, would form the administration for the transferred subjects. It is not intended that the Governor should from the first be bound to accept the decision of his Ministers, because he will himself be generally responsible for the administration. But it is also not intended that he should be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to all his minister's proposals. The intention is rather that the Ministers should avail themselves of the Governor's trained advice upon administrative questions, while he on his part would be willing to meet their wishes to the furthest possible extent, in cases where he realises they have the support of popular opinion.

Where the Governor himself has no official experience of Indian conditions he may desire to add one or two **ADDITIONAL MEMBERS** from among his officials as members without portfolio, for the purpose of consultation and advice. It is proposed that he should be allowed to do this. Also where the pressure of work is heavy it may be desirable to appoint some members of the Legislative Council to positions analogous to that of Parliamentary Under-Secretary in Great Britain, for the purpose of assisting members of the Executive in their departmental duties and of representing them in the Legislative Council.

### Provincial Legislature.

In each province, it is proposed to establish an enlarged Legislative Council, differing in size and composition from province to province with a substantial elected majority elected by direct election on a broad franchise, with such communal and special representation as may be necessary. The breadth of the franchise is all-important: it is the arch upon which the edifice of self-government must be raised. The exact composition of the Council in each province will be determined by the Secretary of State in Council on the recommendation of the Government of India, as a result of an investigation into subjects connected with the franchise, the constituencies and nominated element. It is proposed that this investigation should be undertaken by a Committee consisting of a Chairman chosen from outside India, two experienced officials and two Indians of high standing and repute. The Committee would visit each province in turn in order to investigate local conditions, and in each province one civilian officer and one Indian appointed by the provincial Government would join and assist it with their local knowledge.

It is proposed that the COMMUNAL ELECTORATES, though constituting an obstacle to the realisation of responsible government, should be retained for the Muhammadan community. Communal electorates are to be extended to the Sikhs, now everywhere in a minority and virtually unrepresented. For the representation of other minorities, nomination is proposed.

The exact number of OFFICIAL MEMBERS will be for the Committee, mentioned above, to consider. Members of the Executive Council should be *ex-officio* members of the Legislative Council, and there should be enough official members to provide the Government with first-hand knowledge of the matters likely to be discussed both in Council and in Committee. It is suggested that a convention might be established that official members should refrain from voting upon transferred subjects.

It is proposed that to each department or group of departments whether under a Minister or under a member of the Executive Council, there should be attached a STANDING COMMITTEE elected by the Legislative Council from among their own members. The functions of the Standing Committee would be advisory: they should see, discuss, and record their opinion upon, all questions of policy, all new schemes involving expenditure above a fixed limit and all annual reports upon the working of the departments. The Member or Minister in charge of the departments concerned should preside.

EFFECT OF RESOLUTIONS.—It is not proposed that resolutions, whether on reserved or transferred subjects, should be binding; but the Council will influence the conduct of all reserved subjects and effectively control the policy in all transferred subjects. If a member of the Legislative Council wishes Government to be constrained to act in a certain way, it will often be open to him to bring in a Bill to effect his purpose; and when Ministers become, as it is intended that they should, accountable to the Legislative Council, the Council will have full means of controlling their administration by refusing their supplies or by carrying votes of censure. Subject to the sanction of the Governor, the Council will have the power of modifying the rules of business; all members will have the right of asking supplementary questions.

DIVISIONS OF FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.—It being assumed that the entire field of provincial administration is marked off from that of the Government of India it is suggested that in each province certain definite subjects should be transferred for the purpose of administration by Ministers. All subjects not so transferred would

remain in the hands of the Governor in Council. The list of transferred subjects would vary from province to province, and would naturally be susceptible to modification at subsequent stages. It is suggested that the work of division be done by a Committee similar in composition to the one described above, with which it would work in close co-operation, since the extent to which the responsibility can be transferred is related to the nature and extent of the provincial electorates. Having first marked off the field of provincial administration the Committee would proceed to determine which of the provincial subjects could be transferred. Their guiding principles should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those which stand in most need of development. Such is the process of division. The Departments naturally lending themselves to classification as transferred subjects are: taxation for provincial purposes; local self-government; education; public works; agriculture; excise and local industries.

In cases where it is subsequently open to doubt in which category a subject falls the matter should be considered by the entire Government but the final decision should lie definitely with the Governor.

In cases of matters made over to non-official control, there should in emergency be the possibility of re-entry either of the official executive government of the province, or of the Government of India.

**AFFIRMATIVE POWER OF LEGISLATION**—Assuming that the Legislative Councils have been reconstituted with elective majorities, and that the reserved and transferred subjects have been duly demarcated, we have now to consider how the executive government is to secure the passage of such legislation as it considers necessary for carrying on its business. The King's Government must go on. The process to be followed is this. For the purpose of enabling the provincial Government to carry legislation on reserved subjects, it is proposed that the Head of the government should have power to certify that a particular bill is "essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects." Such a certificate would not be given without strong reason and the Council might by a majority vote request the Governor to refer to the Government of India whose decision would be final. If no reference was made, or if the

Government of India decided that the Bill was properly certified, the Bill would then be automatically referred to a Grand Committee of the Legislative Council.

The GRAND COMMITTEE in every Council would comprise 40 to 50 per cent. of its strength and would be chosen for each Bill, partly by ballot and partly by nomination. The Governor would have power to nominate a bare majority exclusive of himself, and of the members so nominated, not more than two-thirds should be officials. The elected members would be elected *ad hoc* by the elected members of Council. The Bill would be debated in the Grand Committee, and if passed by that body, would be reported to the whole Council, which might discuss but could not reject or amend it except on the motion of a member of the Executive Council. The Governor would appoint a time limit within which a Bill might be debated, and after the expiry of the time limit the Bill would pass automatically. If the Bill were not passed by the Grand Committee it would drop.

Should a Bill on a transferred subject trespass on the reserved field of legislation, it should be open to a member of the Executive Council to challenge the whole Bill or any clause of it on its first introduction, or any amendment as soon as such an amendment is moved, on the ground of infringement of the reserved sphere. The Bill, clause, or amendment would be then referred to the Governor, who might allow it to proceed or certify it, in accordance with the procedure detailed above.

The Governor of a Province should have POWER TO DISSOLVE the Legislative Council.

The ASSENT of the Governor, the Governor-General, and the Crown, through the Secretary of State, will remain necessary for all provincial legislation, whether certified or not.

It is suggested that BUDGET PROCEDURE be as follows: The provincial budget should be framed by the executive government as a whole. The first charge upon the provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India. Next will come the supply for the reserved subjects. So far as the transferred subjects are concerned, the allocation of supply will be decided by the Ministers; and if the revenue available is insufficient for their needs, the question of additional taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers. The budget will then be laid before the Council, which will discuss it and vote by resolution. The budget would be altered in accordance with the resolutions of the Council except in the following

case. If the Council reject or modify the allotment of reserved subjects, it would be in the Governor's power to certify its necessity, in the terms mentioned above and to insist upon the retention of the allotment which he declares essential for the discharge of his own responsibilities.

#### Safeguards.

A great safeguard to the working of the system is the proposal that a Periodic Parliamentary Commission shall review the proceedings. Both the Government on one hand, and the Legislative Council on the other, will decide their course of action in the knowledge that their conduct will in due course come under review by a Commission. Before this Commission there will be an opportunity of arguing, on the one hand, that the reserved subjects have been extravagantly administered, or that the Governor in Council has unnecessarily disregarded the wishes of the Legislative Council, or on the other hand, that the attitude of the Legislative Council with regard to expenditure upon reserved subjects has been so unreasonable as to make it unsafe to transfer further powers.

It is suggested that ten years after the meeting of the new Council a Parliamentary COMMISSION should be appointed to review the whole working of these institutions in order to determine whether it would be possible to improve in any way the existing machinery or to advance further towards the goal of complete responsible government in any province or provinces. This Commission should be authoritative, deriving its authority from Parliament itself; and the names of the commissioners should be submitted by the Secretary of State to both Houses for approval. The functions of the Commission will, indeed, be of the utmost importance: it will represent a revival of the process by which the affairs of India were subjected to periodical examination by investigating bodies appointed with the approval of Parliament, in days gone by. It is proposed that the further course of constitutional development in the country shall be investigated at intervals of twelve years.

The Commission should also consider the progress made in admitting Indians to the higher ranks of the Public Service: the adjustment of the financial burden between the provinces: the development of education: the working of local self-government: the constitution of electorates: the working of the franchise, and similar matters.

**Development in the Provinces.**—The proposal is that as

the popular element of the Government acquires strength and experience, subjects will be taken from the reserved list and placed upon the transferred list until at length the reserved subjects disappear and the goal of complete responsibility is attained. It is suggested that after five years from the first meeting of the new Councils, the Government of India should hear applications from the provincial Governments or the provincial councils for the modification of the reserved and transferred lists of the province ; and that after hearing the evidence they should recommend to the Secretary of State such changes as may seem desirable.

It is desirable also to complete the responsibility of Ministers for the transferred subjects. It should be open for the Government of India when hearing such applications to direct that the Minister's salaries, instead of being secured to them for their period of office, should be specifically voted year by year by the Legislative Council : and it should be open to the Legislative Council to demand a resolution that Minister's salaries should be so voted. This would result in the Ministers becoming Ministers in the Parliamentary sense, dependent upon a majority in the legislature.

### Government of India.

The general idea of the proposals is to create an enlarged Legislative Assembly with an elected majority : to reserve to the decision of a new Council of State, in which Government will have a bare majority, only those measures in which it must retain power to carry in discharge of its continued responsibility for the good government of the land : to restrict the official *base* to the smallest dimensions compatible with the same principles : to institute a Privy Council : and to admit a second Indian Member into the innermost counsels of the Indian Government.

Pending the development of responsible government in the provinces, the Government of India must remain responsible only to Parliament, and saving that responsibility, must retain indisputable power in matters which it judges to be essential to the fulfilment of its obligations for the maintenance of peace, order and good government.

**THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.**—It is recommended that the existing statutory restrictions in respect of the appointment of members should be abolished to give greater elasticity in the size of the government and the distribution of work.

It is recommended that another Indian member be appointed as soon as may be.

**THE LEGISLATURE.**—It is proposed that the strength of the Legislative Council, to be known henceforth as the Legislative Assembly of India, should be raised to a total strength of about 100 members. Two-thirds of this total should be returned by election: one-third to be nominated by the Governor-General, and of this third not less than a third again should be non-officials representing minorities or special interests, such as European and Indian commerce, and the large landlords. The normal duration of an Assembly to be three years.

**ELECTORATES AND CONSTITUENCIES** for the Indian Legislative Assembly should be determined by the same Committee entrusted with the investigation of electorates and constituencies for the provincial Councils.

The power of **NOMINATION OF NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS** is to be regarded as reserved in the hands of the Governor-General enabling him to adjust inequalities and supplement defects in representation. Nominations should not be made until the results of the elections are known and should be made after informal consultation with the Heads of Provinces.

The maximum number of **NOMINATED OFFICIALS** will be two-ninths and it will rest with the Governor-General to determine whether he requires to appoint up to the maximum. Official members of the Assembly, other than members of the Executive Government, should be allowed a free right of speech and vote except when Government decides their support is necessary.

**SPECIAL APPOINTMENT.**—Members of the Assembly, not necessarily elected or non-official, may be appointed to positions analogous to those of Parliamentary Under Secretaries in England. The President of the Legislative Assembly should be nominated by the Governor-General.

**AFFIRMATIVE POWER OF LEGISLATION.**—During the transitional period, the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in essential matters necessary for the good government of the land is to be secured by the creation of a second chamber known as the Council of State, which shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential. The object is to make assent by both bodies the normal condition of legislation; but to establish

the principle that in the case of legislation certified by the Governor-General as essential to the interests of peace, order and good government, the will of the Council of State should prevail.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE will be composed of 50 members exclusive of the Governor-General who would be President. Not more than 25 members including the members of the Executive Council would be officials, and four would be non-officials nominated by the Governor-General. There would be 21 elected members returned by non-official members of the provincial legislative councils, each council returning two members with the exception of Burma, the Central Provinces and Assam which would return one member each. The remaining 6 elected members are to supplement the representation of the Muhammadans and the landed classes and to provide for the representation of the Chambers of Commerce. The Council of State is to possess a senatorial character and the qualifications of candidates for election should be so framed as to secure men of the status and position worthy of the dignity of a revising chamber. Five years would be the normal duration of a Council of State.

#### Legislative Procedure.

Ordinarily a Government Bill will be introduced into the Legislative Assembly and after being carried through the usual stages there would go to the Council of State. If there amended in a way which the Assembly is not willing to accept it would be referred to a joint session of both houses by whose decision its fate would be decided. But if the amendments introduced by the Council of State were in the view of Government essential to the purpose for which the Bill was originally introduced, the Governor-General in Council would certify them to be essential to the interest of peace, order or good government. The Assembly would then have no power to reject or modify the amendments nor would they be open to revision by a joint session.

A PRIVATE MEMBER'S BILL would be introduced into whichever of the two houses the mover sat, and after passing through the usual stages, would be taken to the other chamber and carried through that. In the case of a difference of opinion, the Bill would be submitted to a joint session, by which its final fate would be determined. But if the Governor-General in Council were prepared to give a certificate in the terms already stated that the form of the Bill was prejudicial to peace, order, and good government, the Bill would go, or go back, to the Council of State and only become law in the form there finally given to it.



The general principles of the legislative procedure proposed are that in the case of all save certificated legislation, the will of the non-official members of both chambers taken together should prevail, while in the case of certificated legislation, the Council of State should be the final authority.

**POWER OF DISSOLUTION, ETC.**—The Governor-General should have power at any time to dissolve the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State or both bodies. The Governor-General and the Secretary of State naturally retain their existing powers of assent, reservation and disallowance to all Acts of the Indian legislature.

**FISCAL LEGISLATION** will be subject to the procedure recommended in respect of Government Bills. The budget will be introduced into the Assembly, but the Assembly will not vote it. Resolutions upon budget matters and upon all other questions whether moved in the Assembly or in the Council of State will continue to be advisory in character.

**STANDING COMMITTEES** drawn jointly from the Assembly and from the Council of State, should play, so far as possible under the circumstances, a similar part to that suggested in the case of the Standing Committees in the provincial legislatures.

Any member of either House might be entitled to ask **SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS**. The Governor-General should not disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interest, but power is still to be retained to disallow a question on the ground that the putting of it is inconsistent with the public interest.

His Majesty may be asked to be pleased to approve the institution of a **PRIVY COUNCIL IN INDIA**. Appointments to be made by His Majesty for life ; and such appointments to be confined to those, whether officials or non-officials, from British India and from the Native States, who had won real distinction or occupied the higher offices. The Privy Council's office would be to advise the Governor-General when he saw fit to consult it on matters of policy and administration.

**FUTURE PROGRESS.**—Equally with the Provincial Machinery the Central Machinery will be subjected to periodical revision by the Commission approved by Parliament.

#### The India Office.

Since His Majesty's Government have declared their policy of

developing responsible institutions in India, Parliament must be asked to set certain bounds to its own responsibility for the internal administration of the country.

**IN TRANSFERRED MATTERS.**—It should be laid down broadly that in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, Parliament must be prepared to forego the exercise of its own powers of control, and this process must continue as responsibility in the provinces, and eventually in the Government of India itself, gradually develops. Parliament cannot retain the control of matters which it has deliberately delegated to representative bodies in India.

**IN RESERVED MATTERS.**—While in reserved subjects there cannot be any abandonment by Parliament of ultimate powers of control, there should be such delegation of financial and administrative authority as will leave the Government of India free, and enable them to leave the Provincial Governments free to work with the expedition that is desirable. A wider discretion should be left to the Governor-General in Council ; and certain matters now referred home for sanction might in future merely be referred to the Secretary of State for information. It is hoped that Parliament will authorise the Secretary of State to divest himself of the control over the Government of India in certain matters even though these continue to be the concern of official governments.

A Committee should be appointed forthwith to reconsider the **ORGANISATION OF THE INDIA OFFICE**, with a view to providing for the material alteration of functions involved by these proposals and for the more rapid discharge of its business.

**THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SALARY** should be defrayed from revenues and voted annually. This would enable any live questions of Indian administration to be discussed by the House of Commons in Committee of Supply.

In order to provide for informed criticism and discussion of questions connected with India, it is proposed that the House of Commons should be asked to appoint a **SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS**. It would inform itself upon Indian questions, and report to the House before the annual debate on the Indian estimates. By means of interrogations of the Secretary of State and requisitions for papers, the members of the Committee would keep themselves informed upon Indian affairs and to them Indian Bills might be referred on their second reading.

### The Native States.

In view of the fact that the contemplated constitutional changes in British India may react in an important manner on the Native States, it is necessary to assure the Princes, in the fullest and freest manner, that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, sanads and engagements, or by established practice. Further all important States should be placed in direct communication with the Central Government as an aid to good understanding and the speedy conduct of business.

It is recommended that a COUNCIL OF PRINCES be called into existence as a permanent consultative body, ordinarily meeting once a year to discuss agenda approved by the Viceroy, who should be President. The opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value upon questions affecting the States generally or British India and the States in common.

The Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee to which the Viceroy or the Political department might refer matters of custom and usage affecting the States.

COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY.—Should dispute arise between two or more States, or between a State and Government, the Viceroy might appoint a Commission of enquiry to report upon the matter in dispute. Such a Commission might be composed of a judicial officer of rank not less than a High Court Judge, and one nominee of each of the parties concerned.

In the case of misconduct, matters might be referred by the Viceroy to a Commission appointed to advise him. Such a Commission should ordinarily consist of five members including a High Court Judge, and two Ruling Princes.

JOINT DELIBERATIONS.—With the establishment of a Council of Princes, of a Council of State, and a Privy Council, the machinery will exist for bringing the senatorial institutions of British India more closely into touch with Rulers of the Native States. The Viceroy, when he thought fit, might arrange for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Council of Princes, and might invite members of the Council of Princes to serve on Committees of the Privy Council.

### The Public Services.

The policy of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration was placed in the forefront of the announcement of August 20. The characteristics which have enabled the services to confer benefits upon India in the past must be adequately maintained in the future ; and the solution lies in recruiting year by year such a number of Indians as the existing members of the services will be able to train in an adequate manner and inspire them with the spirit of the whole.

Appointments are to be made to all branches of the Public Service without racial distinction.

For all public services for which there is a system of recruitment in England open to Indians and Europeans alike, there must be a system of appointment in India.

**THE CIVIL SERVICE.**—It is suggested that thirty-three per cent of the superior posts should be recruited for in India, and that this percentage should be increased by one and a half per cent annually until the periodic commission is appointed which will re-examine the whole subject. A re-adjustment of the rates of pay and pension is recommended.

There should be a fixed percentage increasing annually of recruitment in India. This percentage will not be uniform for all Services as the particular figures must depend upon their distinctive characteristics and functions. As in the case of the Civil Service, a re-adjustment of the rates of pay and pension is recommended.

The granting of a considerable number of **King's Commissions** to Indians is recommended. Race should no more constitute a bar to promotions in the Army than it does in the Civil Service.

### Industries and Tariffs.

The proposals lay stress upon the necessity for Government action in developing the resources of the country, and for the recognition by Government of the necessity for a forward industrial policy. The extent and form of State assistance will doubtless be determined by the reformed Governments of the future, having the advice of the Industrial Commission before them, and with due reference to Imperial interests.

### Concluding Note.

The general principle kept in mind in framing these proposals has been the progressive realisation of responsible government. The arrangements contemplated by these proposals are admittedly transitional. They are to be open to revision. The proposals themselves are tentative. They are now open to discussion.

### A Summary of the Proposals.

*H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India at the conclusion of their report summarise their recommendations as follow. They point out that this summary is intended only to be a concise indication of the proposals and should be read with the corresponding paragraphs of the report:—*

#### PARLIAMENT AND THE INDIA OFFICE.

1. The control of Parliament and the Secretary of State to be modified.
2. The salary of the Secretary of State for India to be transferred to the Home Estimates.
3. The House of Commons to be asked to appoint a Select Committee for Indian affairs.
4. A Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India and on the India Office establishment.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

5. The Government of India to preserve indisputable authority on matters adjudged by it to be essential in the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good government.
6. A Privy Council for India to be established.

#### THE EXECUTIVE.

7. To increase the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council.
8. To abolish the present statutory maximum for the Executive Council and the Statutory qualification for seats.
9. To take power to appoint a limited number of members of

the legislature to a position analogous to that of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in Great Britain.

### THE LEGISLATURE.

10. To replace the present Legislative Council of the Governor-General by a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly.

11. The Council of State to consist of 50 members (exclusive of the Governor-General who will be President, with power to nominate a Vice-president). Of the members 21 to be elected and 29 nominated by the Governor-General. Of the nominated members 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the Members of the Executive Council) to be officials.

The life of each Council of State to be 5 years.

The Governor-General in Council to frame regulations as to the qualifications for membership of the Council of State.

12. The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members, of whom two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members not less than one-third to be non-officials.

The President of the Assembly to be nominated by the Governor-General.

13. Official members of the Council of State to be eligible also for nomination to the Legislative Assembly.

14. The Governor-General to have power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly.

The following procedure to be adopted for legislation.

**A. Government Bills:**—Ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the assembly, and if passed by the Assembly to be sent to the Council of State. If the Council of State amend the bill in a manner which is unacceptable to the Assembly, the bill to be submitted to a joint session of both houses, unless the Governor-General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interest of peace and order or good Government (including in this term sound financial Administration) in which case the Assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments. But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the bill being thrown out at any stage, the Governor General in Council to have the power, on certifying that the bill is within the formula cited above, to refer

it *de novo*, to the Council of State. The Governor-General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency so certified to introduce the bill in the first instance in, and to pass it through, the Council of State, merely reporting it to the Assembly.

**B. Private bills:**—To be introduced in the chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by the chamber to be submitted to the other. Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions. If, however, a bill emerge from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration, the Governor-General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or re-submit it to the Council of State; the bill only to become law in the form given it by the Council.

16. Resolutions to have effect only as recommendations.

17. The Governor-General and the crown to retain their respective powers of assent, reservation, or disallowance.

18. The Governor-General to retain his existing power of making Ordinances and the Governor-General in Council his power of making Regulations.

19. Nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs.

20. Any member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to be entitled to ask supplementary questions. The Governor-General not to disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interest, but power to be retained to disallow a question on the ground that the putting of it is inconsistent with the public interest.

21. Rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business in the Council of state and the Legislative Assembly to be made in the first instance by the Governor-General in Council. The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State to be entitled to modify their rules, subject to the sanction of the Governor-General. In each case such modifications not to require the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and not to be laid before Parliament.

22. Joint Standing Committees of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be associated with as many departments of Government as possible. The Governor-General in Council to decide with which departments Standing Committees can be associated, and

the head of the department concerned to decide what matters shall be referred to the Standing Committee. Two-thirds of each Standing Committee to be elected by ballot by the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, one-third to be nominated by the Governor-General in Council.

### **THE PROVINCES.**

23. The Provincial Governments to be given the widest independence from superior control in legislative, administrative, and financial matters which is compatible with the due discharge of their own responsibilities by the Government of India.

24. Responsible Government in the provinces to be attained first by the devolution of responsibility in certain subjects called hereafter the transferred subjects (all other subjects being called reserved subjects), and then by gradually increasing this devolution by successive stages until complete responsibility is reached.

### **PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVES.**

25. The Executive Government in a province to consist of a Governor and Executive Council, a Minister or Ministers nominated by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and an additional Member or Members without portfolios.

26. The Executive Council to consist of two members, one of whom will be an Indian.

Reserved subjects to be in the charge of the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council.

27. The Minister or Ministers to be appointed for the term of the Legislative Council, and to have charge of the transferred subjects.

28. The additional Member or Members to be appointed by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only.

29. The Government thus constituted to deliberate generally as a whole, but the Governor to have power to summon either part of his Government to deliberate with him separately. Decisions on reserved subjects and on the supply for them in the provincial budget to rest with the Governor and his Executive Council; decisions on transferred subjects and the supply for them with the Governor and Ministers.



30. Power to be taken to appoint a limited number of members of the Legislative Council to a position analogous to that of the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in Great Britain.

### PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

31. In each province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established. The Council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible; (2) nominated including (a) official and (b) non-official members; (3) ex-officio members. The franchise and the composition of the Legislative Council to be determined by regulations to be made on the advice of the Committee described in paragraph 53 by the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, and laid before Parliament.

32. The Governor to be President of the Legislative Council with power to appoint a Vice-President.

33. The Governor to have power to dissolve the Legislative Council.

34. Resolutions (except on the budget) to have effect only as recommendations.

35. Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs.

36. Any members of the Legislative Council to be entitled to ask supplementary questions.

37. The existing rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business to continue, but the Legislative Council to have power to modify them with the sanction of the Governor.

38. Standing Committees of the Legislative Council to be formed and attached to each department, or to groups of departments. These Committees to consist of members elected by the Legislative Council, of the heads of the department concerned, and the Member or Minister who would preside.

39. Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council. Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs.

40. The Governor to have power to certify that a bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any

part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The bill will then, with this certificate, be published in the *Gazette*. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and after discussion on its general principles, will be referred to a Grand Committee: but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject.

The Governor not to certify a bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council.

41. The Grand Committee (the composition of the which may vary according to the subject-matter of the bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent. of the Legislative Council. The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot, partly by nomination. The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself), but not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials.

42. The bill as passed in Grand Committee to be reported to the Legislative Council, which may again discuss it generally within such time limits as may be laid down, but may not amend it except on the motion of a Member of the Executive Council, or reject it. After such discussion the bill to pass automatically, but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details and any such resolution to be transmitted with the Act to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State.

43. Any member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a bill on its introduction, or any amendment when moved, on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the bill to proceed in the Legislative Council or of certifying the bill, clause, or amendment. If he certifies the bill, clause or amendment the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed, or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended bill or clause, or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the bill to a Grand Committee.

44. All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor-General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty.

**RECOMMENDATIONS OF**

45. The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment.

46. The Governor-General to have power to reserve Provincial Acts.

**FINANCE.**

47. A complete separation to be made between Indian and provincial heads of revenue.

48. Provincial contributions to the Government of India to be the first charge on Provincial revenues.

49. Provincial Governments to have certain powers of taxation and of borrowing.

50. The budget to be laid before the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council refuses to accept the budget proposals for reserved subjects the Governor in Council to have power to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment, on the Governor's certifying that, for reasons to be stated, such restoration is in his opinion essential either to the peace or tranquillity of the province or any part thereof, or to the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. Except in so far as he exercises this power, the budget to be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council.

**LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.**

51. Complete popular control in local bodies to be established as far as possible.

**PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS.**

52. Five years after the first meeting of the new Councils the Government of India to consider any applications addressed to it by a provincial Government or a provincial Legislative Council for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects. In such cases the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State to have power to transfer any reserved subject, or in case of serious maladministration to remove to the reserved list any subjects already transferred, and to have power also to order that the salary of the Ministers shall be specifically voted each year by the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council to have the right of deciding at the same or any subsequent time by resolution that such salary be specifically voted yearly.

**PRELIMINARY ACTION.**

53. A Committee to be appointed consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, an official and an Indian non-official. This Committee to advise on the question of the separation of Indian from provincial functions, and to recommend which of the functions assigned to the province should be transferred subjects. An official and an Indian non-official in each province which it is at the time examining to be added to the Committee.

54. A second Committee to be appointed, consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, two officials and two Indian non-officials, to examine constituencies, franchises, and the composition of the Legislative Council in each Province, and of the Legislative Assembly. An official and an Indian non-official in each Province which it is at the time examining to be added to the Committee.

55. The two Committees to have power to meet and confer.

**COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY.**

56. A Commission to be appointed ten years after the first meeting of the new legislative bodies to review the constitutional position as regards the Government of India and the provinces. The names of the Commissioners to be submitted for the approval of Parliament. Similar Commissions to be appointed at intervals of not more than twelve years.

**THE NATIVE STATES.**

57. To establish a Council of Princes.

58. The Council of Princes to appoint a Standing Committee.

59. The Viceroy in his discretion to appoint a Commission, composed of a High Court Judge and one nominee of each of the parties, to advise in case of disputes between States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India.

60. Should the necessity arise of considering the question of depriving a Ruler of a State of any of his rights, dignities, or powers, or of debarring from succession any member of his family, the Viceroy to appoint a Commission to advise, consisting of a High Court Judge, two Ruling Princes, and two persons of high standing nominated by him.

61. All States possessing full internal powers to have direct relations with the Government of India.

62. Relations with Native States to be excluded from transfer to the Control of Provincial Legislative Council.

63. Arrangements to be made for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of Princes and the Council of State on matters of common interest.

### THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

64. Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished.

65. In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India.

66. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services.

67. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts, increasing annually by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. until the position is reviewed by the Commission (paragraph 56).

68. Rates of pay to be reconsidered with reference to the rise in the cost of living and the need for maintaining the standard of recruitment. Incremental time-scales to be introduced generally and increments to continue until the superior grade is attained. The maximum of ordinary pension to be raised to Rs. 6,000, payable at the rate of 1s. 9d. to the rupee, with special pensions for certain high appointments. Indian Civil Service annuities to be made non-contributory but contributions to continue to be funded. Leave rules to be reconsidered with a view to greater elasticity, reduction of excessive amounts of leave admissible, and concession of reduced leave on full pay. The accumulation of privilege leave up to four months to be considered.

69. A rate of pay based on recruitment in India to be fixed for all public services, but a suitable allowance to be granted to persons recruited in Europe or on account of qualifications obtained in Europe, and the converse principle to be applied to Indians employed in Europe.

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**ILLUSTRATIVE LIST I SHOWING PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.**

(VIDE PARAS 212, 213, 238, AND 240 OF REPORT).

<b>SUBJECTS.</b>	<b>REMARKS.</b>
1. Taxation for provincial purposes.	<i>Vide</i> para 210.
2. Borrowing on sole credit of provincial revenues.	<i>Vide</i> para 211.
3. Financial work on behalf of the Government of India ( <i>e.g.</i> , collection of income-tax, etc.)	Subject to any restrictions or orders of the Government of India.
4. The appointment, conditions of service, and control of all provincial services.	Subject to any existing privileges enjoyed by those now in service.
5. Maintenance of law and order :	
i. Administration of criminal justice.	The powers of the Government of India to suspend or remit sentences and the power of the Viceroy to pardon to be maintained. Existing privileges of High Courts to be continued. Uniformity to be maintained as regards the Codes, Evidence Act, etc.
ii. Police, including railway police.	The Director of Central Intelligence to remain under the Government of India.
iii. Prisons.	
iv. Criminal tribes.	The co-ordination by Government of India of the work in different provinces requires consideration.
v. Working of particular Acts, <i>e.g.</i> , incitements to crime, seditious meetings, infanticide, press, arms, European agrancy.	Legislation to remain with the Government of India : Administration to be provincial.
vi. Poisons.	
vii. Gambling.	
viii. Dramatic performances and cinematographs.	
ix. Coroners.	
6. Land revenue administration :	
Assessment and collection of land revenue, maintenance and procedure of revenue establishments, maintenance of land records, surveys for revenue purposes, records of rights,	

SUBJECTS.	REMARKS.
special laws regarding land tenures, relations of land holders and tenants, collection of rent, court of wards, encumbered and attached estates, famine, land improvement and agricultural loans, resumption of revenue-free grants, diluvion and alluvion, colonisation and disposal of Crown lands.	
7. Agriculture :	
Civil Veterinary and live stock, diseases of animals, research institutes and demonstration farms, agricultural forests, and industries connected with agriculture.	
8. Forests and forest products.	
9. Fisheries and connected industries ; and river conservancy.	
10. Public Works.	
Roads and buildings, and major and minor irrigation.	
Tramways, light and feeder railways.	So far as powers may be given by the Government of India.
Drainage and embankments.	
11. Education ;	
Primary, secondary, colleges, technical and universities : also reformatories and industrial schools.	Except for universities serving more than one province and some Chiefs' Colleges. The case of the Indian Universities Act to be specially considered.
12. Medical and Sanitary :	
Public health, Hospitals, dispensaries leper asylums, Pasteur Institutes, sanatoria and matters relating to medical institutions ; intra-provincial pilgrimages.	
13. Local Self-Government, rural and urban :	
Provisions for public health, safety and convenience, constitution of local authorities—municipal rates, taxes, loans, roads, bridges, ferries, tolls, markets, pounds, fairs, exhibitions, parks, open spaces, museums, libraries, art galleries, reading rooms, building regulations, town planning, housing	Except for Railway arrangements.

SUBJECTS.	REMARKS.
<p>improvements, disorderly houses, lodging houses, sarais, hackney carriages, registration of carts, nuisances, water supply, prevention of fires, regulations for sale of food and drink, smoke nuisance, disposal of the dead, bathing and washing places, warehouses, drains and sewers, control of animals, surveys for municipal purposes, advertisements and anything dealt with in existing municipal or local Self-Government Acts, and also any matters declared by the Government of India to be included in local Self-Government.</p>	
<p>14. Franchise, electoral land, organization of constituencies.</p>	<p><i>Vide</i> para 225. Eventually provincial.</p>
<p>15. Civil Justice :</p> <p>Administration, including village courts, legal practitioners, law reports, local Acts and interpretation of local Acts.</p> <p>Administrator-General and Official Trustees Acts, management of private trusts, lunacy, registration of deeds and documents.</p>	<p>Power of legislation to remain with Government of India. Administration to be provincial.</p>
<p>16. Excise, intoxicating liquors and drugs, control of breweries and distilleries.</p>	
<p>17. Scheduled districts :</p> <p>Intra-provincial territorial arrangements.</p>	<p>The Government of India Act on the subject to remain, but the advisability of provincial variations to be considered</p>
<p>18. Land acquisition.</p>	
<p>19. Industrial matters :</p> <p>Factories, dangerous and offensive trades, inland steam vessels and steam-boilers, registration of labour, labour exchanges, provident funds, industrial health insurance, friendly societies, apprenticeships, accident insurance.</p> <p>Electricity, petroleum, explosives, mines, geological survey for minerals.</p> <p>Development of arts and crafts and local industries.</p>	<p>As these develop.</p>
<p>20. Co-operative credit.</p>	<p>The power of legislation normally to remain with the Government of India,</p>



## RECOMMENDATIONS OF

SUBJECTS.	REMARKS.
21. Business concerns : Banks, insurance and other companies	though amendments to the principal Act might be permissible to the provinces. Administration to be provincial. The power of legislation to remain with the Government of India, Provinces to have such administrative power as the Government of India may permit.
22. Government Press : Stationery and printing.	The control of the Government of India over stationery raises the general question of the purchase of supplies.
23. Statistics : Registration of births, deaths, and marriages : collection of statistics for provincial purposes.	Power to secure uniformity to remain with the Government of India.
24. Inter-provincial immigration and emigration.	Subject to the control of the Government of India.
25. Protection of wild birds, and animals, and cruelty to animals.	Subject to All-India restrictions.
26. Assessment and recovery of provincial Government demands.	
27. Escheats and unclaimed property	
28. Management of charitable endowments.	
29. Motor vehicles.	Some Government of India legislation is necessary. Provinces to have powers not conflicting herewith.

ILLUSTRATIVE LIST II. SHOWING TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS.

(VIDE PARAS 212, 213, 238 AND 240)

SUBJECTS	REMARKS.
1. Taxation for provincial purposes.	
2. Local Self-Government, rural and urban, viz., provisions for public health, safety and convenience, constitution of local authorities—municipal rates, taxes, loans, roads, bridges, ferries, tolls, markets, pounds, fairs, exhibitions, parks, open spaces, museums, libraries, art galleries, reading rooms, building regulations, town-planning, housing improvements, disorderly houses, lodging houses, sarais, hackney carriages, registration of carts, nuisances, water-supply, prevention of fires, regulations for sale of food and drink, smoke nuisances, disposal of the dead, bathing and washing places, warehouses, drains and sewers, control of animals, surveys for municipal purposes, advertisements and anything dealt within existing municipal or local Self-Government Acts, and also any matters declared by the Government of India to be included in local Self-Government :	The question of reserving to the executive Council the power of suspending defaulting local bodies to be considered.
3. Registration of births, deaths and marriages, coroners, village Courts—Civil and Criminal—statistics for provincial purposes.	
4. Education : Primary, Secondary and Technical.	
5. Medical and Sanitary.	
6. Agriculture : Civil veterinary, diseases of animals, etc.	
7. Co-operative credit.	
8. Forests (unclassed and some protected).	
9. Fisheries and connected industries and river conservancy.	

SUBJECT.	REMARKS.
10. Public Works :	
Roads and buildings, minor irrigation, tramways, light and feeder railways, drainage and embankments.	
11. Excise :	
Intoxicating liquors and drugs, including the control of breweries and distilleries.	
12. Charitable endowments.	
13.—Development of arts and crafts and local industries.	
14. Miscellaneous subjects, viz., preservation of wild birds and animals, cruelty to animals, prevention of gambling, motor vehicles, registration of deeds and documents.	
15. Franchise, electoral law, and constituencies.	Not till after the Commission has reported.

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# Report of the Southborough Committee on Franchises.

## SUMMARY OF THE REPORT.

### The Franchise.

The Committee recommended the retention of the existing general disqualifications of electors and the addition of a further disqualification based on nationality which would, not, however, apply to subject of Indian States. They decided that the social conditions of India make it premature to extend franchise to women.

2. It is proposed that the general franchise should be based on residence within the constituency and the possession of certain property qualifications as evidenced by the payment of land revenue, rent, or local rates in rural areas, and of municipal rates in urban areas, and of income tax generally. An important exception to the general principles is the recommendation to enfranchise all retired and pensioned officers of the Indian Army. No attempt has been made to arrive at any uniform property qualification. The qualifications proposed vary not only from province to province but also, in some cases, in different areas within the same province. An important point is that the same qualifications is proposed for all communities within the same area.

3. The number of electors, which the franchise proposed for the various provinces will give, is roughly estimated as follows:—

Madras	...	...	542,000
Bombay	...	...	653,000
Bengal	...	...	1,228,000
United Provinces	...	...	1,483,500
Punjab	...	...	237,000
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	576,000
Central provinces	...	...	159,500
Assam	...	...	300,000

It is proposed to replace the existing system of indirect election to the provincial legislative councils by a system of direct election. The district will ordinarily be the electoral unit but in some provinces single cities with large populations, and in other provinces, smaller towns in groups, will form urban constituencies. Single member constituencies are generally recommended but some latitude is left to local Governments in this matter. The committee are opposed to the introduction of elaborate systems of voting, such as proportional representation, the limited vote, and the cumulative vote. They

recommend that plural voting should be forbidden except where a constituency returns more than one member in which case each elector will have as many votes as there are members. Electors will also be allowed to vote in one general or communal constituency in addition to voting in a special constituency.

4. The average number of electors in the general and communal constituencies in the various provinces is estimated to be as follows :—

Madras	...	...	7,200
Bombay	...	...	8,900
Bengal	...	...	16,400
United Provinces	...	...	17,700
Punjab	...	...	4,900
Behar and Orissa	...	...	9,100
Central Provinces	...	...	3,400
Assam	...	...	9,700

The size of individual constituencies will, however, vary enormously, from 500 electors in the Muhammadan constituency composed of the towns of Madura, Trichinopoly and Srirangam to 96,000 in the constituency of Almora in the United Provinces.

#### Provincial Councils.

5. The size of the council which the Committee recommend for each province is as follows :—

Madras	...	...	118
Bombay	...	...	111
Bengal	...	...	125
United Provinces	...	...	118
Punjab	...	...	83
Behar and Orissa	...	...	98
Central Provinces	...	...	70
Assam	...	...	53

In the Presidencies and the United Provinces the proportion of elected members proposed is from 71 to 80 per cent. of the total membership, and in the remaining four provinces from 73 to 75 per cent. The proportion of officials proposed is 15 per cent. in the United Provinces, 16 per cent. in the three presidencies and Bihar and Orissa, 17 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Assam and 19 per cent. in the Punjab. The interests to be represented by nomination are :—

- (i) the depressed classes in all provinces, except the Punjab ;
- (ii) Anglo-Indians in all provinces, except Madras and Bengal, where representation will be by election ;

(iii) Indian Christians in all provinces, except Madras, where they will have a special electorate, and the Central Provinces ;

(iv) labour in Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam.

(v) excluded tracts in Madras and the Central Provinces ;

(vi) military interests in the Punjab ;

(vii) (viii) (ix) industrial interests other than planting and mining, aborigines and domiciled Bengalis, all in Bihar.

The number of nominated non-official members proposed varies from 4 in Bengal and the United Provinces to 9 in Bihar and Orissa, and Assam.

6. Special electorates are proposed for the following interests :—

(i) universities, in all provinces, except Assam ;

(ii) landholders, and (iii) commerce and industry, both, in all provinces.

The number of landholding members varies from 2 in Assam to 7 in Madras and of representatives of commerce and industry from 2 in the Punjab and the Central Provinces to 15 in Bengal. In the representation of commerce and industry the following special interests share,

(i) planting in Madras, Bihar and Assam ;

(ii) mining in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces ;

(iii) European Chambers of Commerce in Madras, Bombay Bengal and the United Provinces ;

(iv) Indian Chambers of Commerce in the same four provinces ;

(v) Trades' Associations in the three presidencies ;

(vi) and (vii) Millowners' Association and cotton trade in Bombay ;

(viii), (ix), (x) and (xi) the Jute trade, the Tea trade, Indian Associations and Inland Water Transport Board in Bengal ;

(xxii) General industrial interests in the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam.

7. The extension of a system of communal electorates is proposed in the interests of (1) Indian Christians to whom three seats are given in Madras ; (2) Anglo-Indians who are given one seat each in Madras and Bengal ; (3) Europeans who are given two seats in Bombay and Bengal and one seat in Madras, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa ; and (4) Sikhs to whom eight seats are given in the Punjab. In the case of Muhammadans, the existing system of communal election is retained and following the Congress-League agreement the committee propose to give Muslims the following proportion of Indian elected seats :—

		per cent.
Madras	...	15
Bombay	...	34
Bengal	...	40
United Provinces	...	30
Punjab	...	50
Bihar and Orissa	...	25
Central Provinces	...	14

The claims to separate electorates of the following minor communities are not supported; Mahishyas of Bengal and Assam, Marwaris of Calcutta, Bengali domiciled community of Bihar and Orissa, Ahoms of Assam, Mahars of the Central Provinces, Uriyas of Madras and Parsis of Bombay. The Majority of the committee would also reject the claims of the Maharattas. In regard to non-Brahmans of Madras, the committee observe that they were deprived of the opportunity of examining the non-Brahman leaders and of testing their views since they refused to appear before the committee. The committee regret that the refusal of these leaders to appear at the enquiry made a settlement by consent impossible. They considered certain solutions of the non-Brahman problem; but in the end decided to make no difference between Brahmans and non-Brahmans; but they add a suggestion that the matter may be further considered hereafter if the non-Brahmans make a move.

8. Few changes are proposed in regard to the qualifications of candidates.

The most important are :—

- (1) the removal of the disqualification of subjects of Indian States;
- (2) the limitation of the disqualifications of dismissal from Government service and imprisonment;
- (3) the withdrawal of the Governor's power to declare the election of a candidate as contrary to public interests; and
- (4) the addition of a new qualification of residence within the constituency in the provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces.

#### The Indian Legislature.

9. The committee recommend that the Assembly should have a total strength of 120 members, or including the Governor-General in Council, 121. 80 members should be elected distributed among various provinces as following :—

Madras	...	12
Bombay	...	12
Bengal	...	13

United Provinces	...	...	12
Punjab	...	...	9
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	9
Central Provinces	...	...	5
Assam	...	...	3
Burma	...	...	4
Delhi	...	...	1

Of these 80 members 36 will represent general non-Muslim interests, 19 general Muslim interests, 1 general Sikh interests, 5 non-Muslim landholding interests, 4 Muslim landholding interests, 1 Sikh landholding interests, 6 European commerce and planting and 4 Indian commerce. To these will be added 14 members appointed by nomination and 26 officials. The committee hold that a system of direct election is not feasible, except in the cases of the landholding and commercial interests, and recommend that the general representatives should be returned by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils voting on a communal basis.

#### Council of State.

10. It is proposed that the Council of State should consist of 56 members, exclusive of the Governor-General, of whom 24 should be elected. The 24 elected seats are distributed as follows :—

General	...	...	11
Muhammadans	...	...	7
Sikhs	...	...	1
Landholders	...	...	2
European Chamber of Commerce	...	...	2
Burma	...	...	1

The elected members, with the exception of the two representatives of European commerce, will be returned by the non-official members of the various provincial councils, the distribution of seats among the provinces being as follows :—

Madras	...	...	3
Bombay	...	...	3
Bengal	...	...	3½*
United Provinces	...	...	3
Punjab	...	...	3
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	2½*
Central Provinces	...	...	1½†
Assam	...	...	1½†

\* One land-holding seat to be filled alternately from Bengal, and Behar and Orissa.

† One Muhamedan seat to be filled alternately from C. P. and Assam.



## The Government of India's Opinion.

The following is a brief summary of the Reforms Despatch (see next page) of the Government of India, April 23, 1919 (Franchises) to the Sec. of state :—

1. The Government of India accept the Committee's recommendations with the following exceptions :—
2. They would not admit subjects of Native States as electors or candidates.
3. They object to any franchise qualifications other than those based on property.
4. They would enlarge the electorate proposed for Madras and reduce those for Bengal, United Provinces and Assam, and would reduce size of larger constituencies.
5. They consider provision for representation of backward classes inadequate and propose considerable increases in some provinces.
6. They see no need for special University constituencies and propose to re-examine proposals for land-holding constituencies in Madras, Punjab, and Assam, and to re-distribute seats allotted to landholders of United Provinces.
7. They accept proposals for Muslim representation except in Bengal where they would give Muslims 44 seats instead of 34.
8. They propose tentatively to allot to Non-Brahmans 30 out of 61 Non-Muslim seats in Madras but without special electorates and to consult Bombay Government regarding Mahrattas.
9. They ask for further consideration of distribution of seats between town and country.
10. In regard to Indian Legislature they agree generally as to size of both chambers but criticise the distribution of seats in Assembly with special reference to omission of urban representation and amount of representation proposed for landholders, and European and Indian commerce.
11. They would prefer system of direct election to Assembly but are prepared to accept indirect provided elections to Council of State are direct.

## Despatch of the India Government

[The following are extensive extracts from the Despatch sent by the Government of India to the Secretary of State giving their views on the Report of the Southborough Committee on Franchises. Dated Simla, 23 April, 1919.]

Before dealing with specific recommendations, the Government of India say that the Committee have not concerned themselves with the establishment of principles; anxiety to arrive at an agreement has been their method rather than to base their finding on general reasons. While in the interests of the growth of responsibility, it is not desirable to stereotype the representation of the different interests in fixed proportions, it is on the other hand by no means desirable to invite incessant struggle over their revision.

### Disqualifications.

The Government of India agree with the Committee that it is not practicable now to open the franchises to women. Sir Sankaran Nair, however, accepts the views of Mr. Hogg that the sex disqualification should be removed from the outset. They do not agree with the Committee that subjects of Native States should be entitled either to vote for or to be elected to the Legislatures. Nor do they agree that Indian Officers and Soldiers should be given a special preference. They would also omit the qualification of titleholders which the committee would retain in certain land holding constituencies.

### The Size of the Electorates.

8. In arriving at the size of the electorates shown in para. II of their report, the committee have attempted no uniformity of standards. Except in the case of Madras and Bombay, they have for the most part adopted the varying proposals of local Governments. We fully recognise the need for local variations, but we consider that such variations should bear some relation to established facts, and our difficulty is to correlate the size of the suggested electorates with the progressiveness of the provincial populations, whether judged by wealth, education, or political activity. The individual opinions of the local Governments, each looking to its own province, have been the deciding factor, tempered by the moderate adjustments made by the committee. Since the report was received, the

Madras Government have informed us that their revised estimate of the electorate in that presidency is lower by 100,000 than the comparatively small total which the committee expected their proposals to yield. This new fact lends additional force to the recommendation which we are disposed to make. Looking to the proposals as a whole, our conclusions are that the franchises should be so varied as to result in a slight enlargement of the Punjab electorate and a considerable enlargement of the Madras electorate; that the large electorates proposed for Bengal and the United Provinces should be reduced by something like one-third; and that Assam should be reduced in somewhat similar measure. Our colleague Sir Sankaran Nair, however, would accept the committee's proposals as regards Bengal, Assam and the United Provinces. As to the Punjab, he agrees with Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed.

9. We are confirmed in our opinion by our examination of some of the individual constituencies suggested. We note the Committee's assurance in para. 10 of the report that the proposed constituencies are not too big, but as a matter of practical business it does not convince us. It must be remembered that we are wholly without experience of the difficulty of holding elections on rolls of many thousands over wide areas. We feel great doubt whether it is within the capacity of the ordinary district staff to hold elections every three years upon a total roll of one hundred thousand electors, most of whom are illiterate and very many of insignificant income; and over and above this, to maintain the roll between elections, and to inquire into allegations of bribery, promises, intimidation, impersonation or the improper admission of votes, which are the grounds on which the validity of an election may be impugned. Nor do we see much prospect of strengthening the district for the purpose. Most of the non-official assistance, which is ordinarily forthcoming in district work, would, at election time, be itself engaged in the political campaign. In the interests of the reforms, we should be very reluctant to see the conduct of polling at the numerous out stations committed to the hands of subordinate officials who might be too open to improper influence. The work at the outset must be mainly done by a responsible official staff, and until further experience has been gained it should be kept within bounds which they can manage. We understand that in the provinces where the constituencies are largest they were so framed in the hope of preventing them being readily captured by the professional politicians; but whether there are good grounds or not for such anticipation, it seems to us that in attempting to hold elections with an inexperienced electorate and a strictly limited agency on so huge a scale there is great risk of discrediting

the experiment at the outset by electoral scandals. In most provinces the district rolls proposed are manageable, but in Bengal and the United Provinces we desire, as we have said, to see some substantial reduction made. We cannot seriously conceive it as a physical possibility, to take two of the committee's examples, that 122,000 voters could be polled in the district of Bakargunj, almost entirely devoid of roads, and traversed in all directions by vast rivers, or that 96,000 voters could be polled in the Almora district, a tangle of great mountain ranges, among which all communication is slow and painful.

#### **The Councils.**

10. The next point for consideration is the size and general composition of the councils. The present maximum strength of the councils in the three presidencies, the United Provinces, and Behar and Orissa is fifty, and in the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam is thirty. The Congress League Scheme proposed a strength of one hundred and twenty-five in the major, and of from fifty to seventy in the minor provinces. Even if the Punjab, and Bihar and Orissa are to be regarded as major provinces, it would hardly be reasonable to give them councils of approximately the same size as the three presidencies and the United Provinces. It is difficult to give their proper weight to the various factors which should be taken into account in determining the size of the councils; but we feel that the strengths proposed by the committee correspond closely with the estimate which we should ourselves be disposed to make of the relative importance of the provinces. Bombay is given a slightly smaller council than Bengal, Madras, and the United Provinces, but to this no exception can be taken in view of the differences in population. We see nothing to question in the comparative strengths, and the actual strengths also appear to us generally to meet all requirements. We understand that the schedule to the Bill will regulate the maximum strengths of the legislatures, and that their actual size will be regulated by the rules.

#### **Composition of the Council.**

11. The actual composition proposed for each council can be judged from the statement which we subjoin.

Provinces.	Total nominated & elected		Nominated				By special electorates.		Commerce and Industry including mining and planting.	Elected.							By general electorates.	
	Total (nominated.)	Officials (nominated and ex-officio.)	Non-officials.	Total (elected.)	Total.	University.	Landholders.	Total.		Muhammadans.	Muhammadans.	Europeans.	Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians	Sikhs.	Total.	Non-Muhammadans.	Non-Muhammadans.
1. Madras	118	25	19	6	93	14	1	7	6	18	11	2	1	1	3	61	52	9
Per cent. basis	100	21	16	5	78	11	3	6	5	15	9	2	3	3	52	44	3	
2. Bombay	111	24	18	6	87	12	1	3	3	29	22	5	2	3	46	35	11	
Per cent. basis	100	21	16	5	78	10	9	3	7	26	19	4	1	3	41	31	10	
3. Bengal	125	25	20	5	100	22	2	5	15	37	28	6	2	1	41	36	11	
Per cent. basis	100	20	16	4	80	17	1	4	12	29	22	4	1	3	32	24	8	
4. United Provinces	118	23	18	5	95	10	1	6	3	28	23	4	1	3	57	49	3	
Per cent. basis	100	19	15	4	79	8	3	5	2	22	19	3	3	48	41	6	6	
5. Panjab	83	22	16	6	61	7	1	4	2	36	22	6	3	3	18	14	4	
Per cent. basis	100	26	19	7	73	8	1	4	2	43	26	7	3	9	21	16	4	
6. Bihar and Orissa	98	25	16	9	73	9	1	5	3	18	14	3	1	3	46	40	6	
Per cent. basis	100	25	16	9	74	9	1	5	3	18	14	3	1	3	46	40	6	
7. Central Provinces	70	17	12	5	53	6	1	3	2	7	6	1	3	3	40	31	9	
Per cent. basis	100	24	17	7	75	8	1	4	3	10	8	1	3	57	44	13	13	
8. Assam.	53	14	9	5	39	3	3	2	6	12	12	3	3	3	19	18	1	
Per cent. basis	100	26	17	9	73	15	3	3	11	22	22	3	3	35	34	1	1	

These numbers exclude the two experts (or in Assam one), who may be added by the Governor when required.

As regards the proportions of nominated and elected members you will notice that the provinces fall into two distinct groups. The presidencies and the United Provinces form the first. In their case it is proposed to include in the councils from 78 to 80 per cent. of elected members. The remaining four provinces will have from 73 to 75 per cent. These proposals seem to us to accord sufficiently with the relative progressiveness of the provinces.

12. As the committee say the number of official members must be decided mainly with reference to the requirements of the grand committee procedure. If the grand committee is constituted on the basis of the existing councils the proportion of officials will be slightly higher than those proposed in the scheme of the Report; and on a 40 per cent basis the difficulty, which the committee apprehend, will become more acute. We are not in a position to make our final recommendations, but we think that this matter will require further consideration after consultation with local Governments.

#### Non-Officials and Special Interests.

13. We have analysed in the statement printed below the interests which in the committee's opinion should be represented by non-official nomination:—

Name of province.	Depressed Classes.	Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	Labour.	Excluded tracts.	Military interests.	Industrial interests other than planting and mining.	Aborigines.	Domiciled Bengalis.	Others.	Total.	Percentage of total membership.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Madras	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	6	5
2. Bombay	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	6	5
3. Bengal	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	4
4. United provinces.	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	4
5. Punjab	...	...	2*	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	6	7
6. Bihar	...	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	1	2	9	9
7. Central Provinces	1	1*	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	5	7
8. Assam	...	...	1*	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	5	9
Total...	7	7	6	4	5	1	1	1	1	14	47	...

\* Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

We accept these proposals generally. But there is one community whose case appears to us to require more consideration than the committee gave it. The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms clearly recognises the problem of the depressed classes and gave a pledge respecting them. "We intend to make the best arrangements that we can for their representation." The castes described as "Hindus—others" in the committee's report, though they are defined in varying terms, are broadly speaking all the same kind of people. Except for differences in the rigidity of their exclusion they are all more or less in the position of the Madras *Panchamas*, definitely outside that part of the Hindu community which is allowed access to their temples. They amount to about one fifth of the total population and have not been represented at all in the Morley-Minto councils. The committee's report mentions the depressed classes twice, but only to explain that in the absence of satisfactory electorates they have been provided for by nomination. It does not discuss the position of these people or their capacity for looking after themselves. Nor does it explain the amount of nomination. Para. 24 of the report justifies the restriction of the nominated seats on grounds which do not suggest that the committee were referring to the depressed classes.

#### The Depressed Classes.

The measure of representation which they propose for this community is as follows :—

Province.	Total population. Millions.	Population of depressed classes.	Total Seats.	Seats for depressed classes.
Madras ...	39·8	6·3	120	2
Bombay ...	19·5	·6	113	1
Bengal ...	45	9·9	127	1
United Provinces...	47	10·1	120	1
Punjab ...	19·5	1·7	85	...
Bihar and Orissa...	32·4	9·3	100	1
Central Provinces.	12·2	3·7	72	1
Assam ...	6·0	·3	54	...
<b>Total...</b>	<b>221·4</b>	<b>41·9</b>	<b>791</b>	<b>7</b>

These figures speak for themselves. It is suggested that one-fifth of the entire population of British India should be allotted seven seats out of practically eight hundred. It is true that in all the councils there will be roughly a one-sixth proportion of officials who may be expected to bear in mind the interests of the depressed ; but that arrangement is not, in our opinion, what the Report on reforms aims





These proposals seem generally reasonable. We have examined with some care the relative representation of commerce and industry in Bengal and Bombay, and also the similar representation suggested for Assam, and we are prepared to accept the proposals in the main. Since the committee's report was signed, however, the Government of Bengal in their letter of February 22 (a copy of which has been included in Appendix XIV, page 181. of the committee's report, though the letter was not actually considered by the committee) have proposed after consultation with the interests concerned to distribute the seats allotted to European commerce in that presidency rather differently from the committee. Their scheme involves giving European interests as a whole 15 seats in the council, as compared with the 14 seats proposed by the committee. We accept the committee's total but we think that the distribution should follow the local Government's proposals.

### Communal Electorates.

The authors of the Reforms Report came to the conclusion that while communal electorates were bad in principle and must tend to delay the development of democratic institutions in India, it was for practical reasons necessary to maintain the special Muslim electorates and advisable to establish similar Sikh electorates in the Punjab. Communal electorates are now proposed not only for Muslims everywhere and for Sikhs in the Punjab, but also for Indian Christians in Madras, Anglo-Indians in Madras and Bengal, and Europeans in the three presidencies, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa. We feel the objections of principle to the communal system as strongly but see no advantage at this stage in reiterating them. India is not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible Government upon any other road. The road does not lead directly to that goal, and we can only echo the hope expressed by the committee that "it will be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities in one general electorate." Under existing conditions we see no ground on which the committee's proposals can be questioned. As regards the minor communities we accept the details also, except in so far as the distribution of the elective seats for Europeans requires further examination in communication with local Governments, inasmuch as the committee do not appear to have considered the complication introduced by the presence of a large military population.

21. The actual effect of the Congress League agreements can be judged from the following figures :—

	Muslim per- centage of population (1)	Percentage of Muslim seats proposed. (2)	Percentage (3) of (1) (3)
Bengal ...	52.6	40	76
Bihar and Orissa ...	10.5	25	238
Bombay ...	20.4	33.3	163
Central Provinces ...	4.3	15	349
Madras ...	6.5	15	231
Punjab ...	54.8	50	91
United Provinces ...	14.0	30	214

The result is that while Bengal Muhammadans get only three-quarters and the Punjab Muhammadans nine-tenths of what they would receive upon a population basis, the Muhammadans of other provinces have got good terms and some of them extravagantly good. We cannot ourselves feel that such a result represents the right relation either between Muhammadans in different provinces, or between Muhammadans and the rest of the community.

In determining that ratio in the various provinces, we should have to start with certain established data. In the first place, the Muhammadans have been definitely promised some electoral advantage on the ground of their political importance. We should have to measure that advantage and to fulfil that promise. Secondly the Muhammadans are the poorer community, and therefore any property qualification common to them and the Hindus will make the Muhammadan electorate smaller in proportion to the Muhammadan census than will be the case with the Hindus. In the third place, the census strength of the Muhammadans by no means corresponds to their political strength. In Bengal and Assam the Muslims are politically weaker than their numbers would indicate, while in the United Provinces with 14 per cent of the population they are incomparably stronger than in Bihar and Orissa with 10.5 per cent. Past history and the presence of Muhammadan centres count for much. Fourthly, it might be argued that inasmuch as a majority can always impose its will upon a minority, it does not greatly matter whether the Muhammadans in places where they are in a conspicuous minority are awarded for example, 15 or 20 per cent. of the seats. But we think it a valid answer to observe that the effectiveness of a minority depends upon its being large enough to have the sense of not being entirely overwhelmed. Finally, we should have to remember that whatever advantage is given to the Muhammadans is taken away from some other interest or interests. These considerations would suggest to us a system of weighting which would lead to different results from those agreed

on at Lucknow. It would no doubt involve assumed factors, but these would have a more logical basis than those embodied in the compact.

23. We are not writing however on a clean slate. The Congress League compact is an accomplished fact and a land-mark in Indian politics which we can not possibly ignore. The actual terms of the agreement were the result rather of political negotiation than of deliberate reason; and in their final form they were closely affected by accidents of place and personal. But the last thing that we desire is to belittle the importance or significance of concord between the two parties upon so highly controversial a subject. The difficulty with which the agreement was reached is a measure of the earnest efforts made to attain it; and those efforts imply on behalf of the larger community at least a subordination of their immediate interests to the cause of unanimity and united political advance which we should be sorry to appear to undervalue. Since the compact was made, there has been some re-action against it. Several of the more conservative Muslim associations of the Punjab are ill-content with the measure of representation assigned to them, while a large section of Bengali Muhammadans repudiate the agreement altogether and have besought us not to give effect to it. Nevertheless, the Muhammadan community as a whole has not disavowed the action of the League. Organised Hindu political opinion stands by the action of the Congress. We feel, like Lord Southborough's committee, that the compromise, whatever may be its defects, is not one that we ought to re-open, and that it would be a poor recognition of the genuine efforts that have been made in the cause of unity if we were to throw this very difficult problem into the melting pot again.

24. We accept therefore the conclusions of the committee except in one respect. The Muhammadan representation which they propose for Bengal is manifestly insufficient. It is questionable whether the claims of the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal were adequately pressed when the Congress-League compact was in the making. They are conspicuously a backward and impoverished community. The repartition of the presidency in 1912 came as a severe disappointment to them, and we should be very loath to fail in seeing that their interests are now generously secured. In order to give the Bengal Muslims a representation proportionate to their numbers, and no more, we should allot them 44 instead of 34 seats; and we accordingly propose to add ten seats to those which the committee have advised on their behalf. Whether the addition should be obtained by enlarging the council or by withdrawing seats from other interests, or by a combination of both plans, is a matter on which

we should certainly have to consult the provincial Government. We should also be largely guided by their opinion in determining whether the extra seats should be filled by election or by nomination. Our colleague Sir Sankaran Nair, however, would accept the committee's report.

### Town and Country.

28. We come now to the distribution of representation between town and country. The committee have not dealt with this question on any uniform system, and we cannot but think that this detracts from the value of their recommendations. The point is an important one, and as it seems to us requires reasoned treatment. After religion and race the boundary between town and country is the greatest dividing line that runs through the Indian people. It corresponds closely with the division between English education and vernacular ; between experience of self-government and lack of such experience : between the existence the newspapers professions, barlibraries, societies, etc., and their absence. It is roughly the difference between the old India and the new, the forces that are pressing us forward and those that are holding us back. These are in our view elements which ought to be measured on a uniform scale all round, and the relative importance of which ought to be assessed in each province. The committee have not attempted this task. What they have done is to accept the schemes for urban electorates put forward by provincial governments with indifference to the fact that these are based on very varying principles. In Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces the method adopted has been to take very large towns only and either to give them separate constituencies or to group two towns together in one constituency ; at the other extreme is the system adopted in the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa of separating only one or two of the very largest towns, and then grouping all other towns, cantonments, and in the Punjab even notified areas, of one or two divisions into single constituencies : between these extremes comes the Central provinces system of grouping towns varying in population from 46000 to 4,000 into groups of from three to nine towns and making each group a constituency. We cannot think that all these varying principles can be sound. That their adoption will give rise to great inequalities is shown by the following statement :

Vid.—8

Name of Province.	Percentage of urban seats in general, non-Muslim, Muslim and Sikh seats.	Percentage of total population living in towns with population of over—				
		5,000	10,000	20,000	50,000	100,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Madras ...	15	16	10	6	3	2
2. Bombay ...	22	20	15	12	9	8
3. Bengal ...	23	8	6	4	3	3
4. United Provinces ...	14	9	7	5	4	3
5. Punjab ...	18	12	8	7	5	3
6. Bihar & Orissa ...	14	5	3	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
7. Central Provinces ...	18	8	5	3	1	1

In every province, whatever their difference of industrial or commercial development, there must come a stage in the growth of towns though it need not be the same stage everywhere, where proximity of residence gives rise to distinctively urban interests. In para. 133 of the Reforms Report it was suggested that the beginnings of such a process occurred in town of 10,000 people; many persons would agree that for political purposes the process was sufficiently complete in towns of 50,000 people and not in towns of much smaller population. We would have preferred that some such standard should have been adopted in the first place, and thereafter some uniform system of weighing applied to the town representation. This would give a reasonable and a roughly uniform representation to the urban areas in the various provinces. We may illustrate our meaning by an example. If we take a population of 50,000 as the criterion for a town, and if we decide that a town population should have twice as much representation as the rural population, then accepting the percentages in column 6 of the statement above we should fix the proportion of urban representation in the various provinces as follows :—

Madras	...	...	6 per cent
Bombay	...	...	18 "
Bengal	...	...	6 "
United Provinces	...	...	8 "
Punjab	...	...	10 "

Bihar and Orissa	...	...	2 per cent
Central Provinces	...	...	2 „

The results would be markedly different from those of the committee's method of procedure. We do not put them forward as a final solution ; but we feel that the question requires more examination from the point of view of principle than it has received.

#### The Indian Legislature.

31. The Principle of bifurcation in the central legislature for the sake of obtaining a better representation of interests therein, is accepted by us ; though our colleague, Sir James Meston, would have frankly preferred to make no radical change in the structure of the central legislature until experience had been gained of the changes contemplated in the provinces. We all agree, however, that, be the form of the central legislature what it may, the power of the Government of India to secure the legislation which they desire in essential matters must, as stated by the authors of the Report, remain indisputable.

#### A. Bicameral Legislature.

32. There are two ways in which a bicameral legislature can be created consistently with this cardinal requirement. The first is the method of the Report. The Council of State is there designed not primarily as a revising chamber but as the organ, when the occasion requires, of essential legislation. The idea of the authors is that the Governor-General-in Council should have power, by certificate, to secure legislation that he deems essential to peace, order or good government, either through the Council of State alone in the event of a sudden emergency, or by the Council of State in disregard of the wishes of the Assembly in cases where that body had taken a line which would defeat the purpose of the legislation. Under this scheme there indeed be provision for joint sitting at which the will of the majority would prevail ; but that arrangement would not be intended for Government legislation to which there was strong non-official opposition. The figures given in para. 282 of the Report make it plain that no Government Bill which did not carry with it a substantial part of the non-official vote could succeed at a joint sitting. The Report definitely relies upon the special certificate power to secure essential legislation. It follows that if the Council of State is as matter of regular practice to serve when required as an effective legislature, it should comprise a strong elected element; and this the Report proposes (para. 277) to provide by the method of indirect election by the non-official members of provincial councils. At the same time the authors of the Report indicate that they do not look on this position as final ; it is their aim that the

Council of State should develop into a normal second chamber (paras 278, 281); and they seek to give it from the outset something of this character by advising that qualifications be prescribed which will ensure a certain dignity and sobriety in its membership.

33. The other method of attaining the object in view places less reliance on the certificate power and more on the joint sitting. Its advocates doubt whether the certificate power will in practice be sufficiently elastic and durable to ensure at all times the passing of essential Government legislation. While therefore they would retain the certificate for use only in an extreme emergency, they would so constitute both chambers as to afford the Government a reasonable chance of securing enough support among the many different interests represented to carry their Bills at a joint session. So stated, the divergence of views may not appear very striking; but any departure from that part of the scheme which treats the certificate procedure as the mainstay of Government legislation at once opens the door to a very different constitutional position. There would then be good reasons for constructing India's bicameral legislature on the lines of others in the world; leaving the progressive elements to find their representation in the Assembly, and giving the Council of State the definite character of a revising chamber by making it the organ of conservative and stable opinion.

#### **Additional difficulties.**

34. Between these two alternatives the main issues are fairly clear; but additional complications arise from the fact that the committee's report throws little light upon the practical possibilities of the methods of election to the Indian legislature. If the Assembly could be constituted by direct election, then the indirect election to the Council of State which the first plan involves might be accepted as no more than a minor drawback. If, however, it becomes necessary to choose the elective portion of the Assembly by indirect election, and if no better electoral colleges can be devised for it than the non-official members of the provincial councils, then we are faced with the serious anomaly of one and the same very limited electorate choosing representatives to both chambers. When on this situation the additional limitations of the communal system are superimposed, we doubt if the result of position would be tolerable. On the other hand if the Council of State were to be constituted on ordinary senatorial lines, it would naturally be chosen direct election and by a restricted electorate. The nature of the elections to the Assembly, though still an impor-

tant question in itself, would then at all events not complicate the question of the method of constituting the Council. The reasons for establishing direct election however for the lower chamber would indirectly gain in strength ; for it would be anomalous that the popular body should have a less direct mandate than the revising body.

35. These seem to us the governing conditions of the problem before us. As we said in para. 114 of our first despatch, the terms of reference to the franchise committee precluded them from reviewing the whole of the relevant considerations. They were not invited to consider either the functions or the composition of the Council of State, but were asked to advise on the composition of the Assembly on the assumption that the Council of State would be constituted in the manner and for the purposes proposed in the Report, and as regards the Council of State to examine only the method of election ; and this limitation must be borne in mind in considering their proposals. The committee's recommendations for the Assembly are briefly stated in para. 33 of their report. They have not referred to the proposals which we ourselves placed before them, and which are repeated in Appendix III to this despatch. We hoped to discuss our suggestions with the committee in the light of the information which they had collected in the provinces, and without which it was clearly impossible for the Government of India to formulate a complete scheme. In particular, we were anxious that the possibility of direct election to the Assembly, to which we attached great importance, should be examined in the light of the provincial figures for electorates ; but there were other questions in particular questions of the balance of interests, on which, had time permitted, more light would have been thrown by an exchange of views. The chairman thought that nothing would be gained by a conference at which the Government of India were not prepared to formulate a complete scheme ; he preferred to conclude his report without conferring with us and there are therefore some points on which the reasons for the committee's divergence from our own proposals are not clear.

36. The committee have accepted our view that if all the interests which, following the plan of the Report, it is desirable to include are to find representation in the Assembly, the strength of the elective portion of that body must be raised to 78 or 80. The differences of detail between the committee's scheme and our own are exhibited in the following tables :—



## Government of India's Proposals.

	General.	Muslim.	European Interests.	Landholders.	Indian Commerce.	Sikhs.	City.	Total.
Madras	9	1	1	1	..	..	..	12
Bombay	7	1	1	1	2	..	1	12
Bengal	5	3	3	1	1	..	1	14
United Provinces	3	3	1	1	..	..	..	13
Punjab	3	3	..	1	..	1	..	8
Bihar and Orissa	6	1	..	1	..	..	..	8
Central Provinces	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	4
Assam	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Burma	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
European non-official community	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total	44	12	9	7	3	1	2	78

## Committee's Proposals.

## COMMUNAL LANDHOLDERS.

	General.	Muslim.	Sikh.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Sikh.	European Commerce and Planting.	Indian Commerce.	Total.
Madras	7	2	..	1	..	..	1	1	12
Bombay	4	3	..	1	1	..	1	2	12
Bengal	5	3	..	1	1	..	2	1	13
United Provinces	6	3	..	1	1	..	1	..	12
Punjab	2	4	1	..	1	1	..	..	9
Bihar and Orissa	6	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	9
Central Provinces	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Assam	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	3
Burma*	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	4
Delhi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	38	20	1	5	4	1	7	4	80

\* The allotment for Burma is only tentative.

As you will see, there is no great difference between our respective ideas of the strength of the non-special (general *plus* communal) representation: but the committee have applied the Congress-League compact, which related to the Indian legislature as a whole, to the Assembly as a unit by itself, and have recommended a higher proportion of Muslim seats (24 out of 73 Indian elected seats) than

our proposals, which were based on their strength in the various provinces, would give them. While the majority of us are prepared to accept their recommendation on this point, our colleague Sir William Vincent dissents and regards the Muslim representation proposed by the committee as excessive. The special interests for which we proposed to make provision were the great landholders, European interests, Indian commerce and the two large cities of Calcutta and Bombay. The committee have omitted any special urban representation; they have not taken into account any European interests outside commerce; they have increased the representation of the landholders proposed by us from 7 to 10; they have decreased the European seats from 9 to 7 and have increased the seats given to Indian commerce from 3 to 4. It would have been convenient if they had stated their reasons. We think that the representation of landholders is excessive in itself, considering their representation in the Council of State, and that its distribution between provinces does not accord with the importance of the landed classes in them. Moreover the committee's treatment of landed property in the Assembly, where its interests are probably less immediate than in the provincial councils, is not consistent with the restricted representation which they have assigned in the latter. We think that it would be disproportionate to reserve one elected seat to Delhi; its interests when necessary, like those of any other minor province, could be sufficiently met by nomination. We also deprecate the reduction and restriction of the European representation. As was pointed out in His Excellency's speech which we attached to our first despatch, many of the questions which will come before the Assembly will be of great interest to European commerce, and we think that it should be strongly represented there. We feel therefore that in these respects the committee's scheme is open to criticism; and we should prefer not to endorse it until we know how it is received by those affected.

#### **Method of Election.**

37. On the important question of the method of election the committee have decided that direct election to the Assembly is impossible. The conclusion is one which we are not unanimous in accepting. Some of us consider that the results given in para 34 of the committee's report are enough to condemn the proposal there made; and they think that closer investigation of the provincial material is required. The committee have not mentioned in their report (para 34) whether they propose that the elections to the general and communal seats allotted to each province in the

Assembly shall be made by the non-official members of that province voting as a whole, or only by those of the community concerned; but their intentions are clear from their Appendix IX. We agree with them that the former alternative is not feasible. The Muhammadan members of the provincial councils would not wish their own representatives in the Assembly to be returned by an electorate in which the Hindus preponderate. But if the voting is to be communal, the constituencies, already so restricted that on the average eleven voters return one member, would be smaller still. In Madras, for example, 13 Muhammadan members with the possible addition of one or two nominated members would return two members to the Assembly; in Bihar 17 Muhammadan members would elect two members; in the Punjab 9 Sikh member-electors would return one representative. A minority of us cannot regard this as a satisfactory method of constituting the elected part of the larger chamber of the new legislature of British India.

38. Those of us who take this view observe that the committee's reasons against direct election are of a permanent nature and if accepted offer no promise of a speedy change to healthier methods. They note that the committee are in error in saying that all local Governments advised that elections should be indirect. The Bihar and Orissa Government gave an opinion to the contrary, but in any case those of us who think that every effort must be made to secure direct elections to the Assembly would be prepared to require local Governments to make a further examination of a matter which naturally was not of primary interest to them. They do not think the committee's discussion exhausts the possibilities. The work of the central legislature will require a wider outlook and higher standard of intelligence than can be provided by the large electorate which is proposed for the provincial councils: they see no objection therefore to a substantially higher franchise being adopted for elections to the Assembly than for provincial elections; they think it inevitable that the franchise must be raised if direct elections are ever to be attained for the Assembly, and they would much prefer to take this step at once. Instead of concluding that this would give too much power to the landholders, who according to the committee would also enjoy their separate representation, they would propose first to ascertain what voters would be forthcoming on the new roll in urban and rural areas, and then to decide the details of the constituencies; it might well be that no separate seats for landholders were needed.

39. The majority of us are prepared to accept the committee's

finding. We do so with regret, for we look upon direct elections as the only system that is compatible with true responsibility to the voters. And we do not accept any arguments which would relegate the creation of direct electorate for the Assembly to an indefinite future. We consider that it will be the clear duty of the Government of India to devise such an electorate before the enquiry of the first statutory commission. But for the moment we recognize that the large electorates for the provincial councils could not be polled again for the chambers of the Indian legislature ; and it will take time to work out a separate franchise which will not be too high or very artificial or so diffused as to make canvassing impracticable. We take the committee's proposals therefore as they stand, subject to the criticisms of certain details in the foregoing paragraphs. We agree to an Assembly composed of 80 elected and 40 nominated Members, of whom 26 shall be officials ; and until the first statutory commission reports, we would allow the elected members to be chosen by the non-official members of the provincial legislatures. The nominated members we should apportion as follows :—

<i>Official Members</i>		
Members of the Executive Council	—	7
Secretaries to the Government of India	—	7
Provincial and departmental officials and experts	—	12
		—
		26
<i>Non-official members</i>		
	—	14
		—
Total	—	40

#### Council of State.

40. Turning to the Council of State, the committee have recommended a slight addition to its elected element and consequently to its total strength. In this conclusion we agree, but the main argument that weighs with us is that, unless the original proportion of size is maintained between the two bodies, the Council of State may lack the authority which should attach to it in cases where its opinion is in opposition to the Assembly. We do not give the same weight as the committee have done to the need for nicely adjusting the claims of the provinces and the communities in the Council of State as well as in the lower chamber. They have here departed from the scheme of the Report as regards the special Muhammadan and landholder seats, and have proposed that these also shall be filled by the non-official members of the provincial councils, while Appendix X of the report shows that the elections

are to follow class and communal lines. The proposal is in our view unworkable. It would allow nine Sikh electors to return a member to each chamber; and it would enable six landholder voters in the United Provinces to return a member to the Council of State at each election. We cannot approve of a scheme which yields such results. Our aim should be the representation of all important interests on a broad scale, and we should eschew refinements which really have the effect of destroying it.

41. Nor can we accept the proposals of the committee for the method of election to the Council. Whether direct election for the Assembly is impossible is a question on which as we have said we are not unanimous but we all agree both that direct election to that body is strongly to be preferred, and that if it cannot be attained there is no alternative but to create new constituencies electing directly to the Council of State. To obtain the elected members of both chambers from the same electoral college would reduce the smaller chamber—the Council of State—to a position barely distinguishable from that of a standing grand committee of the Assembly. We are anxious that the Council should partake of the character of a hall of elder statesmen; and for that purpose we should make its membership subject to a high standard of qualification. Having gone so far, we should see no difficulty in advancing a step further and providing for each province an electorate of from 1,000 to 1,500 voters, possessed of the same qualifications as those which we should prescribe for membership of the Council of State, who should be required to elect to that body from among their own number. The details would vary between provinces and it would of course be necessary to consult local Governments upon them. There is ample time before the first elections for these special rolls to be prepared, and we recommend that the inquiry should be to this extent reopened.

**Government's Proposal.**

42. Assuming therefore that the Assembly is enlarged our provisional proposals as regards the Council of State would take the following form :—

Elected by restricted constituencies in:—		
Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab (3 each)	—	15
Bihar and Orissa, Burma and the Central Provinces ( 2 each )	—	6
Assam	—	1
Elected by Chambers of Commerce	—	2
		<hr/>
Total elected members	—	24

Nominated non-official members	—	—	4
Official members—			
Members of the Executive Council	—	—	7
Secretaries to the Government of India	—	—	10
Provincial and departmental officials	—	—	11
			<hr/>
Total Officials	—	—	28
			<hr/>
Grand Total	—	—	56
			<hr/>

In allowing for communal interests, we should reserve for Muhammadans one seat in each of the provinces which have three seats, and one seat alternately in Bihar and Orissa and in the Central Provinces. One of the Punjab seats we should keep for Sikhs.

43. The question remains whether the officials appointed to the Council of State should be approximately the same as those nominated to the Assembly or not. It would not be easy for the provinces to spare a double set of senior officials for the comparatively prolonged sessions of the Indian legislature; nor if the certificate power is freely used would the presence of so many be necessary for the purposes of joint sessions. There are also advantages in having the same officials in touch with the proceedings in both chambers; and although in practice it will mean that the two chambers cannot sit at the same time, we advise that the same officials should as far as possible be members of both.

44. We should the more regret our inability to present you at this stage with a complete scheme, to which local Governments had assented, if we did not feel that it arises from causes wholly beyond our control, and that there is yet an opportunity for further investigation. The extreme difficulty of combining the security of Government in essential matters with the need for greater representation of interests is apparent and calls for no demonstration. The strength of the official element available for the legislative purpose of the central Government is limited; and in the long run, if we are to adhere, as we wish to do, to the fundamental principles of the Reforms Report, it must be the ultimate determining factor in whatever disposition we make. For the rest, our aim should be to give the greatest scope to the representative principle and to make the business of the Indian legislature a reality to the electorate; and the best hope of doing so lies in establishing a system of direct election to both chambers. We recognize that this is at the moment impracticable; but for the upper or senatorial chamber we advise that the attempt be made. It can be done without delay, and there is no reason to fear that it will impede the introduction of reforms.

### Conclusion.

45. We have now to sum up our views upon the committee's report. We think that it will serve the immediate purpose of making clear to Parliament the general scope of the electorate which it will be possible to set up in India ; the play which must be allowed to the principles of communalism and special interests ; and the size and composition of the resulting legislative bodies in the provinces. Whatever changes may be made on points on detail, important as some of these are, will not impair the value of the report from these points of view. At the same time we feel that there are proposals in the report, as for instance those affecting the depressed classes, the non-Brahmins, the Muslim, the landlords, and the division of urban and rural areas that we cannot without further inquiry endorse ; while we desire more investigation into the constitution of the Indian legislature and the method of election for the Council of State. There is time for such inquiry : and our recommendation therefore is that the report with this despatch be published, and the opinions of local Governments and of the public generally be obtained upon them.

46. Our Colleague, Sir Sankaran Nair is of opinion that, in view of Indian political conditions, any invitation of further public criticism in India is to be deprecated. He would, without waiting for further discussion in India, leave to the authorities in England, who will no doubt give such opportunities as they think fit to local governments and representative bodies to make their representations, the decision of all questions, including those affecting the depressed classes, non-Brahmins, etc., on which he has differed from the franchise committee, and the other question, like the composition of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of state, etc., if any, on which the Government of India are unable to endorse the conclusions of the committee without further enquiry. He signs this despatch subject to the minute of dissent already submitted by him.

47. Our Colleague Sir William Vincent has stated his views upon the questions of Muhammadan representation and the Indian legislature in a separate minute of dissent.

CHELMSFORD  
 C. C. MUNRO  
 C. SANKARAN NAIR  
 G. R. LOWNDES  
 W. H. VINCENT  
 J. S. MESTON  
 T. H. HOLLAND  
 R. A. MANT

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# The Functions Report.

The summary of the Report of the Southborough Committee on Division of Functions (10 March '19) is as follows :—

The report is six in sections. The important are No. II, which deals with provincial functions and relations between the provinces and the Government of India, No. III in which the transfer of functions and the powers of the Governor in Council in relation to transferred subjects are discussed, and Nos. IV and V. in which proposals regarding the Public Services and Finance respectively are put forward. Much of the report does not lend itself readily to summary being of a technical and implicated nature but the main proposals can be briefly described.

## Provinces and Imperial Government.

2. Section II.—The committee have prepared two lists showing (i) all-India subjects and (ii) provincial subjects. Among the most important subjects proposed for inclusion in the all-India list are, naval, military and aerial matters, foreign relations and relations with native states, railways (with certain exceptions), communications of military importance, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage, sources of Imperial revenue, law of status, property, civil rights, etc., commerce, shipping and major ports, criminal law, central police organization and railway police, possession and use of arms, central institutions of scientific and industrial research, ecclesiastic administration and all-India services. In the provincial list the most important items are : local self-government, medical administration and education, sanitation, education (with certain exception), provincial buildings, communications other than those of military importance, light and feeder railways in certain cases, irrigation and canals, land revenue administration, agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries, co-operative societies, forests, excise, administration of justice, development of industries, police, prisons and reformatories, control of newspapers and presses, provincial borrowing.

3. The provincial subjects will be divided into reserved and transferred, and it is proposed that the powers of the Government of India in regard to provincial subjects should vary according to this division. The committee recommend that intervention in transferred subjects should be allowed only for two purposes, viz. :—

(1) To safeguard the administration of all-India subjects.



- (2) To decide questions arising between two or more provinces, failing agreement between the provinces concerned.

In respect, however, of certain special subjects they retain a certain power of control in the hands of the Government of India by making the subjects "provincial, subject to Indian legislation." In the case of reserved subjects the committee recognise that no specific restrictions can be imposed on the Government of India's general powers of control, but feel that the control should vary according as the subjects are administered by provincial governments as agents of the Government of India or as provincial functions properly so called. In respect of the former the Government of India's powers of control must remain absolute but in regard to the latter they propose to secure that the Governor General in Council shall exercise his power of control with due regard to the purpose of the new Government of India Act.

4. The general effect of the proposals will be to leave the provinces free to legislate on provincial subjects, reserved and transferred, which are not specially made subject to Indian legislation, except in cases where the proposed Bills affect powers expressly reserved to the Government of India by statute, or amend any provision of certain specified all India Acts, or amend any section of an Act which by the terms of the Act itself is specially protected. They also propose that the Governor shall have power to reserve for the consideration of the Governor-General provincial Bills which appear to him to affect any matter specially committed to his charge, any all-India subject or the interests of any other province, and shall be required similarly to reserve Bills which affect the religion of any class, university Bills shifting boundaries of reserved and transferred subjects, and railway or tramway Bills.

5. Section III.—The committee preface their discussion of the transfer of subjects with a statement of reservations which accompanied the proposals of local Governments. The Madras Government were wholly opposed to any scheme involving dualism, the Governments of Bombay and the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Assam proposed alternative schemes involving no division of functions and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces desired a period of training before the introduction of the Report scheme. The most important subjects proposed for transfer are local self-Government, medical administration and education, sanitation, education (with certain exceptions), provincial buildings, communications other than those of military importance, light and feeder railways and tramways (in certain cases), agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries (except in Asaam), co-operative

societies, forests in Bombay, Excise (except in Assam) subject to certain safeguards, and the development of industries. Mr. Couchman is unable to recommend the transfer of any subject in Madras as he feels that the proposals of the Franchise Committee will result in the return of a large majority of Brahmans, in whose hands the interests of the masses will not be safe.

6. The committee recommend that the Governor should be free to intervene in the administration of transferred subjects.

- (i) in defence of reserved subjects
- (ii) in defence of his special responsibilities under the instrument of instructions.

In cases of the former description if the Governor fails to get departments concerned to agree, he will himself decide the point in issue and will be empowered to call on the minister to resign in cases of necessity. If the case is an emergent one requiring immediate action, the Governor will be able to certify it as such, whereupon the Governor in Council will take action. Rules are suggested for regulating the relations between the two portions of the Government and defining the authority of the Governor. The gist of these is (1) each side is not to interfere unduly with the other, (2) the Governor shall decide which side has jurisdiction when that is in doubt, (3) the Governor shall see that all orders of the Governor-General in Council are carried out, (4) the Governor shall call joint meetings in cases where reserved and transferred departments are concerned and shall decide in cases of disagreement, (5) the Governor in Council can administer a transferred subject in an emergency in the absence of a minister.

7. In defence of his special responsibilities under the instrument of instructions the Governor should have similar powers. Draft clauses defining the Governor's special responsibilities are included in the report: the matters covered by them are the maintenance of peace and tranquillity and prevention of religious and racial conflict, the grant of monopolies or special privileges to private undertakings contrary to the public interests and unfair discrimination in commercial and industrial matters, the protection of the interests of the Anglo-Indian or Domiciled Community and of the public services, and protection of the special educational interests of Muslims, religious institutions, and depressed and backward classes.

#### 8. Section IV.—Public services.

The committee recommend that the public services employed under provincial governments be classified into three divisions, namely, Indian, provincial and subordinate. The chief criterion

will be the appointing authority. The Indian services will be recruited according to methods laid down in statutory orders by the Secretary of State and appointments to these services will be made by the Secretary of State, who will also fix rates of pay, sanction all new appointments, and secure pensions by statutory orders under the new Government of India Bill. The committee recommend that statutory rules should provide that no orders affecting adversely emoluments or pensions shall be passed in regard to officers of all-India services in transferred departments without the concurrence of the Governor. As a special measure of protection in the case of the Indian Medical Service they propose that if the medical department is transferred, statutory orders should provide that the private practice of officers of the Indian Medical Service will be regulated only by the Secretary of State. They further recommend that the Governor should be charged with the protection of the public services and with the duty of seeing that no order affecting adversely the pension or emoluments of any officer are passed before they have been considered by both parts of the government. Appeals against such orders should lie to the Government of India and Secretary of State, and no officer of an all-India service should be liable to dismissal except by order of Secretary of State. Questions of promotion, posting and discipline of officers with duties in both reserved and transferred departments should be treated in the manner explained above in connection with the relations of Governor in Council and ministers.

Provincial Division : Pending legislation which will regulate recruitment, training, discipline, and the general conditions of service of the provincial services, it is proposed that the existing rules should *mutatis mutandis* be binding on ministers as regards transferred departments. In regard to pay, allowances, leave, etc. local Governments will be granted wide powers. In the matter of discipline the main features of the procedure proposed for all India services should apply to existing members of provincial services. In case of future entrants all orders affecting emoluments and pensions, and orders of dismissal, should require the personal concurrence of the Governor.

Subordinate Division : the rights and privileges of present incumbents should be maintained by means of directions to the Governor in Council as regards reserved subjects and instructions to the Governor in respect of transferred subjects. So far as future entrants are concerned the Governor in Council and Governor and ministers must be left to regulate the entire working of the services.

In conclusion, the committee suggest that as far as possible

members of all-India services should be secured in the benefits of the conditions under which they were recruited. The principle that alterations shall not press hardly on members of the services should be formally recognised in the future.

9. Section V.—Finance.

Under this head the most important proposals are :—

(1) that a strong audit system independent of the Governor in Council and ministers be established and that audit reports be laid before provincial legislatures ;

(2) that provincial finance departments should be reserved and that in relation to transferred subjects the duties of the department should be to advise and criticise, final decision resting with the minister subject to assent of the Governor ;

(3) that a list of taxes which local Governments may impose without previous sanction of the Government of India should be included in a schedule to be provided for by rule ;

(4) that provincial Governments should ordinarily borrow through the Government of India, but, subject to approval of that Government as to time and method of borrowing, should be free to borrow in Indian market in certain circumstances ;

(5) that subject to certain simple regulations provincial governments should be left to their own responsibility in the disposal of their balances ;

(6) that a schedule of municipal and local taxation should be prescribed by the Governor-General in Council and previous sanction should only be required in case of tax not included in schedule.

## **GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S VIEWS.**

The Government of India accept generally the lists of all-India and provincial subjects ; changes proposed are for the most part additions to make lists more specific or complete. They also accept general principles for regulation of intervention by the Government of India in provincial subjects, while suggesting some what different procedure in matter of provincial legislation in interests of simplicity. Principal changes in this respect are. (1) to give Government of India right to legislate in provincial matters where uniformity is desirable instead of marking transferred subjects as subject to Indian legislation, and (2) to give the Governor greater freedom in matter of reserving bills by omitting provision for compulsory

reservation. Government of India also agree with committee as to Governments' powers of intervention in transferred subjects though they would very slightly the procedure in emergency cases where minister is unable to accept Governor's decision; they generally approve proposals regarding rules of executive business and instrument of instructions of which a draft is appended to despatch. They regard the list of transferred subjects as generally suitable but are unable to agree to transfer of higher education and development of industries. Their views regarding finance and services have been expressed in an earlier despatch which will be published shortly.

## GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DESPATCH (4th) ON THE FUNCTIONS REPORT.

*Simla, April 16, '19.*

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

"We have the honour to lay before you our views upon the enclosed Report which was presented to us on March 10, 1919" (by the Southborough Committee on Functions).

[The text of this despatch contains 37 pages of Foolscap, beside four appendices covering four pages. It sets forth the general principles on which the division should be effected as well as a more or less detailed scheme based on these principles. The following is a summary of the despatch with extensive extracts from it.]

### THE OFFICIAL SUMMARY.

#### The Functions Committee General Principles.

So far as the general principles are concerned, the Government of India invite attention to the two categories of subjects into which the totality of the functions of the Government are broadly divided in the Reforms report: the Transferred subjects and the reserved subjects. So far as the transferred subjects are concerned the statutory withdrawal of the Government of India's authority from them except on specified grounds must be definitely recognised as exempting them from any responsibility in respect of such matters to the Secretary of State and Parliament. Transferred subjects, in a word, must, they say, henceforth be recognised as resting in the main upon a new source of power—a legislature in India.

As regards reserved, provincial subjects, the position is more difficult. Hitherto the wide general control that the Government of India has, under Sec. 45 of the Government of India Act and under the various financial and other Codes regulating the action of the local Governments through control over expenditure, over local Governments obviated the need for any hard and fast division of powers. In the administration of customs and income tax, for instance, the Local Governments are merely agents of the Government of India. In others, such as police, law and justice, and commercial legislation the Government of India's responsibility for the security and the fulfilment of the financial obligations of India necessarily gave it great powers of supervision and control. The Government of India state that in respect of the agency-subjects it must clearly be in the competence of the principal to vary or even to withdraw the authority delegated to the agent. With regard to all other provincial subjects which are not transferred, while recognising that it is clearly desirable to give the provinces a greater field of action than they have enjoyed in the past, the Government of India fully accept the proposition that an official Provincial Government must remain amenable to the Government of India and the Secretary of State and Parliament in matter in respect of which it is not amenable to its legislature. While unfettered legal supremacy will be retained for the Central Government in these matters, it should, they say, in future be exercised with regard to the question how far the action of the Local Government is in accordance with the wishes of its legislature. The latter will, not they carefully point out, be the determining factor but it will be one factor which will be taken into consideration in matters of control. With regard to the exact proposals regarding division of subjects, the Government of India propose to place an officer on special duty to assist and prepare the legislation needed to give effect to the policy of delegation of control referred to in para 26 of the Committee's report. As regards reservation of subjects, the Government of India state there is no justification for laying the personal responsibility upon the Governor as it would impair the corporate responsibility of the Governor and his Council.

#### **Provincial Legislation.**

As regards Provincial Legislation, the Government of India stick to their proposal in their memorandum of Nov. 20, 1918 in preference to those of the Committee. The suggestions were that the exercise of the central Government's power to intervene in transferred subjects should be specially restricted to the following :—

(1) To safeguard the administration of the Government of India subjects, (2) to secure uniformity of legislation where such legislation is considered desirable in the interests of India or of more than one province, (3) to safeguard the public services, and (4) to decide questions which affect more than one province.

The rejection of the Committee's proposal is justified on grounds of simplicity, but it is clear that the Government of India, while agreeing with the Committee's idea of defining a definite field of All-India Legislation, are not prepared to accept any limitations on their powers of legislation to secure uniformity, efficiency of Criminal law and so on. They take the view that administrative and legislative powers must really reside in the same authority.

As regards the Governor's use of discretion in the matter reserving Bills, the Government of India, to avoid a situation in which they are called upon to prevent by the Governor General's veto, a mistaken policy expressed in provincial legislation which the Governor has already assented, state that the only solution is to embody in the Instruction to the Governor a direction that in considering whether a projected legislation on reserve subjects injuriously effects his responsibility for them, he must pay regard to any general principles laid down for their administration by the Government of India or the Secretary of State. In the absence, moreover, of any form of previous executive sanction, now discarded, the Government of India, in order to secure efficiency in drafting, think that the Secretary to the Council should be charged with the duty of scrutinising to see that the proposed Bill is within the competence of the Council.

#### Division of Subjects.

The Government of India lay great emphasis on three or four matters regarding transferred as well as reserved subjects. In the first place they demand that they must have an unfettered right to obtain at any time such information as they require about the provincial administration without ordinarily contemplating any intervention on transferred subjects. In the second place they require that the right of inspection and giving technical advice now enjoyed by such officers as the Director of Criminal Intelligence, the Director-General of the I. M. S., the Inspector-General of Forests, of Irrigation, and so on must continue to be vested in them. Such officers however would report only in the character of professional consultants and not in that of official superiors. For purposes of

correction and control in the matter of transferred subjects the Government of India, except in extreme cases when they would call the attention of the Governor to the defects disclosed, only rely on the fact of publicity and public criticism. Thirdly they claim control over scientific research, such as that carried on at Pusa, at Dehra Dun, and so on but will not interfere with the development of provincial research in any direction. Lastly, owing to the possibility of overlapping uncertainty or omissions in the enumeration and definition of subjects, they point out the need for an authority to determine on which side of the line a given topic falls. If it is a question between All India and Provincial subjects, such power they say must reside with the Governor-General in council; and with the Governor personally if it is a question between reserved and transferred matters.

#### Some Details.

The Government of India remark that the Committee's All India list appears to them to be generally suitable. They however dissent from the Committee's proposal to increase the voice of the provincial Governments in the construction and working of light and feeder railways within their jurisdiction by the adoption of British Parliamentary procedure. Similarly in the case of power over inland water-ways they oppose the legislative procedure being inconvenient, dilatory, and unsuited to the matter. They prefer to have the existing practice as regards the Railway Police. They postpone the exact division of spheres regarding the purchase of stores, and include among other things the question of food supply and Government servants' conduct rules under the All-India list. They point out for the careful watching and handling of political activities throughout the country, from proceedings covered by the Criminal Law to Passive Resistance, or organised agitation, which may at any moment call for intervention, but think it better not to attempt to gather them up in any definition as an item in the All-India list preferring to treat them under the Committee's item No. 40. While generally agreeing with the Committee's list of provincial subjects they elaborately oppose some of the proposals of the Committee as regards medical administration, education, industries and the control of the services and suggest the retransfer of transferred subjects in case of a dead-lock.



## EXTRACTS FROM THE DESPATCH.

"The Committee would be the last to claim that their enumeration and definition of subject heads has scientific precision; and whatever time and care were to be extended on refining it, the possibility of overlapping, uncertainty or omission must remain. There must therefore in any case be authority to determine on which side of the line a given topic falls. If it is a question between all India and provincial subjects, such power must reside with the Governor General in Council, and with the Governor personally, if it is a question between reserved and transferred matters.

## All India Subjects.

"27. The Committee's all-India list appears to us to be generally suitable; but we desire to suggest certain amendments of varying importance in the list as it stands, and to recommend the addition to it of certain matters which appear to us to be clearly of an all-India nature, and of sufficient importance to justify their inclusion.

"30. *Item 6 (a).*—We agree with the Committee that, though railways are essentially an all-India subject, provincial Governments may well be given a larger voice in the construction and working of light and feeder railways within their jurisdiction. But the specific proposal to adopt the British parliamentary procedure in the case of light and feeder railways does not commend itself to us. Methods that have arisen out of the special conditions in England would not be suitable in India. Legislation is ordinarily unnecessary for the purpose in view and to have recourse to it would be dilatory and expensive. It involves a marked departure from Indian methods of business that a department of the Government of India acting under the orders of that Government should appear as a party to plead its case against the promoters of a private line before a select committee of the provincial legislature with a majority of non-official members. It would still be necessary to reserve control over such projects by means of the veto, and we are opposed to giving an unreal appearance of discretion to the provincial councils. The Railway Board, whose opinion we attach, are opposed to the suggestion. We think that the simpler course will be to confine item 6 (a) of the all-India subjects to .

"Railways and tramways, except (i) tramways within municipal areas, and (ii) light and feeder railways and tramways."

"We should then leave those two exceptions as provincial subjects, the former transferred and the latter reserved, subject to such general principles as the Governor General in Council may prescribe and we should alter *item 5 (d)* of the provincial list accordingly. The legislature of a province would deal with Bills for light and feeder lines in the same way as other legislation: but there should in our opinion be a standing order requiring at least two months notice of a motion for leave to introduce a Bill on this subject, in order that the Railway Board may have an opportunity of advising the local Government regarding it in time.

"37. *Item 28* requires some modification in regard to *Railway Police*. The position of the railway police differs from that of the ordinary civil police in only two important respects. The first difference is that owing to the fact that railway administrations are not co-terminious with provinces it is in many cases convenient to give the railway police of one province jurisdiction over a special section of railway lying within an adjoining province. The second difference is that the cost of the railway police is divided between provincial Governments and the railway administrations. We would deprecate any change in the existing position, and would resist any proposal which has the appearance of placing the organisation and control of the railway police to a greater extent than at present in the hands of the Government of India. All that is required is that the jurisdiction and cost of the railway police should be made an all-India matter. We recommend therefore that the words "so far as jurisdiction and cost are concerned" be added to *item 28*.

"38. We feel that *item 30* as it stands does not fully cover the case of *Medical Research*. The Government of India maintain a bacteriological staff for enquiries connected with public health, and in addition to maintaining a central research institute they also provide part of the staff of some provincial institutions. They further administer the Indian Research Fund. We suggest that the words "Central agency for medical research and" should be inserted at the beginning of the entry.

"39. *Item 33*.—While we agree that *Archæology* should be classed as an all-India subject, we are anxious to consult the Government of Madras before we definitely recommend that the provincial archæological establishment should be taken over by the Government of India. The position of the officers of the provincial department will be affected by this change, and we think it right that the local Government should be given an opportunity

to express their views before a final decision is taken. The committee's remark that the Government of India had suggested that archæology should be classed as an all-India subject is not quite accurate. The suggestion was a departmental one but we think it was right in principle.

45. One notable omission, however, from the all-India and provincial lists is the subject of *Stores*, with which stationary is closely connected. The classification of this subject presents peculiar difficulties. We do not desire to see it made wholly All-Indian, while it is clearly undesirable to make it entirely provincial. Competition between local Governments would undoubtedly tend to raise prices, and provincial stores departments could not afford the same stimulus to industrial development which was in a position to place large orders with single firms and thereby could enable them to compete successfully with foreign producers. Any division of the subject, however, is impossible without detailed investigation. We propose therefore, as recommended in para. 196 of the Industrial Commission's Report, to appoint a Committee as soon as possible to examine the extent to which decentralisation in regard to stores will be possible; and in the meantime we suggest that stores and stationery be added to the all-India list after *item 20*, on the understanding that such measures of decentralisation as are found by the Governor General-in-Council to be advisable will be introduced as soon as possible. Government printing should also find a place in both the all-India and provincial lists, so as to provide for both central and local Government presses.

46. *Food-supply* is another topic requiring notice. Recent experience in India has proved the necessity of making the regulation of food-supply an all-India subject. The point is one which hardly calls for argument; it is sufficient to say that in times of shortage, such as this country is now passing through, it is essential that the Government of India, should be in a position if necessary to centralise control of all food supplies. The same need has been felt in the case of fodder, fuel and other articles. The Central Government is the only authority which can adjudicate upon the competing needs of the various provinces; and we feel strongly that it should be able to regulate inter-provincial trade in them at any time. We propose that such regulation should be definitely recognised as an all-India subject, and that the following item should be added to the all-India list 19-A. "Regulation of food-supply, fodder, fuel, and trade generally between provinces in times of scarcity."

"47. *Pilgrimages* beyond India are clearly a matter which does not come within the sphere of any local Government. The most important is the *Haji*. We would add such pilgrimages as an entry in the all-India list after the existing *item 26*.

48. Government of India records and the Imperial Library are also topics which find no mention. Both are all-India subjects, and should be added as a joint entry 30-A after the existing *item 30*.

"49. Governments of India buildings should also find a place in the all-India list, and may be inserted as *item 39-B*.

"50. Another matter of sufficient importance to be included in the all-India list is the regulation of ceremonial, including titles and orders, precedence and *darbars*, and civil uniforms.

"51. Provision should also be made for the regulation on uniform lines as an all-India subject of the higher language examinations.

"52. The last addition which we desire to make to the all-India list is the *Government servants' conduct rules*. At present the conduct of Government servants is regulated by rules issued by the Governor General-in-Council. It is clear that in the case of the all-India services the Governor-General-in-Council must continue to regulate the conduct of Officers. We feel that it would be very undesirable to have one rule of conduct for the all-India and another for the provincial and subordinate services. The maintenance of the present integrity and high standards of the services is an all-India interest. We consider therefore that the conduct of Government servants generally must be made an all-India subject.

"53. One onerous responsibility of the Government of India during recent years has been the watching and handling of *political* activities throughout the country. These have had the widest possible range, from proceedings which are covered by the Criminal Law to others which lie well within the limits of orderly and constitutional activity. The subject ramifies broadly and includes not merely matters like passive resistance or organised agitation which may at any moment call for intervention, but also organisations which are primarily non-political, such as boy-scouts, civic guards, volunteer *Samitis*, and proceedings like strikes and picketing in the industrial field. We feel that while the Central Government which is ultimately responsible for the peace of India cannot but feel a close interest in such matters, the actual handling of them

must be to a great extent committed to local Governments' hands. We think it better not to attempt to gather them up in any comprehensive definition as an item in the all-India list, but to treat them as sufficiently covered by the Committee's *item 40*.

### PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.

"56. *Item 2*. While we accept the proposal that medical administration should be provincialized, we are strongly of opinion, on grounds that we shall develop later in this despatch, that medical education should be made a reserved subject; and the other matters included in *item 2* will be all transferred, while those composing *item 42* will be reserved. Our attention has been called to the point that the subject of leprosy which would come under medical administration is clearly a matter in which the Indian legislature should have power to legislate for the whole of India. We agree; but we consider that the point is covered by the proposals made in paras 12 and 17 above.

57. Pilgrimages beyond India should be made an all-India subject, and we would like to see pilgrimages within India made a provincial subject.

"58. The question of the powers of control in regard to education which should remain vested in the Government of India is a matter of great difficulty. We shall discuss the question of the treatment of education in connection with the transferred subjects, and here we desire to make only three suggestions. First, we think that after the words "Benares Hindu University" in *item 4 (1)* there should be added the words "and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General in Council." We feel that some such provision is desirable as it is possible that other Universities closely resembling the Benares Hindu University may be constituted in future. Secondly, after "(2) Chiefs' Colleges" we would add "any institutions maintained by the Government of India." Our last comment is contingent on what we say hereafter as to the treatment of higher education and will be disposed of if our views upon that topic are accepted. We feel that the period of five years during which it is proposed to give the Government of India legislative powers with regard to the Calcutta University and the control and organisation of secondary education in Bengal is not sufficient. The changes proposed by the Calcutta University Commission are so far-reaching that a considerable period must necessarily elapse before they can be

brought into effect and a much longer period before their results can be judged. In the event therefore of the transfer of higher education to ministers (a course which as we shall show you we do not advise) we should propose that for the words "for a period" down to the word "operations" the following should be substituted: "up till the time when the recommendations of the first statutory commission are carried into effect."

"61. The treatment of land revenue administration (*item 7*) is of special importance. We are prepared to agree to the entries proposed by the Committee under this head, but the land revenue administration is so vital to the welfare of the whole country that the Governor General in Council must continue to regulate it by general principles which like others of the kind the Governor would be required to take into account in dealing with proposals for legislation. We have referred to this matter at greater length above. The disposal of crown lands and alienation of land revenue are subject which must continue to be a special concern of the Government of India and in regard to which such general principles would necessarily be laid down for the guidance of local Governments. After *item 7* we would insert a new *item 7-A*. "Management of State Properties."

"63. *Item 14*.—The procedure proposed by the Committee for the *acquisition of land for industrial purposes* would be a new departure so far as India is concerned; and we cannot recommend it. We think that the procedure by private Bills, far from facilitating the development of industry, would positively impede it. It would involve expense and delay and the risk of improper influences. Moreover in cases where the Government of India themselves desired to promote an Industry, it would be to the same open objection as the proposal already discussed in para. 30. Nevertheless we recognise that our present law is not sufficiently liberal. We propose forthwith to examine the practicability of amending it by specifically extending its scope to cover applications on behalf of industrial enterprises accompanied by safeguards such as those proposed by the Industrial Commission and by bringing such applications under the cognizance of the legislature.

"64. *Item 16* would give the provincial legislatures power to alter without previous sanction the *jurisdiction of the Civil Courts*. Changes may possibly be made which will re-act not merely on the public but on the High Courts and the Privy Council, but we are prepared to face this contingency. We think that in addition to

matters relating to the constitution of High Courts, matters relating to the constitution of the Chief Courts and the Courts of Judicial Commissioners should be excluded. The definition of the item as a whole seems capable of improvement and we suggest the following redraft:—

“*The administration of justice, including the constitution, organisation and powers of courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction within the province, other than a High Court, a Chief Court or the Court of a Judicial Commissioner, but subject to Indian legislation as regard courts of criminal jurisdiction.*”

“65. We have some difficulty in accepting *items 19* and *22* as they stand. The revision of the law in regard both to court fees and to religious and charitable endowments is at present under the consideration of the Government of India. A Bill relating to religious and charitable endowments has been approved by your predecessor and but for the war would have been introduced in the Indian legislature. We are anxious that the legislation on both these subjects should be passed before the reforms take effect, and shall make every effort to ensure this. We recommend therefore that, for the present, *item 19* be made provincial “subject to Indian legislation,” which involves the omission from the definition of all words after “legislation,” and that *item 22* stand as at present on the understanding that the forthcoming Indian Act upon the subject will be secured from alteration by rules under our proposed Section 79 (3) (i).

“66. The inclusion of the subject “development of industries” (by which we mean, and obviously the Committee meant, manufacturing industries) in the provincial list alone would have the effect of debarring the Government of India from undertaking the direct development of any industry. This is a position which we cannot accept. The subject of industries is of great importance and we reserve our discussion of it as a whole until we come to deal with the transferred subjects. But to anticipate for a moment the conclusions to which our examination of the question has led us, we propose that the development of industries should come within the sphere of both the central and the provincial Governments. In the all-India list we would add the following entry after *item 22*.—

No. 22-A. The development of industries including industrial research.

See No. 24:—Provincial. The fact that the development of any industry or any industrial research is being taken up by the

Government of India will not prevent local Governments from also taking it up, and in the provincial list we would alter *item 24* as follows :—

Development of industries including industrial research.

*Vide* all-India list no. 22-A.

"67. From *item 26* we would omit all the words after "articles." There is no need to give provincial Governments any power of regulating either the export from or import into India of adulterated articles in which behalf the customs legislation of the central Government affords all necessary powers.

"71. In respect of *item 31*, the only comments which we have to make concern the subjects of *poisons* and *cinematographs*. The import of poisons should, we consider, be subject to Indian legislation. We have recently passed an Act which provides for the certification of films and are only awaiting the views of local Governments on certain points of detail to bring it into operation. This certification will not, and without great inconvenience to the trade could not, be placed upon a provincial basis. It must, we think, be regulated by the central Government, and we propose therefore that at the end of *item 31 (f)* there should be added the words "subject to Indian legislation in regard to certification."

"76. *Item 41* relates to the questions of *franchises* and *elections*. In our next despatch we shall ask you to decide whether the franchises settled by rules under the Government of India Act are to be regarded as open to revision at the wish of the various parties, or as fixed for the period previous to the first statutory commission. In the latter case the item should disappear. In the former case the reference to Indian legislation should go out, in as much as it is not the intention that the Indian legislature or the provincial legislatures should have power to alter rules made by the Secretary of State-in-Council and laid before Parliament.

"77. The reference to Indian legislation in *item 43* appears to us to be too wide in scope. Our view is that the all-India services should be regulated by legislation in Parliament. We consider that these services are entitled to have their conditions settled beyond the possibility of alteration by any authority in India. Within the fundamental limits so prescribed the control of the all-India services is already an all-India subject, which arrangement will of course not preclude the local Governments from determining the day-to-day administration of such



services as are under their orders. The case is an excellent example of the thinness of the dividing line between reserved and some all-India subjects, but inasmuch as the scheme requires that the item should figure on one side of the line, we have no doubt on which side it should remain. *Item 43* should accordingly read "Control of the public services other than the all-India services, serving within the province subject to Indian legislation."

#### Transfer of Subjects.

"82. At the outset of their proposals for the transfer of subjects the Committee, in fulfilment of a pledge given by the Government of India to the Government of Madras, record the formal objections taken by that Government to any proposals involving a division of functions. They note also the reservations or qualifications with which the Government of Bombay and the Punjab and the Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and Assam placed proposals for those provinces before them. *Our despatch of March 5* explains that before concluding in favour of the scheme of provincial government proposed in the Report, we carefully weighed the objections taken to the division of functions by certain local Governments; and on the present occasion we may be content therefore merely to draw your attention to these dissents. In paras. 45 to 47 of their report the Committee go on to deal with particular items in the transferred list. We shall reserve our remarks upon these for subsequent paragraphs.

"83. Para 48 of the report discusses certain matters which, as the Committee say, cannot themselves be either reserved or transferred. As regards the first two of these, *viz.*, the services and the provision and distribution of financial supply, we shall explain our views in dealing with sections IV and V of the report. As we have said we do not clearly understand the purport of item (3) relating to the imposition of punishments and do not think it necessary to preserve the item in the provincial list. Item (4) relates to any matters which, though included within an all-India subject, may be declared by the Governor General-in-Council to be of a purely local or private nature within the province. We have no objection to such a provision although no good illustration readily occurs to us. We think it likely that any given case would be sufficiently cognate either to some reserved or transferred subjects to leave little doubt as to the category into which it should fall, and the Governor's intervention under para. 239 of the Report should be necessary only in the event of a difference of opinion which ordinarily need not arise.

## Powers of the Governor.

"86. In section III, Part 2, of the report the Committee discuss the powers of control in transferred subjects to be exercised by the Governor-in-Council or by the Governor and the conclusions which they have reached do not seriously differ from our own, as intimated to you in our despatch of March 5. The Committee support our conclusion that the Governor-in-Council cannot with advantage be brought directly into the administration of transferred departments. We entirely agree with the Committee that a double responsibility will rest upon the Governor, the proper discharge of which will require that he should have power to intervene in transferred subjects on either of two grounds—

(i) for protection of the reserved subjects, and

(ii) for the protection of the special responsibilities, unconnected with any particular subject, which are laid upon him by his instrument of instructions.

This conclusion was anticipated in the remark in para. 83 of our first despatch that "under his instrument of instructions the Governor will have certain peculiar responsibilities which are not identified with the reserved subjects." In either case the Governor will be discharging a duty which he owes to the ultimate authority of Parliament and it must be open to the Government of India in the exercise of their responsibility to Parliament to direct and control him in such cases.

"87. To provide for the former case the Committee (para. 60) sketch out a procedure which is in general accord with the proposals in paras. 102 and 104 of our first despatch. In para. 60 (8) they go rather further than we had proposed in the direction of empowering the Governor to take emergency action during an interregnum between two ministers; and in such an event we consider that it should be the Governor himself, and not the official half of the local Government, which should take charge of the ownerless portfolio. On the other hand, they omit to carry matters to the ultimate test by providing for the possible retransfer of a transferred subject in order to end insoluble disagreement between a Governor and his ministers. We regard the proposal made in para. 102 of our despatch as affording the only answer to the inevitable problem which presents itself during the period of transition, that is to say the problem of what is to happen if ministers and legislature are bent upon a course of action to which the Governor, guided by his

instrument of instructions and acting under such directions as he may receive from superior authority, feels it impossible to assent. To our mind this is the *ultimate test of dyarchy*; and the cardinal assumption, made in para. 12 of our first despatch, that the authority of Parliament must remain paramount over both halves of Government, forbids us to answer it except by providing for a possible retransfer.

In reserved subjects the orders of the Government of India should be addressed to the Governor in Council. As regards sub-clause (2) (c) we think that it should be for the Governor, as we have just observed, to decide any doubtful question of jurisdiction; but that once the jurisdiction has been decided the substantive decision should not be that of the Governor in person but either that of the Governor in Council or that of the Governor and ministers, subject in the one case to the Governor's powers under section 50 of the Act and in the other to his power of overruling his ministers. We hope, however, shortly to present to you a draft of the rules which we suggest for regulating the procedure in all these cases.

89. We come now to the important matter of the *instructions to the Governor*. At the outset we wish to make it clear that we regard these as the appropriate means of affording the Governor guidance in the comparatively delicate matter of his relations with ministers. They measure the extent to which the ministerial portion of the Government is to be regarded as still coming short of a purely constitutional position. They are the means by which the discretion of the ministers and legislatures is still to be regarded in some respects as tempered by the need for securing that the wishes of Parliament in vital matters are not disregarded, but they are inappropriate for regulating the attitude of the Governor in Council, who, inasmuch as he cannot properly receive instructions from the legislature, must remain amenable, if necessary in the least particular, to superior authority.

#### Transferred List.

We consider that the list regarded as a whole is a good one and calls for comparatively little criticism, but there are a few matters of the first importance in regard to the treatment of which we find ourselves in disagreement with the committee, and some others of lesser moment on which we desire to offer comments.

92. Item 2.—We assent to the transfer of medical administration with the exception of medical schools and colleges which, for the reasons given in para. 107 below, we think should be treated as a reserved subject, and brought into close relation with the Committee's item 42 in their provincial list.

#### Education.

93. The Committee's attitude towards the very difficult question of education (item 4) is succinctly indicated in para. 45 (1) of their report. They received various suggestions for the division of the subject of education but came to the conclusion that any partition was unsound and unworkable: and they have contented themselves therefore with leaving European education as a reserved subject and transferring all the rest including university, technical and secondary education to the control of ministers. They propose, however, to exclude the Hindu university at Benares and also Chiefs' colleges, which by this means become an all-India subject (item 39 of the all-India list) and they advise that new universities, the extra-provincial jurisdiction of universities, and in the case of Bengal and for a period of five years only the Calcutta University, and also secondary education generally should be subject to Indian legislation. They add that legislation regulating the constitution and functions of a university should be subject to compulsory reservation by the Governor. Such discriminating treatment of the subject, which leaves it partly all-Indian, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitation, and partly transferred without limitation, shows that the Committee realized the great risks involved in transferring higher education entirely to the control of ministers at this critical stage in its history.

94. The opinion of Local Governments is much divided. The Bengal Government desire to reserve collegiate and European education: the United Provinces Government holds that education is best treated as a whole and is prepared to transfer it, but the official committee which advised the Lieutenant-Governor were divided in opinion. The Punjab Government recognises the dangers, thinks that education best fulfils the canons laid down in the Report for transfer, and reserves its opinion as regards higher education. The Government of Bihar and Orissa are strongly opposed to the transfer at present of secondary, technical and collegiate education. The Chief Commissioner of Assam opposes the transfer of collegiate education. The Government of Madras would reserve education and the Government of Bombay would

transfer it. In these circumstances we feel that a heavy responsibility lies upon us. We are bound to look at the matter from the broadest point of view. From the outset the reform and extension of education has been recognized as an integral part of the process of political advance. In November 1916 we wrote :—

“The first of these obstacles is ignorance.....Great efforts have been made of recent years to extend education, but the wide diffusion that we seek is still a long way off. Even more pressing is the question of its improvement..... In our judgment the system of education in this country requires the most patient reconstruction..... In the present circumstances the main efforts both of Government and of the public can most wisely be directed to securing a standard of higher education that shall be comparable to that enjoyed by other nations and in other parts of the Empire ..... The removal of ignorance, we added, was to be attained only by giving the boys and girls of India “an education that has fitted them for the walks of life in which their lot is cast.” Only by its gradual removal could “the progress towards the creation of an enlightened and self-governing people ever be achieved.”

Your own view was that

“To progressive improvement in the quality of higher education and to greater diffusion of elementary education we must largely look for the means to overcome the obstacles to political progress presented by religious and social intolerance and by inexperience in public affairs. But I would add that in other countries political opportunity has often proved the cause and not the result of the dissipation of ignorance, and that education alone divorced from political opportunity will not inculcate a sense of political responsibility. What is wanted in the India of to-day, as your proposals show that you rightly apprehend, is that the two should go hand in hand.”

95. The Report on Reforms recognizes the ignorance of the people as a grave obstacle to political advance. It observes that the progress of political education must be impeded by the backwardness of general education. It looks to popular government to promote the spread of education and it contemplates that the direction of Indian education shall be increasingly transferred to Indian hands. At the same time it proposes that the first statutory commission shall examine the development of education among the people and it clearly regards education both as essential to further political advance and as one of the chief tests by which the work of the new

popular governments will be judged. With all this we cordially agree. Believing earnestly as we do that political enlightenment and wise education cannot be divorced, we cannot rate too highly our responsibility for the latter. The task is one which we must certainly share with the new popular governments. The complexity of the present system and its results, to both of which we shall allude in detail later, convince us that its development and improvement are far too heavy a burden for ministers alone to bear; and the main issue in our judgment is how we can best divide it. The view has been suggested to us that, inasmuch as it will be from the vernacular schools that we shall draw the mass of the intelligent voters of the future, it is our duty to concentrate upon vernacular education, and to leave English education as a subject in which they will be more interested to ministers. Against this view is the consideration that English education does not so much require stimulation as skilled guidance, improvement and adaptation, in the light of western experience, to the general development of the country; while it is upon the spread of vernacular education, slow and laborious in the past, that the energies of political leaders can be employed with the greatest hope of rapid success. The matter however is not one for speculative argument, but for decision on the basis of the results of our educational work in the past, and its present arrangement. After a survey of these which in view of the gravity of the issues we make no apology for placing before you in detail, we propose to examine the arguments for and against transfer of either the whole or a definite part of our educational system and then to make our own recommendations.

96. We may best describe existing arrangements in the words of our own Educational Commissioner :—

“ The control of primary education rests with the local Government and local bodies, in different proportion in the different provinces. Government maintains a few schools, local bodies a large number, and sometimes the Government, sometimes the local bodies aid a very large number of privately managed institutions. The curricula are fixed by the local Governments, though in our circular letter to local Governments, dated the 19th September 1916, it was stated that local bodies should have some choice in fixing curricula. The inspecting staff are Government officers, partly under the Director, partly under the district officer and in certain matters bound to carry out orders of the board (this arrangement sounds complicated but in practice works smoothly.) The schools are financed by Government and by the local bodies. The latter pay

for their own schools and sometimes, though not always, disburse the grants to aided schools. But in some provinces Government aids privately managed schools. Fifty per cent. of the money classed as local and municipal funds in reality represents contributions made by the local Governments. As regards appointments in board schools, these are generally made by the boards, subject to certain rules governing qualifications, leave, pay, etc. But in the Bombay Presidency the board schools are treated almost as Government schools.

Middle education is of two kinds—middle vernacular, which is often classed as primary and similarly dealt with and financed; middle English or Anglo-vernacular, which properly forms a section of secondary education and ought to be treated as such. The proper division, in fact, would be primary and middle vernacular education, and secondary, including Anglo-vernacular middle education.

Secondary institutions are managed partly by Government, partly by local bodies, but mainly by private bodies. The curricula are determined partly by the local Governments and partly by the universities. Inspection, distribution of grants, etc., are made by the local Governments. Appointments in Government schools are made by Government, in aided and non-aided schools by the managing bodies. The management and subsidy of Anglo-vernacular secondary schools by local bodies were deprecated by the Decentralization Commission and by the Government of India. Sometimes, however, as *e. g.*, in the Central Provinces, municipalities do manage secondary schools. The total number throughout India so managed is however, small. One does not desire to see any extension of the system, since it is desirable that local bodies should confine themselves to vernacular education.

Collegiate institutions are managed partly by the Government, to a small extent by the university, and to a very large extent by private bodies. Their control is divided between local Governments (the Government of India is the local Government in the case of the Calcutta University) and the universities. The universities prescribe the curricula and examinations, local Governments give grants and finally decide cases of affiliation, and hitherto the Government of India have legislated. Here also local bodies manage a few institutions, but their number is only six."

97. Apart from political changes, however, certain changes have been proposed in respect of higher education. Though their report is not yet formally before us we understand that Dr. Sadler's

Commission will recommend that the Bengal universities should in matters of educational administration and policy be made much more independent of the local Government, but should come under the Government of India in respect of legislation, visitation, co-ordination, the encouragement of research and help in recruitment. They intend that the Government of India should make grants to the universities ; but otherwise (except for the Government's legislative powers) the enforcement of the desired standards will be left mainly to the university's conscience and to public opinion. The commission think that on their technical side universities should be mainly self governing bodies. Financial and administrative business is mainly assigned to one managing body ; educational business to another ; but close contact between the university and public opinion is to be secured by the establishment of a large and respective court, whose sanction will be required for any change in the university status and for any substantial expenditure. For the control of high schools and intermediate colleges a novel arrangement is proposed ; the commission suggest that they should be regulated by a board which is to be partly advisory and partly executive, which will include representatives of the universities, agricultures, commerce and industry, medicine and education, presumably nominated. This board, they think should enjoy freedom to act upon its own responsibility in framing and enforcing the regulations which it may find necessary for the welfare of secondary and intermediate education, and must be ultimately responsible to the Government and, in the event of final disagreement between it and Government, the will of the latter must prevail. The commission regard the chances of such a disagreement as extremely remote and suggest that when it occurs, special means should be taken to mark the gravity of the situation. The local Government should have power to call upon the board to resign ; but if this step is taken, papers showing the points of disagreement and the reasons for Government's action should be laid before the provincial legislature.

98. The second factor in our decision must be the results of our educational work in the past, and the reasons for the acknowledged defects in it. So far as primary education is concerned, the chief defects are well-known. It is very limited in quantity ; there is great wastage by the way ; teachers are ill paid, poor in quality and commanding little respect ; the inspection is insufficient and indifferent ; as a result the course takes too long and yields but small results ; and very little of the knowledge attained remains in after life. The conservatism of the rural classes and the defects of



the system have in fact reacted on each other. The people need to be awakened to the value of education in making lads better farmers instead of merely spoiling them for a rural life; and the system needs to be improved by more schools, better trained teachers, better courses and better inspection, all of which means not merely money but wise outlay of it.

99. Middle education is really two-fold and comprises both middle vernacular and anglo-vernacular. The first is associated with primary; mainly by the fact that it also is conducted in the vernacular and managed by local bodies. It is far more highly organised, is mostly concentrated in towns or villages of some size, and is in the hands of better trained teachers: it attracts more promising boys and it does train their intelligence and give them a fair equipment of knowledge for the careers before them (teaching, vernacular clerkships, posts as karindas and the like). The best boys go on to English schools. Middle vernacular education, though nominally managed by local or private bodies, is to a greater extent than primary education under the supervision of the department. With the anglo vernacular schools the case is otherwise. Here the main complaints are that owing to the commercial value of English that language is often taught too early, and taught badly by teachers who know it indifferently themselves; that (though in this respect matters have been improved) it is occasionally made the medium of instruction too soon, with the result that boys cannot take in the meaning of what they learn and are overtaxed in attempting to do so and that memorising without understanding too often is the chief result. The boys are ill-prepared to go on to a high-school and have not acquired any knowledge for any other career. At the same time there is a great demand for cheap English education; and in many parts of the country private schools are numerous, crowded and poorly equipped. Middle vernacular education marks the final stages of instruction for certain classes of the people while the anglo-vernacular school is merely the first stage of higher or English education.

100. The accepted policy as regards high schools has been to leave their management largely in private hands. Government has maintained a certain number of high schools as models; and in some provinces it exercises control over curricula by a school-leaving examination. More generally the university recognises schools for the purpose of presenting pupils for matriculation, and regulates by means of matriculation the courses of highest classes. The condi-

tion of secondary education can best be presented in an extract from the last quinquennial review :—

“In the first place the apparently inexhaustible demand for secondary education combined with the difficulty of meeting it in an adequate manner, tends to swamp the effects of reform. Existing schools are improved ; but new ones spring up, lowering the average of attainment and undermining discipline. One of the Bengal inspectors, speaking of Calcutta, says that owing to the demand for any education, however bad, proprietors are able to manage their schools at the lowest limit of inefficiency without fear of loss of boys. The most necessary ingredients of education, such as discipline, social life, good physical conditions and a reasonable standard of class-work, are not demanded and therefore not supplied. Boys are able to bargain with school managers for concession rates of fees, permission to accumulate arrears and certainty of promotion. Madras report says that schools up to or over 1,000 pupils are not uncommon, with each form and class divided into several sections, and that in such schools it is found that organisation, supervision and efficiency are sacrificed on the alter of fee-income. The effect of all this upon discipline and efficiency of teaching is noted in some of the reports. The school often depends upon the good will of parents and pupils, and, where public opinion is weak and uninformed and parents are only too ready to listen to the complaints of their children, the schoolboy becomes the master of his teachers. Faults are condoned and promotion from class to class is demanded under threat of withdrawal. Unwise promotion, says Mr. Mayhew, accentuates the results of defective instruction, hampers the progress of each class by the dragging weight of inefficient, and eventually clogs the matriculation class with an increasing number of hopeless cases.

“In the second place there is still in some provinces the numbering influence of the matriculation. This affects the school in several ways. The majority of schools in such provinces still, as Mr. Hornell remarked in an earlier report, acknowledge no law and submit to no supervision or guidance other than that which the matriculation imposes on them. It is impossible that a syndicate sitting in Calcutta should control 789 schools distributed over an area of 78,699 square miles. Rules become relaxed, orders are evaded, and the influence of the inspecting staff is weakened. Again, these effects are produced which have already been observed in connection with the curriculum and the method of treating it, which is inevitably adopted when the sole end in view is the passing of a

maximum number of pupils through an external examination. Nor is it only the curriculum which is narrowed. Scant attention is paid to those activities which ought to form so important a part of the pupil's environment. At a time of life when action is natural and essential to well-being the boy is forced into sedentary application to a course which often makes little appeal to him and in mastering which he receives but little assistance, while his chief recreation is frequently the perusal of highly spiced newspapers."

101. There are 129 English arts colleges of which 94 are privately managed, 10 of these being aided. During the last five years students increased by 59 per cent.; and of the total number more than one-third are Brahmanas. The average cost per student is under Rs. 150 a year. Some unaided colleges are far cheaper. There is a tendency for the charges to fall. There is no denying that the majority of colleges are totally understaffed and that this reacts on the life and teaching. The quinquennial report sums up matters thus:—

"The feature of the quinquennium has been the great expansion in numbers. Improvements have been effected; but these are too often nullified by the necessity of making hurried arrangements for the accomodation of additional students. The number of students per instructor is decreasing. The poor attainments of student's coming from the secondary schools hamper the work of professors. Science teaching, conducted to a considerable extent in laboratories, has improved in quality. In other subjects the lecture holds the field and systematic tuition and guidance are often lacking.

Five years earlier, in spite of much that was encouraging, the complaint was—

"The weak point in the system remains the striking inequality in the efficiency of different colleges—not so much in examination results, but in the conditions of study, residence and recreation and all those things that go to make up truly collegiate life."

102. A few statistics may be given to complete the picture. The last published returns show that, taking public and private institutions together, we have 195 colleges in British India with 59,000 students. There are over 10,000 secondary schools, with 1½ million pupils, and 177,000 schools with nearly 6½ million pupils. It is now for us to advise which part, if not the whole, of this great and growing field of administration should be transferred to ministers. Before we state our conclusions it will be convenient to explain the exact meaning which is attached in the following para-

graphs to the expression "primary" and "secondary" in relation to schools or education. We use the words, for the sake of brevity, in a compendious sense; the former including middle vernacular and the latter middle English or anglo-vernacular. But the distinction, which we draw is not between vernacular and English. It is between types of schools and the purposes of their work. By primary schools we mean schools which cater for the masses of the people, and in which the great bulk of the pupils are not intended to go further than a middle test of some sort. In such schools the teaching is naturally in the local vernacular. There is a tendency, more pronounced in some parts of India than in others, to add instruction in English; but this does not alter the self-contained character of the schools, or their purpose, which is to prepare the pupils for the ordinary avocations of their own class of life and not for higher education or professional pursuits. By secondary schools, on the other hand, we mean those which aim at an English education as the passport to the university or to skilled clerical or technical employment. Schools of this type may include primary sections, in order that their courses may be continuous; but this does not detract from their character or well-recognised purpose.

103. On a review of all the circumstances, we consider that there is a compelling case for the transfer of primary education. It is that part of the field which will give the fullest and freest play to responsibility at once: it will be most responsive to patriotic effort: and it will be the nursery for the broad and enlightened electorate on which the future depends. The labour of bringing primary education up to a reasonable standard, the need for almost unlimited development to difficulties of gradually making it free and then compulsory—these and its many other problems constitute a task which will be enough, and more than enough, to occupy all the energy and ingenuity of ministers for years to come. Heavy though the task is, in estimating its chances of success we are in general agreement with the report of a committee which considered the question in 1917:—

"At first sight this abandonment of control, by the central or provincial Government, of a department so vitally fundamental to a national scheme of education, would appear to be fraught with grave dangers. Nor are these wholly illusory. It is quite possible, even probable, that at first efficiency will be sacrificed to other considerations and that the popularly elected body will vote money for the less essential objects and neglect the provision for training and inspection. But unless an opportunity for mistakes is given, nothing

will be learned. Experience will, we believe, beget greater wisdom, and that in no long time. Once it is realized that education is the business of the people, then the people will see to it that their elected representatives procure them efficient teachers in their schools. Again, it is only thus that education can become really national, and if the demand arises as we believe it will arise, an elected council of this kind will be able to raise money for education from sources that never could be tapped by a Government of the existing official type."

104. We may say at once that to our minds there is an equally compelling case for retaining secondary and university education in the hands of the official and more experienced half of the provincial Governments. India stands to-day in a critical position; and her immediate future, apart from her slower political growth, depends upon the solution of social, economic, and industrial problems to which a good system of secondary education is the chief key. If we handed it over at this juncture to untried hands we should be guilty of grave dereliction of duty. We attach, as Appendix III to this despatch, three opinions upon this question which we regard as worthy of the fullest consideration; the first is from an experienced non-official Indian educationist who writes with first-hand knowledge, though we regard the second sentence of his opinion as too sweeping; the second is the opinion of two officials with special knowledge of educational administration, one of them being an Indian; the third is from the pen of a recent Vice-Chancellor of an Indian university. We cannot question the general accuracy of the picture which is here presented, or the conclusions which are based upon it; nor can we avoid the proposition that the time has not come when such important issues as progress and reform in higher education can be committed to the ordinary machinery of the provincial legislatures.

#### Doctrine of Impartibility of Education Criticised.

105. The committee have taken a different line. In their recommendation that education as a whole should be handed over to ministers, they have been swayed by one main consideration [para 45 (1) of their report], the belief that education is impartible. They have concluded that a line of division cannot be drawn through it without raising difficult questions and producing serious administrative complications. For the theory of indivisibility they rely on a statement by Mr. Hornell (Dir. Ed., Bengal) that "the

existing educational system of India is an organic whole," "which it is impossible to modify by compartments." This assertion we believe to be too sweeping. Theoretically it is true that the business of education, like the business of government, is one connected whole and must be inspired by one common purpose. But in practice the argument can be pressed too far. University and secondary education must remain in the closest association, as all our experience and enquiry show; but the bond between secondary and primary education is far more elastic. Between these two indeed there is already in existence a clear line of demarcation, resting on differences of finance and controlling agency, and emphasised by differences in the type of school and—what is more important—in the type and age of the pupils. No difficulty is experienced by those provinces where the policy is thoroughly pursued in keeping the control of primary schools under local bodies and the control of secondary schools under the provincial government and the university and we do not know what are the "serious administrative complications" inherent in such a division which seem to have been pressed upon the committee. Our hope indeed is to make the division still sharper. We have long felt that primary education as a system requires for its satisfactory expansion a directorate and an inspecting organisation of its own and not merely a share in a staff which is occupied with higher education as well. With this reference we should couple the provision within the primary organisation of institutions for training all grades of primary teachers; and we should thus get rid of the apprehension that the independence of the primary system would be impaired by its having to go to the secondary system for some at least of its school-masters. We cannot thus regard the theory of the impartibility of education as a practical obstacle to dividing the control of primary from the control of secondary and university education, so long as there is good administrative reason for doing so.

106. An argument which probably weighed with the committee, for it has often been urged on us, is the keen desire of many Indian publicists to obtain control of higher education. They do not regard official management as having been a conspicuous success; and even those who do not misunderstand our motives consider that we have been too cautious in its development, too ready to sacrifice quantity to quality. They argue also that Ministers will gain experience in the control of higher education by their mistakes, that mistakes will not be irremediable, that changes for better or worse will be easily ascertainable, and that if political progress is to depend on education it is only fair that the whole subject should be trans-

ferred and the power of developing it placed in the hands of those who are most interested in the consequences. The argument indeed is pushed even further; we are told that Indian opinion is so strongly set upon the entire control of education that to withhold any part of it will imperil the harmony and good will with which we hope that the new regime will start. We cannot accept this extreme presentation of the case. We do not deny the general desire of progressive Indians to assume complete responsibility for education, or the disappointment that many will feel if this is not conceded. But there are minority interests which view the prospect of transfer with grave apprehension and have opposed it with all their strength. In any case the future welfare of India is too closely bound up with this decision to allow of sentiment overruling the obvious practical considerations. In particular we would demur to the free application, in the matter of higher education, of the doctrine that the mistakes of inexperience are of little account and can easily be corrected.

#### Concrete Instances.

107. The practical considerations to which we appeal have been touched upon above. We could supplement them by many concrete instances of the unhappy consequences of entrusting higher education too confidently to private enterprise. We have seen what has happened already in provinces where high school and collegiate education has been allowed to pass largely into non-official control. The worst developments of such a system are described in the Bengal district administration and the Rowlatt reports. We have recently watched the deterioration of a fine private college in Northern India under political influences. If further reasons were needed to reinforce our view we should derive them from the present condition of scientific and technical knowledge in India. It is admitted that one of the greatest needs of the country is industrial development and wider openings for her young men in the scientific and technical professions. It is accepted that the public services must be recruited in future to a greater extent in this country. At the same time it is recognised that the possibility of these developments without a deterioration in standards lies to a very great extent in improving and extending the facilities in India for higher learning, particularly on the technical side. We cannot in the face of these plain requirements assent to a proposal to place the control of the legal, medical, engineering, technical and industrial colleges or schools of India in inexperienced hands. After the maintenance

of law and order there is no matter for which the responsibility of the British Government is heavier.

### Effect of Past Educational Policy.

108. Before leaving this subject we may revert to the argument that our educational policy has not been a success in the past. That it has at times been lacking in foresight and perspective we do not deny. During the lean years education received only such funds as were available after more imperious needs had been satisfied. Too large a proportion of the money that was forth coming was devoted to higher education. In making the distribution which they did, our predecessors perhaps yielded too easily to the wishes of the only classes which were in a position to press their views, and took too little account of the need of building up a sound and well-proportioned system adapted to the economic and political needs of the country as a whole. In particular they were content to let higher education pass more and more under non-official control. For the course which they took we do not doubt that they had reasons which seemed to them good and we have no desire now to allocate blame. We admit the errors of the past and we ask for time to repair them: their reparation is perhaps the most urgent task before us, if constitutional changes are to bring to India the happiness which we hope. For these reasons we accept the Committee's proposals to transfer primary education, and we strongly dissent from their proposal to transfer secondary, collegiate and technical (including medical and engineering) education. Reformatory schools should in our opinion be treated as a portion of industrial education.

113. *Item 8.*—The Committees support their proposal to transfer fisheries by the argument that the subject should not be separated from the cognate subjects of industrial development and co-operative credit. If, however, our proposals in para. 120 below are accepted, industrial development will be a reserved subject and the argument ceases to have weight. We incline ourselves to the view that fisheries are as closely connected with agriculture as with any other subject, and we agree that agriculture (*item 6*) should be transferred. We see no particular reason why fisheries should be treated in the same way in all provinces, but on the other hand we can find no strong reason for reserving fisheries in Madras, if agriculture is transferred. On the whole, we are prepared to accept the Committee's proposal.



114. *Item 10.*—Bombay is the only province in which the transfer of forests is tentatively advocated by the Committee. Their suggestion is strongly opposed by the Inspector General of Forests, who fears that inexpert management may result in the destruction of valuable commercial assets. He urges that if it is thought necessary for political reasons to embark on what he regards as a dangerous experiment, its scope should be confined to the comparatively restricted forest areas of the Central Circle. We realise the force of the Inspector General's arguments, but on the whole are prepared to accept the Committee's suggestion as it has the Bombay Government's support. We have no objection to the transfer of forests which serve particular villages or groups of villages to local bodies subject to schemes of management to be approved by the Governor in Council. The question of the powers of the Inspector General and of the control of senior appointments in the provinces will require further consideration.

115. *Item 11.*—The chief difficulties in regard to the transfer of excise have been noticed by the Committee. We approve the safeguards provided to protect the interests of the Government of India as both necessary and sufficient. The question of the staff in Bombay and Madras will receive our careful consideration when the time comes. Difficulties are likely to occur with a staff which will be under ministers in respect of their excise duties and ultimately under the Government of India in so far as their work is concerned with salt. The only satisfactory solution may be a complete separation of the staff of the two departments, but we see no reason to defer transfer until such a separation has been effected. We would postpone consideration of the problem of staff until we have some practical experience of the difficulties involved. While we recognise that in some provinces popular opinion may lead the legislature to take steps in the direction of total prohibition, and while we appreciate the dangers from this course of the spread of illicit practices as well as the inconveniences which may be caused more particularly to those classes to whom drink is no real danger in India we are yet prepared to transfer excise at once. We fully realise that excise occupies a special position in Madras from the revenue point of view, but regarding the matter from the broader ground of general principles we agree with the Committee that excise conditions are not so peculiar as to justify its reservation in that presidency. We agree also that excise should be a reserved subject in Assam.

## INDUSTRIES.

116. *Item 15.*—We come now to the vital question of industries. This is practically speaking a new administrative subject. It is a field where the divergence of racial interests is likely to make itself felt with some acuteness. The Committee have made the following proposals :—

(1) That the development of industries be made a provincial subject, except for the matters covered by *items 20 and 30* of the all-India list (articles whose productions, etc., require control in the public interest, and Central Research Institutes), and for heads, such as that of geological survey (*item 22*) which relate closely to the development of industries.

(2) That the development of industries be made a transferred subject.

The Committee have evidently felt that this allocation of responsibilities is not free from objection, since they admit in para. 45 of their report that they have vainly tried to draw any clear line between local and other industries, or to frame a distinction based on the relative importance of different industries. To draw any such distinction is, we agree, impossible; but the conclusion to which the Committee have been led in consequence does not commend itself to us. Our own conclusions are, briefly, that the development of industries should be concurrently undertaken by the local Governments and the Government of India; and that this subject should, so far as local Governments are concerned, be reserved. Our reasons for these conclusions will be stated as briefly as possible.

117. In the first place we hold that the Central Government cannot possibly divest itself of responsibility for the industrial progress of the country, which is necessary to secure its military safety, its freedom from outside economic aggression, and its social and political stability. The Government of India's control of railways, tariffs, foreign trade relations and intelligence, the central scientific industries and such services as the geological survey, further emphasises their responsibility in respect of industries. That responsibility should, we think, be discharged by furnishing advice and help to local Governments, by co-ordinating their efforts and by working concurrently with them, rather than by direct control. Secondly, the expenditure on many of the measures necessary for industrial progress is very high. Research and industrial experiment

are exceedingly costly in proportion to their results in any one part of the country ; without a large and highly specialised technical and scientific staff, mere administrative effort will be barren ; nor are either the finances or the requirements of local Governments extensive enough to give them appreciable assistance to large enterprises by loans, guarantees or undertakings to purchase products. The scale of some of the individual enterprises which have recently been started in India was probably not fully present to the minds of the Committee when they made their recommendation. Thirdly, experiments, often on a commercial scale, will have to be undertaken, if dangerous gaps in our economic armour are to be closed, and essential links in the industrial chain are to be forged, while there is yet time. There must be a central authority responsible for seeing that this is done, and such authority must command finances sufficiently large and sufficiently elastic to enable them to do the work themselves, if necessary. Finally, a central agency, equipped with a full scientific and industrial staff, is needed to help and advise local Governments, to co-ordinate their efforts, to pool their experience and to set the pace of the advance.

#### Work of the India Government in Industries.

118. For these reasons we consider that the Government of India must be more directly associated with actual industrial work than the Committee contemplate, and must be at liberty to undertake themselves any essential item in the industrial programme which local Governments are unable to essay on an adequate scale. That local Governments must participate in the industrial policy of the country fully and not as mere agents of the Central Government needs no demonstration. We will confine ourselves to a brief explanation of the lines on which the concurrent action which we propose should be directed. Local Governments should, we think, have full liberty to undertake any research or to initiate and aid any industrial enterprise that they may desire, subject of course to general financial limitations, and to the general powers of intervention exercised by the Central Government, as described in paras 3 to 6 of this despatch. In practice, however, as we have pointed out, the nature and extent of their financial resources and the scale and relative local importance of any industrial propositions will determine their scope of action with some degree of definiteness. They should, moreover, keep the Central Government informed of the lines of work which they are contemplating or taking up. Their technical experts will necessarily be in close and constant consultation with

the experts of the Central Government and this will ensure that before definitely committing themselves to any enterprise local Governments will have its technical aspects fully before them, and the *pros* and *cons* of action by themselves or by the Central Government will have been fully threshed out from the technical point of view. In such circumstances, it is unlikely that any provincial Government will embark on lines of work which they are not in a position to pursue successfully. Any waste which occurs in consequence of their doing so would have equally occurred had they enjoyed the sole right of action. With such an allocation of functions, governed not by any paper definition, but by the practical economic facts of each case, we understand that local Governments are likely to be in agreement; it is, moreover, in our opinion the only way of solving the difficulty, though it postulates the practice of co-operation between the local and Central Governments. The importance of this postulate will be seen when we come to discuss the next question, namely, the Committee's proposal to transfer the development of industries to the control of ministers. From this proposition at the present stage we entirely dissent and for most cogent reasons.

119. In the first place, every other form of activity which it is proposed to transfer to ministers is conducted by established Government departments with a trained personnel and well defined traditions of procedure. In some provinces there are no departments of industries at all; in others they have a nominal existence, but lack expert staff and definite lines of work; in the one or two provinces where they exist in more than name they are quite rudimentary and have scarcely begun to consider how they are to handle the vastly more responsible functions and wider policy proposed by the Industrial Commission. We think it impossible for a minister untrained in administrative work and inevitably devoid of industrial experience to essay this initial work with success. In the next place, it will be impossible outside one or at the most two provinces, to obtain Indian industrialists practically qualified to fulfil the duty of ministers of industries, nor can such men be expected to seek election, save in specialised constituencies, but from the activities of ministers devoid of business experience there is reason to apprehend much the same results as ensued from the entry of precisely the same type of men into the field of private *swadeshi* enterprise in Bengal in 1907 and in the Punjab in 1913, with the added difficulty that the responsibility for failure will be thrown on the Government as a whole, and not on the minister himself.

120. There remains, however, a still more serious objection. It is our earnest desire that the industrial policy of the country should be directed to securing for Indians the fullest possible participation in future industrial development. The proposals of the Industrial Commission seem to us admirably adapted to secure this end. The Indian press, on the other hand, appears to see in the Commission's report an attempt to rivet the chains of British economic domination still more firmly on the country. This tendency was particularly noticeable in the extremist press, but was not entirely absent from papers of more moderate tone. A policy which seems to us to afford means of assistance especially calculated to benefit Indian enterprise is apparently considered insufficient if it also allows encouragement to British capital to come into the country and to British enterprise to profit any further by the economic resources of India. In such circumstances we are not surprised to find European non-official opinion expressing very definite apprehensions lest an increasing degree of self-government should bring with it an increasing degree of racial discrimination. We do not desire to magnify unduly the extent to which the encouragement of new enterprise can be used to affect the success of future British effort. But we apprehend that until a far greater sense of responsibility than at present is established among the electorate and the representative assemblies, considerable pressure may be exercised on ministers to refuse any form of aid or countenance to British enterprise and to favour Indian undertakings, especially those backed by political influence, irrespective of their business merits or equitable claims to consideration. The inevitable result would be that the large modern firms, European or Indian, which have as a rule nothing to hope from political influence, but are accustomed to business-like methods and equitable treatment, would inevitably apply to the Government of India rather than to local Government, if the latter's functions in respect of industrial matters are in the hands of ministers. This would lead to an undue degree of centralisation, and would devitalise provincial efforts by depriving them of this most promising field of action. We therefore conclude that industries, including in this term industrial education, though they should be a provincial subject with a right of concurrent action secured to the central Government, should for the present be reserved in all provinces. We have already recommended that a new item should be inserted in the All-India list: and we would also omit *item 15* from the list of transferred subjects.

### The Public Services.

121. In section IV of the report which deals with the public services the Committee have a few variations to propose from our own proposals. They had these before them, but in a condensed form ; and it may be that where the Committee have departed from our proposals without giving reasons for doing so, our intentions were not always clear to them. In para 70 the Committee suggest that the demarcation between the provincial and subordinate services should be left to the provincial Governments. We think it important at the outset to state that the provincial services should be everywhere constituted on more or less uniform lines, for which reason we suggest that your sanction should be necessary to the local Governments' proposals. After the scheme of reforms has come into operation it will be open to the local Governments to vary the provincial services within whatever conditions may be laid down. The professional division will probably include not merely officers recruited on special contracts, but also officers holding appointments requiring special qualifications which lie outside the ordinary ranks of the administrative services. We do not understand the difficulty which the Committee feel about the proposal that each new permanent post should be added to the cadre to which its duties correspond. It was intended to prevent the services from being substantially altered by the device of creating new posts outside them for the purpose of providing for duties properly appertaining to the service ; and for that purpose it seems to us necessary. The Committee's proposals respecting temporary additions to the service and rules for allowances and foreign service are in accord with our intentions.

122. The Committee agree with us that the Governor in Council should not be brought in as a formal arbitrator in public servants' grievances. They propose that the formal concurrence of the Governor should be required before any order affecting emoluments or pensions, or conveying censure, or disposing of a memorial, can be passed in the case of All-India officers in transferred departments. We accept this suggestion as formalising our own intentions ; the matter can be regulated by the rules of executive business which we propose should be made.

123. On the assumption that the administration of medical matters will be a transferred subject, to which with the limitations already intimated we are prepared to agree, the Committee suggest that the private practice of I. M. S. officers should be regulated by

rules laid down by you. We accept this suggestion. The enjoyment of private practice is admittedly one of the fundamental conditions of medical service in India, and we agree that the privilege within due limits should be secured by regulations which it is beyond the competence of ministers to alter. We agree also that inasmuch as the value of private practice depends directly upon an officer's station, the posting of I. M. S. officers should require the Governor's concurrence; but in this respect we see no need to distinguish between one service and another. The posting of All-India officers is a matter in which we should expect the Governor in any case to interest himself personally.

124. The Committee's next proposal is that any order adversely affecting any officer of an all-India service, whether serving in a transferred or reserved department, shall, before issue, be considered by both halves of the Government deliberating jointly. We cannot accept this proposal, which runs counter to our leading principle of defining clearly the respective responsibilities of both halves of Government. So far as transferred subjects go the proposed arrangement comes near to formal intervention by the Governor in Council, against which we have definitely advised. So far as reserved subjects are concerned we can see no reason whatever for bringing in ministers except as a purely reciprocal arrangement. Our views have been stated at length in paras 103 to 108 of our first despatch, and therefore we need not pursue the matter further here. As regards appeals we abide by our suggestion made in para 48 of the same despatch that disciplinary orders passed by ministers, which affect emoluments or pensions, should be open to appeal. We agree that orders for the posting of I. M. S. officers should not be regarded as orders falling within this category. We understand that the Committee wish to treat recruitment for the transferred provincial services as a mixed subject. Our view is that a minister, desiring to see any change made, would approach the Governor, who would certainly take action as in para. 103 of our despatch; but we consider that pending legislation the matter should be regarded as a reserved subject and should not be removed from the jurisdiction of the Governor in Council. We agree with the Committee's proposal respecting the administration and discipline of the provincial services. Finally the Committee suggest that so far as possible the members of All-India services should be secured in the benefits of the conditions under which they were recruited. We are heartily in accord with this aim; but we leave it for you to decide whether it is practicable to give a binding declaration to the effect that the conditions of the All-

India services shall never be altered to the detriment of existing incumbents. That is a principle of administration which normally is thoroughly well-recognised. But there are times when overriding considerations present themselves. It cannot be denied that the conditions of service, to interpret the term in the widest sense, are likely in the near future to be altered to the detriment of present incumbents by the process of reforms. The services themselves recognise this and generally have no desire to oppose their vested interests to the cause of reforms or to changes thereby necessitated; but on the whole it seems to us that such a declaration as the Committee suggest might give rise to controversy. We believe that it would be in any case ineffective. The only substantial safeguard that we can oppose to alterations prejudicial to interests of the services is of a different character, and consists in the real danger of destroying recruitment. We see no need for the present to discuss the questions raised in para. 71 of the report. Details of the kind will arise for consideration under various heads: and the question how far the Government of India should control or intervene in the highest departmental appointments within the province is a matter which may be considered at leisure.

### Finance.

125. We come now to the Committee's treatment of the question of finance. As they explain in para. 84 they felt unable to consider the important proposals developed in paras. 64 to 73 of our first despatch, which circumstance from no fault of their own, necessarily affects the value of their contribution to the discussion of provincial finance. They have naturally not dealt with the question of provincial resources nor with the relaxation of superior control, respecting which matters we would refer you to paras. 58 to 61 of our despatch of March 5.

126. The Committee (para. 75) have generally accepted our proposals for the sources of taxation to be assigned to provinces. As regards their comment on the phrase "unearned increment on land" we may explain that what we had in view was the rise in value of building sites near towns. We are not sure if any reference to the permanent settlement was present in the Committee's mind, but we think it unnecessary to speculate how future political changes may affect that question. The term "unearned increment" would no



doubt cover rises in the value of agricultural land ; but in temporarily settled areas the resettlement of the land revenue takes account of these. We did not ourselves intend enhancement of revenue to be comprised in our proposals for taxation. We reserve for closer consideration the question of further taxation on transfers of immoveable property otherwise than by succession. We see no real difficulty about collecting new sources of provincial revenue by means of stamps. The fact that they were collected by such means would not necessarily make them all-India ; the problem is only one of definition.

127. The Committee's observations upon the procedure for obtaining provincial taxation in paras. 76 and 77 will not apply if our proposals for the separate purse are adopted. We note that provincial taxation does not appear in their list of transferred subjects. Their observation that the department which is appointed to collect the tax should be entitled to a hearing on the subject of its responsibilities, is covered by paras. 73 and 103 of our first despatch. We agree with the suggestion made in para. 78 of their report. In para. 79 they point out that revenues can be raised and abated without process of legislation and indeed only partly with reference to revenue considerations. The Committee's suggestion for the treatment of such matters by the separate halves of the Government is met by our proposals for the separate purse ; indeed the view they take upon the point goes far to reinforce our arguments. Their suggestion in para. 89 upon the subject of borrowings has been anticipated in paras. 62 and 72 of our first despatch. Their proposals in para. 81 of the report for the treatment of provincial balances are, we think, disposed of by our recommendations in para. 70 of the same paper.

### Conclusion.

We think that the committee have been successful in avoiding intricacies, and in rectifying frontiers as far as possible. We must rely for help in the solution of difficulties on the Governor's powers in relation to ministers ; and also on the fact that the Government of India, being agents for Parliament which must remain the paramount authority, can never sink to the level of a merely federal government. In all its main aspects therefore and with the modifications which we have suggested, we cordially accept and endorse the Committee's scheme.

16 Apl. 19.]

*ON FUNCTIONS REPORT.*

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131. Our colleague Sir Sankaran Nair has stated in a separate minute the extent to which he dissents from our conclusions.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD.

” C. C. MONRO.

” C. SANKARAN NAIR.

” G. R. LOWNDES.

” W. H. VINCENT.

” J. S. MESTON.

” T. H. HOLLAND.

” R. A. MANT.

# Sir Sankaran Nair's Dissenting Minute on the India Government Despatch.

Minute of Dissent to the Govt. Despatch on Functions.

*Simla 16 April 1909.*

1. I have pointed out in my Minute of Dissent (paragraph 13) the hardship of a Minister who is compelled to accept subordinates who will not loyally co-operate with him. I have also pointed out (paragraph 14) the great objection to allowing those subordinates access to the Governor to contest the Minister's decisions. The Committee now suggest, differing from the Government of India on this point, that new permanent posts may be created which need not be added to the cadre of the Service as proposed by my Colleagues. This will enable the Minister, with the consent of the Secretary of State, to create new posts for duties to be performed under him. The fear that the Ministry may create such posts was the very reason that influenced my Colleagues to insist that these should be made a part of the cadre. The Committee also proposed that where both reserved and transferred departments are affected recruitment of an officer should be dealt with like other mixed cases, *i.e.*, in the case of a difference of opinion between the Executive Council and the transferred department, the decision should rest with the Governor. I take it that the sanction of the Secretary of State will have to be finally obtained for the creation of a new post. This meets the first part of my objection (paragraph 13) and I therefore accept the proposals of the Committee in preference to those put forward by my Colleagues.

2. One of the most important questions is how are differences of opinion between the Minister and the Legislative Council on the one side and the Executive Council on the other to be settled. I have pointed out in my Minute of Dissent (see heading Transferred Departments) my strong objections to the proposals put forward by my Colleagues on this point. The question then was under the consideration of the Functions Committee. Their proposals will now be found in paragraphs 60 to 63 of their Report. They differ in very important respects from the proposals of my Colleagues, and meet, to some extent, the objections which I have advanced.

### Temporary Resumption by the Governor.

3. According to my Colleagues, in cases of differences of opinion the Governor might assume control of the administration of the transferred department until the causes of difference disappear. Their various proposals are likely to cause great friction. Naturally therefore they want the power of resumption of the transferred departments as a "detrant of factious and irresponsible action by the Minister and the Legislative Councils." They will not allow the opinion of the legislature to prevail ultimately against that of the Governor. They would further empower the Secretary of State finally to retransfer any or all of the subjects from the transferred to the reserved list ( paragraph 12. ) In cases of dispute between the Minister and the Executive Council where the interests of both the departments—transferred and reserved—are involved, they will allow the Governor to decide only the question of jurisdiction ; *i.e.* the question as to which department should deal with the matter ( paragraph 103). As I have pointed out in my Minute of Dissent, all these proposals go, in my opinion, against the Reforms Report, and they are not endorsed by the Functions Committee, who differ from the Government of India in almost all these proposals. The Committee do not endorse the proposal for the transfer of any subject from the transferred to the reserved list. The Governor will always have to find a Minister to administer the transferred department, *i.e.*, an elected member of the Council who alone is always to be responsible for that department ; but it is never to be administered by the Governor in Council and the Governor himself only administers it as a substitute for the Minister during the interval between the dismissal of one Minister and the appointment of another. This, of course, is very different from the proposal of my Colleagues which enables the Governor to keep the portfolio in his own hand until the Legislative Council yields to his wishes. According to the Committee, the Governor is to decide not only the question of jurisdiction but also all cases of disagreement between the Executive Council and the Minister. He will have to enforce compliance however by the Executive Council under section 50 of the Government of India Act if they prove obdurate, but can require action by the transferred department in ordinary cases only, if he can find another Minister, but in *emergent* cases can dismiss the Minister and take the necessary action himself, but he has soon to find the Minister. Emergency is thus provided for. The transferred department will always continue as such. This is reasonable, but it may be doubted whether the simpler method in the Reforms Report under which the Governor's decision is declared to be the order in the case is not preferable.

The *temporary* nature of the resumption by the Governor and that also *only* in cases of emergency is essential according to the Committee ; thereby they place the Minister in relation to the Governor in a higher and certainly not a lower position than the Executive Council. This question of transfer is so important that I venture to make again a few observations in view of what is now repeated in paragraph 87 of the Govt. despatch.

#### **A Strong Protest.**

4. I cannot too strongly protest against the proposal to allow the Governor to resume the portfolio of any transferred subject and to empower the Secretary of State on the motion of the local Government and the Government of India to retransfer any subject from the transferred to the reserved list. As I have said before, it cuts at the root of the whole scheme. Let us see what this implies. The Reforms Scheme is intended to release the duly elected representatives of the people, in part at any rate, from the control of the Civil Service. The Indian opinion is unanimous that this step is necessary in the interests of good administration, and is due to the failure of the Civil Service to carry out the intentions of the Parliament and of the people of England. The Governor in some provinces is likely to be a civilian for some time to come. In others he will be greatly under civilian influence. In these circumstances the provision of retransfer is, and will be received as, a warning to the Legislative Council not to indulge in a course of action which will lead the Civil Service to take that step. In fact, my Colleagues practically say so in clear terms. The Civil Service have also openly declared their hostility to any real reform. It is absurd in these circumstances to place the future of Indian constitutional reform in their hands. The reforms are a gift of Parliament, not of the Civil Service. The Parliament may take it away at any future time if they choose. The future Legislative Councils have to perform their duty to the people of India and to Parliament, but to place this weapon in the hands of the Civil Service is in all probability to ensure the failure of Reform. They should not be allowed in future, as they have done in the past, to nullify the policy of the people of England. The scheme put forward by my Colleagues is calculated to produce that result. It creates possibilities of frequent deadlocks if the Minister and Legislative Councils perform their duty to the country and to Parliament, and makes that a reason for getting rid of responsible Government.

The interposition of the Secretary of State is no safeguard as in all that has been said above, the Secretary of State has allowed himself to be merely a passive instrument in the hands of the Civil

Service. I can only say that if I had felt such a standing threat necessary, I should not have asked for any substantial reform in the direction indicated and I would not have regarded it as a loyal acceptance on my part of the principle of responsible Government which must now be taken to have been laid down by Parliament for application to India. I am glad therefore the Committee do not endorse this proposal.

#### **Budget Proposals.**

5. The financial or budget proposals of my Colleagues are in conflict with the recommendations of the Functions Committee on the unity of Government. The latter is to make the Governor practically the final judge where the functions of the reserved and transferred departments touch or overlap, including all financial questions like the division of the entire provincial revenue between the two halves of the Government or where the action taken in one department affects the other, and also to make the Minister responsible for action in the transferred departments even when it is deflected by considerations affecting the reserved departments. The proposals of my Colleagues are also admittedly in conflict with the recommendations made by the Committee about taxation (see paragraphs 76 and 77), which were not before the Council when we settled our despatch dated the 5th March.

The Committee have come to the conclusion that taxation for provincial purposes should be regarded as a transferred subject. They would first set apart the contribution to the Government of India, the sums required for the service of the provincial debt and the sums that are required for the reserved services. The first two are definite amounts. The third will be definite if we assume the contribution to be the previous year's allotment or the average for a certain number of years. After setting apart these amounts they regard the whole balance of the revenues of the province to be at the disposal of the Minister, and taxation in their opinion should be considered as a transferred subject. Any difference of opinion on any question to be settled by the Governor as a "mixed subject." This of course is in direct opposition to and far preferable to the scheme put forward in the Government of India despatch to which I have taken exception.

6. My Colleagues are of opinion that these and certain other proposals of the Committee, which have an important bearing on the distribution of financial powers and duties between the two halves of provincial Governments, have been rendered obsolete by the more recent decisions of the Government of India in our despatch of the 5th March and have not therefore dealt with them at length. I

do not think this is the right course to follow. Our despatch was subject to reconsideration in the light of the Report of Lord Southborough's Committee, who had our proposals before them. Though our Report was no doubt more recent as my Colleagues say—the Committee's Report being dated the 25th February and ours the 5th March—the former was not before the Members of the Council when the latter was settled. We have therefore to consider their recommendations, modify our proposals if we accept any which are inconsistent with them, or reject their recommendations on their merits. We have for that reason said in our Report (paragraph 42) that we propose to deal with the working of the new Provincial Governments whose functions are divided into the "Reserved" and "Transferred" subjects, after a consideration of the Report of Lord Southborough's Committee.

I have already stated that the financial proposals of my Colleagues are opposed to the recommendations of the Functions Committee in paragraphs 60 to 63, and paragraphs 76 and 77 of their Report. Further, their scheme is, it appears to me, impracticable and can be shown to be unacceptable if we agree with the Committee generally about the division of subjects. It is necessary, for this purpose, to set out briefly the nature of the scheme.

7. It is of the essence of the scheme that there should be a definite allocation to each half of the Government of the receipts from the reserved and transferred subjects respectively. To those receipts is to be added the share of the Balance including all surplus that stands to the credit of each province after deducting the amounts ear-marked for special purposes. The normal expenditure for the reserved and transferred subjects is then estimated and if the revenue derived by each department from its subjects is not sufficient for the expenditure, the difference is to be made good to them by an assignment from the revenue of the other departments. Obviously, therefore, the division of subjects is of the greatest importance to the scheme as the latter hinges upon the receipt of revenue by each half of the Government from the reserved and transferred subjects respectively. Before, however, I give the division of subjects, I shall state the general objections to the scheme, for such modification in the scheme itself or adoption of any other scheme that might fit in with the Report of the Committee.

8. It is not quite correct to say that the financial proposals of the Reforms Report scheme affecting the allocation of funds to the two sections of Provincial Governments and budget procedure in provincial Councils evoked little criticism. They were criticised even by the supporters of the scheme as being among its weaker

parts. But the criticism was not on the ground that the proposal conceded too much to Ministers or the Legislature. Except in the Bombay Manifesto signed by Sir Dinshaw Wacha and eight other prominent Moderate Congressmen, the proposals were criticised as being unfair to the Ministers in charge of transferred subjects and whittling down the control of the legislature by giving too wide a power of certification to the Governor. The proposal that the supply for reserved subjects should be a prior charge on the provincial revenues was attacked, and it was pointed out that Ministers, driven to new taxation to be proposed on their own responsibility, while possibly feeling that it may have been unnecessary if an excessive share of the provincial revenues had not been absorbed by the already fully developed reserved subjects, would very likely find themselves in an almost untenable position before the Legislative Council whose support they require. Such was the criticism ; what are the proposals of my Colleagues ?

#### **India Government's Proposals.**

9. There can be no objection to the proposed Audit and Exchequer Act or to the appointment of the proposed Committee on Financial Relations. The control over provincial balances now exercised by the Government of India may also be replaced by a few simple regulations which will increase the control of the provinces over them. There may also be—it is advantageous that there should be—a common Finance Department for both halves of the Government. While it would scrutinize all proposals of expenditure, it should not, as stated by the Functions Committee, have power to criticise policy except in its financial aspect. The proposals that the right should be reserved to the Central government to make supplementary levies upon provinces, that each half of the government should have a defined power of raising the revenue to provide for the expenditure which it considers necessary, that a division should be made of the resources available for the purposes of either half of the Government, that a system of assignments of revenue by one section of the Government to the other should be introduced and other and similar proposals, will have the effect of dividing the Government into water-tight compartments without the compensating advantage of making them responsible to the Legislature ; while the further proposals, that Council resolutions will have only the status of recommendations to the Governor in Council, as well as the Governor and Ministers, reduces the Council to as much impotence as the present Council. The remaining proposal that the Ministers may have to resign on account of budget resolutions carried against them, is of the nature of a



finishing stroke. Notwithstanding much that could be said against the Reforms Report Scheme, a number of critics rallied to its support for the reasons, among others, that it provided for a unified budget and for its being voted by the Legislature. We are now asked to treat the Council as an advisory body in all matters—legislative, financial and administrative—pertaining to the reserved departments and to reduce its financial powers as proposed in the Reforms Report Scheme even as regards the transferred departments. There is no necessity to modify that Scheme in this manner and to this extent. Assuming that all the adverse criticism to which its financial proposals have been subjected is well merited, and that it will not be possible to work it without the maximum of friction, it is still possible to retain its two cardinal features of a single budget for the Province and control by the Legislature, whatever other modifications are made in it. Given a common Finance Department, a common Finance Committee of the Council, and joint deliberation by the whole Government in the settlement of the allotments, there is no difficulty of retaining these features. It is a strong point in favour of the Reforms Report Scheme of budget procedure that it minimizes the drawbacks of a system of dual government in provinces and gives both to Executive Councillors and Ministers opportunities of sympathetically influencing each other's decisions to the advantage of both and of the people of the province. The Governor, too, will be in a better position to discharge his duties as head of the whole government and promote friendly relations between its two halves. The knowledge that Ministers with their responsibility for the transferred departments have also been a party to the allotments made for reserved subjects, is calculated to induce in the Legislative Council a conviction of the necessity of those allotments and to minimize the chances of their seeking to cut them down. This will be of great moral value as it will curtail the necessity of the Governor's making use of his reserved power of certification which cannot but cause friction and conflict between him and his Executive Council on the one side, and the Minister and the Legislative Council on the other. The financial dispositions of each year can be made with reference to the particular requirements of that year, there will be a much-needed and most useful element of elasticity imparted to the financial arrangements, and when a proposal of new taxation is made in those circumstances, the Legislative Council will more easily persuade itself to accept it and support the Government than it can be expected to do under a system such as is proposed by my Colleagues now. The control by the Legislature must in

any event be regarded as indispensable if the Reforms are to be worth anything in the eye of even the supporters of the Scheme. The unified budget could be there and for the present should be. What is put forward is a combination of the drawbacks of autocratic and responsible Government with none of the advantages of the latter. Under the proposed scheme the position of Ministers will be untenable and that of the Legislature, no better than it is at present.

#### **Modification of the Proposals.**

10. Let us see whether the scheme put forward by my Colleagues cannot be modified to preserve the unified budget and control of the Legislature, and meet generally the objections which they have advanced against a unified budget. The proposal to divide the free balance and to divide the surplus may be accepted. We may also provide for the contribution of the province to the central exchequer for the charges for existing loans and, if necessary, ear-mark a sum in provinces liable to famine for famine fund; and, as stated by the Functions Committee, allot a sum for the reserved services. The Committee themselves do not mention how that sum is to be ascertained. We may take the amount of the previous year or the average of the three years. Then instead of a definite allocation to each half of the Government of the receipts from the reserved and transferred subjects, respectively, we may divide the amount available in certain proportions between the two halves of Government. The proportion, of course, will depend upon the subjects transferred. The share allotted to the reserve department will provide for the normal growth of the reserved services. The non-official Members of the United Provinces Legislative Council at their meeting on the 13th August 1918 suggested a share of one-tenth for the reserved department. Any additional amount required may be allotted by the Legislative Council.

#### **A Joint Committee**

11. A proposal was noticed in the Reforms Report to appoint a joint Committee, representing both official and non-official views, dealing with both reserved and transferred subjects, which should hold good for a certain period, always supposing that it can be varied in the meantime by agreement confirmed with the assent of the Legislative Council. The suggestion was rejected by the authors of the Reforms Report on the ground that the Governor's decision would be more popular with Indians. Speaking generally it may be said that if an impartial committee could be had their decision would undoubtedly be more satisfactory. Under any scheme the provisions in the Reforms Report, which are endorsed by the Functions

Committee, that the resolutions of the Legislative Council should be binding on the Minister so far as his allotment is concerned, and should be binding on the Executive Council so far as the application of their amount is concerned, with a power to the Governor to restore any provision so far as the reserved departments are concerned, if he thinks it necessary for the administration of those subjects, should be maintained. There is no harm in giving such power if the claim of the reserved departments is limited to a share as proposed.

12. We may now consider these various schemes including that in the Reforms Report with reference to the proposal of the Functions Committee about the division of subjects; and I hope to show that the scheme put forward is far better than the scheme of divided purse based upon the division of subjects put forward by my Colleagues. The administrative machinery, it appears to me, would run smoothly, no invidious distinction would exist between Councilors and Ministers of Reserved and Transferred Departments. The Legislative Council would have the same control as allowed to it by the Reforms Report Scheme. There would be no occasion for referring proposals for taxation to the Grand Committee as required by the scheme of my Colleagues. This removal of all question of taxation from the Legislative Council, it appears to me, is a fatal objection. With reference to the division of subjects, it would also appear, that the Reforms Report Scheme is far preferable to the scheme of my Colleagues.

13. The following table shows the division of the list of Provincial subjects between the Reserved and Transferred Departments. The omissions are immaterial.

#### **List of Provincial Subjects.**

##### **RESERVED SUBJECTS.**

1. Irrigation and Canals, Drainage and Embankments, and Water Storage.

2. Land Revenue administration, as described under the following heads:—

(a) Assessment and collection of land revenue; (b) Maintenance of land records, survey for revenue purposes; records of rights; (c) Laws regarding land tenures, relations of land-lords and tenants, collection of rent; (d) Court of Wards, Encumbered and Attached Estates; (e) Land Improvement and Agricultural Loans, (f) Colonisation and disposal of Crown lands and alienations of land revenue.

3. Famine Relief.

4. Land acquisition.

5. Administration of justice.

6. Administrator-General and Official Trustee.

7. Judicial stamps.
8. Development of mineral resources.
9. Industrial matters included under the following heads.
  - (a) Factories ; (b) Settlement of labour disputes ; (c) Electricity ;
  - (d) Boilers ; (e) Gas ; (f) Smoke Nuisances ; and (g) Welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing ;
10. Police, other than Railway Police.
11. Miscellaneous matters :—(a) regulation of betting and gambling ; (b) prevention of cruelty to animals, (c) protection of wild birds and animals, (d) control of poisons, (e) control of motor vehicles, and (f) control of dramatic performances and cinematographs.
12. Control of Newspapers and printing Presses.
13. Coroners.
14. Criminal Tribes.
15. European Vagrancy.
16. Prisons and Reformatories.
17. Pounds.
18. Treasure Trove.
19. Government Press.
20. Franchise and elections for Indian and Provincial legislatures.
21. Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards.
22. Control of members of all-India services serving within the province and other public services within the province.
23. New provincial taxes, that is to say, taxes included in the schedule of additional provincial taxes (v. paragraph 75) ; so far as not included under previous heads. But see paragraph 76 of the Report.
24. Borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province.
25. Imposition of punishments by fine, penalty or imprisonment, for enforcing any law of the province relating to any provincial subject.
26. Any matter which, though falling within an All-India subject, is declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province.
27. Provincial Law Reports.

#### **Transferred Subject.**

1. Local Self-Government, that is to say, matters relating to the constitution and powers of Municipal Corporations, Improvement Trusts, District Boards, Mining, Boards of Health and other local authorities established in the provinces for purposes of local Self-Government.

2. Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries and asylums, provision for medical education.
3. Public Health and Sanitation and Vital Statistics.
4. Education.
5. Public Works included under the following heads :
  - (a) Provincial building :
  - (b) Roads, bridges and ferries, other than such as are declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of military importance.
  - (c) Tramways within municipal areas ; and
  - (e) Light and Feeder Railways, and Tramways, other than tramways within municipal areas.
6. Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, introduction of improved method, provision for agricultural education, protection against destructive insects and pests and prevention of plant diseases.
7. Civil Veterinary Department, including provision for veterinary training, improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases.
8. Co-operative Societies.
9. Excise.
10. Registration of deeds and documents, subject to Indian legislation.
11. Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages, subject to Indian legislation for such classes as the Indian legislature may determine.
12. Religious and charitable endowments.
13. Development of Industries, including industrial research and technical education.
14. Adulteration of food-stuffs and other articles, subject to Indian legislation as regards export trade.
15. Weights and Measures, subject to Indian legislation as regards standards.
16. Museums, except the Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, and Zoological Gardens.
17. Fisheries.
18. Forests in Bombay only.
19. Ports.
20. Inland Waterways.

#### A Fundamental Objection.

14. It appears to me that there is a fundamental objection to the proposal of the Government of India to make the division of subject any basis for the allocation of revenue. The division of subject is made on certain considerations which have nothing to do

with the revenues derivable from those subjects. The Functions Committee were invited to make this division in accordance with certain considerations set out in the Reforms Report which had nothing whatever to do with the funds to be placed at the disposal of the two halves of the Government respectively. The Report of the Committee shows that they had in view those considerations and none other. My Colleagues, therefore, I think are not justified in allocating to each half of the Government the revenues derivable from the subjects allotted to those halves on considerations which had nothing to do with the incomes therefrom. It is possibly this fact which made the Committee recommend that taxation should be a transferred subject, because they must have felt that the division of subjects ought not to carry with it the allocation of the revenues derivable from those subjects, or the right to raise revenue by taxation from those subjects. If therefore we accept generally the recommendations of the Committee about the division of subjects, I think we are bound also to recognise the fact that they must have felt that the administration of transferred subjects could not be carried on with the revenue derivable from those subjects, and therefore right to impose taxes, including those which are referred to in paragraph 73 of the Report, must be given only to the Minister in charge of the transferred departments and should not be a reserved subject.

15. It will appear from this table that the chief earning departments come under the "Reserved" head. The executive council will benefit not only by the normal growth but will be able to increase their land revenue by executive action without recourse to the Legislature. The great spending departments on which the real progress of the country depends are the first six items in the list of "Transferred" Subjects. There is very little doubt that the Executive Council in charge of the "Reserved" department will seldom be under the necessity of claiming any contribution from the Minister in charge of the transferred department of the administration of their subjects. The Minister, on the other hand, will never have a sufficiency for his expending departments. He will always want the full amount which can be obtained from his Subjects and much more. His subjects are not expanding sources of revenue. Excise ought not to be, and in Indian hands will not be an increasing source. But is he likely to get anything from the "Reserved" departments? I feel fairly sure that the revenue obtained and obtainable by the Executive Council will set the standard of their expenditure. The services are under them and we know from experience that there is no limit to their

demands, and to the general sympathy with which requests for new appointments to be filled by English officials, for allowances for them, and for increases in their pay or pension, is viewed by the Executive Council. The Minister in charge of the "Transferred" departments will be at the mercy of the Executive Council if there is no external control. From this aspect let us see how far the scheme is free from criticisms which have been urged against the scheme in the Despatch dated 5th March (see paragraph 69.)

#### **Some Arguments Answered.**

16. The first objection is that overdrafts on provincial balances, taxation and provincial borrowing, would require a clear demarcation of each half of the Government; my scheme provides for a clear demarcation by assignment of a share; further no taxation or borrowing ought to be allowed, and no responsible Governor will allow it, if the Reserved Department is in possession of funds as they will be according to this division of subjects which, considering the comparative needs of the two departments, should be shared with the other. If, therefore, the Governor or some external authority is not allowed to allocate from the Revenues in one Department a certain sum for the benefit of the other, deadlocks are inevitable. There will be none under the Reforms Report scheme, or the Functions Committee scheme, as the power of decision is left in the Governor, or under the scheme I have put forward which does not allow comparative disparity of income. If such power is given to the Governor we stand exactly where we stood under the Reforms Report scheme which also requires a decision in case of difference by the Governor. As to the provincial balance, my Colleagues have not yet decided as to the authority who is to make that division. I presume it must be the Governor's. Apparently, we are not therefore better off. Again, it is unlikely that there will be such provincial balances for division in the future, as both the departments, unfettered as they will be, by the rules of the imperial Government, will utilise the resources at their disposal or at least earmark the same. It may also be that they may in future utilise the balance, as they ought to, in reduction of the debt.

17. The second objection given is that one half of the Government should not have power to refuse funds which may be required for the working of the other half. I have already pointed out in my Minute of Dissent that my Colleagues ignore the power of the Governor to decide in cases of dispute, and that this objection therefore can never arise under the Reform Report scheme. Disregarding however, the Governor's power for the moment, the new scheme put forward by my Colleagues will, if this division of subjects is to be

maintained, never leave for the reasons I have given any room for intrusion by the Minister and his Department except as an importunate supplicant. The work of the Executive Council which will be in possession of by far the major portion of the funds will seldom be interfered with by the other. The scheme therefore does not comply with the condition or meet the difficulty to the same extent as the other two schemes. According to my Colleagues, taxation will be possible only for the Executive Council and not for the other, and to me it appears to be out of the question to allow a power of increasing the land-revenue in any form either by taxation or by settlements for their benefit, while it is to the land we have to look for the development and expansion of the important transferred departments.

18. The third objection about the friction, which the annual allocation of funds will generate, will arise in this case also though in a form very prejudicial to the Minister and the Transferred Departments who will every year have to claim contributions from the Executive Council. According to this scheme the Minister will be at the mercy of the Executive Council while according to the Reforms Report and the Functions Committee the Governor will decide between the two—a fairer arrangement; while under the third scheme even the Governor is eliminated and one is not at the mercy of the other.

19. The fourth and last objection concerning the incentive for each department for the development of its own resources is, it appears to me, fatal to the entire scheme. For what does it amount to? Take the instance of land, which is the most important source of revenue to the province. The Executive Council under the scheme will not only take the normal growth of land revenue, but would be entitled to increase it by periodical settlements without any recourse to the legislature. Even under normal conditions they will have, compared to the Minister, ample revenue for their needs; but there is little doubt that pressure will be put upon them by the English Services for increase in their establishments, pay and services—a pressure to which they would not be unwilling to yield. It is very probable therefore, that the raiyat already impoverished will be further harassed. The developments of the transferred departments essential to Indian progress will be retarded. The result will be the same with reference to all sources of revenues. The Minister and the Executive Council are invited by this proposal to raise as much revenue as they could; nothing can be more prejudicial to the interests of the country. It appears to me therefore that the scheme of my Colleagues, under these conditions, will be fatal to



the prosperity of the country. Again in principle it is not right that the country as a whole should not benefit by the normal growth of revenue. Neither the scheme in the Reforms Report nor the 3rd scheme is open to this objection. Nor does it appear to me that the scheme of my Colleagues, complies with the conditions which they themselves have laid down that the scheme is intended to tell each department what range of expenditure it may provide for; as in the case of the Minister, the expenditure can never be limited by the receipts from his earning departments and the opening balance at his credit, but will be dependent upon what he thinks he should fairly demand from the other department and also by the proceeds of fresh taxation.

It appears to me that all the reasons which have prompted these new proposals can be attained under the third scheme. It is unnecessary to create two separate pools by receipts from transferred and reserved subjects.

#### Land Revenue.

20. Indian poverty is attributable to the land revenue policy and the industrial policy hitherto followed, and it is satisfactory to find that the Committee recommend that taxation for imposing cesses on land and duties upon the unearned increment on land should be treated as a provincial subject (see paragraph 75), and also a transferred subject (paragraph 76), though apparently by an oversight they do not include taxation in the transferred list. The Government of India also agree that such taxation should be imposed by provincial governments without the previous sanction of the Government of India. The Committee state, however, (paragraph 79) that as the assessment of land revenue is left to executive action the periodical settlement of land revenue must be treated as a reserved subject within the jurisdiction of the Executive council only. It appears to me that these two propositions are incompatible. Cesses and duties cannot be imposed on land by the legislature without regard to the revenue imposed thereon by the Executive Council and *vice versa*. The one is dependent on the other; and if the Committee's views are to be maintained, they will have to be treated as a mixed subject in which the Governor's opinion should prevail in case of any difference of opinion between the Executive Council and the Minister. In my opinion, however, there should be no increase of revenue merely by executive action. The land revenue or land rent should be treated as revenue pure and simple to be imposed only by the Legislative Council. At present, outside the permanently settled zemindaries, the theory maintained by Executive Government is that land is the private property of the Crown, the

landholder being bound to pay any assessment that may be fixed by the Executive Government at their discretion. India is the only country in the world where neither law, nor custom, nor competition determines the revenue or rent. This has been responsible to a great extent for the increasing poverty of the country. It has certainly tended to keep away labour and capital from the land. It appears to me to be therefore essential that the proposal of the Functions Committee that entry "duties upon the unearned increment on land" "should be so framed as to make the provincial powers of land taxation as wide as possible" should be accepted so as to cover the case of land revenue assessment referred to in paragraph 79. This may be done by altering the entry into "all demands upon land" and by making the imposition of any revenue on land either by legislation or by periodical settlements a transferred subject. In the alternative I would urge that it should at least be laid down that (1) the general principles of land revenue assessment be embodied in provincial legislation as recommended ten years ago by the Royal Commission on Decentralization, and (2) every proposal of resettlement of a district be embodied in a bill that should be passed by the Legislative Council like any other taxation bill.

#### **Industries.**

21. The proposal of the Committee to transfer all questions of industrial development in my opinion should be accepted. As my colleagues are unwilling to accept this proposal, it is desirable to state the present situation. India we know was a great manufacturing country whose wealth attracted the East Indian Company. Before the Mutiny her industries were by deliberate policy of active discouragement in India, and by prohibitive duties in England, destroyed. She was thus reduced from an agricultural and a manufacturing to an agricultural country. The general policy of the subordination of Indian to English commercial interests has since continued to the present day. India has been utilized for the exploitation of her natural resources for the investment of English capital and the dumping of English goods. Instead, therefore, of the Indian industries relieving the pressure on land, their ruin has thrown millions of workmen out of employ to compete with the agriculturists. This attitude of the Government has materially contributed to the unrest and disaffection in the land. It is therefore essential that we should adopt a course which would place us beyond suspicion.

We know now that there are Trade Commissioners whose business it is to find out the natural resources and facilities for trade—English trade in particular—that exist in the country. The results

of their observations are to be made the basis of expert advice as to the best mode of utilizing those natural resources in the interest of English trade. It is true that the information would be equally available to the Indian public but we know that it is the commercial organizations in England that would be able to utilise them. There is no objection, of course, to the export of our raw products without detriment to the interests of the country itself, but she should not be deprived of the means of creating her own manufacturing industries and employing her own labouring population. This can only be done if the development of Indian industries is a "transferred subject", otherwise a great export of good stuffs, tending to the starvation of millions, not only by depriving India of her foodstuffs which she badly wants, but also by depriving her of great opportunities which the manufacturing industries will afford her, will be the result.

Similarly, as to the investment of English capital, we know that we cannot do without English capital, but we must obtain it on the same terms generally on which it would be lent to the colonies and other countries. The terms must be those agreed upon between the English capitalists and competent Indians who will protect Indian interests. The English officials in India and the India Office have not in the past protected India. They have submitted to English capitalists and I have no doubt will do so in future. We want also Englishmen to start industries in India but not to the detriment of indigenous industries. It is quite clear to me that unless there is an Indian to protect Indian industries, we will have English firms starting industries on a large scale in India in which the Indians will have very little share to the detriment of Indian industries.

That unfair means have been adopted to hamper Indian industries for the benefit of Lancashire and other capitalists is well known. Unfair competition should not be allowed.

For these reasons, if we do not leave the development of Indian industries in Indian hands, I feel satisfied that the same course will be followed in the future as in the past, and will lead to increased irritation between Indians and Englishmen. Development of Indian industries should be a transferred subject. If any right of interference or advice is left to the Government of India, such power should be exercised only by an Indian Minister controlled by the Legislative Council. There is no objection whatever to the Government of India themselves starting any industries but their further proposals as to advice to be tendered to Local Governments will repeat all the evils which have been condemned in paragraph 117 to 119 of the Reform Report. These proposals of my Colleagues to diminish

popular responsibility and reverting to the old practice would appear to go against that part of the Reforms Report. The efforts of Provincial Governments in the past, meagre as they have been, have been hampered and not stimulated by the necessity under which they lay of obtaining the sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State at nearly every turn. More progress in the desired direction would have been made if they had greater freedom of action.

I shall briefly notice some of the objections to transfer the development of industries to the Minister. It will be noticed that according to the Functions Committee articles whose production, etc., requires control in the public interests, and Central Research Institutes and such heads as the Zoological Survey, are all-India subjects. In fact, it is a part of the scheme generally advocated by Indians that the Government should itself undertake the responsibility of starting and maintaining certain kinds of industries, which cannot be started or maintained by private enterprise. It is therefore not an argument against the transfer that the Central Government itself should maintain those industries which are required in the interests of military safety or political stability. In fact, such industries would afford scope for the training and employment of those Indians in higher branches who are competent to profit by it. They have nothing to do with the question of the development of industries. If, on the other hand, as my Colleagues seem to contemplate, such industries are placed in the hands of foreign companies, with loans, guarantees or undertakings to purchase products, they will not only stand in the way of the growth of indigenous enterprise but, as in the case of railway companies, will not assist Indians. The policy is opposed to the current view to nationalise such industries wherever possible, and will conduce to labour trouble in an acute form, widen the gulf between capital and labour, and increase racial friction. It appears to me therefore that it is wrong to say that the Committee have ignored this aspect of the case. The argument that the Ministers will inevitably be devoid of industrial experience, as if the civilian member has great experience, is a strong condemnation of the proposals of my Colleagues to leave in the hands of the Governor the power of the appointment of Ministers. It is the policy that has been hitherto advocated by Indian publicists, that has now been finally accepted even in England and by the Industrial Commission and there is little doubt that Indian Ministers can be found who will be competent to do the work. Lastly, it is said that there is a racial question involved, that considerable influence would be exercised on

Ministers to refuse any form of aid or countenance to British enterprise and to favour Indian undertakings. So far as Indians are concerned, this charge is absolutely unfounded. Objection to English capital and enterprise is raised only when that stand in the way of Indian enterprise and Indian prosperity; and to remove any such misapprehension it is not difficult to provide safe guards similar to those proposed by my Colleagues in other cases, but I assert without hesitation from experience that so far as the Government are concerned, the fear that they will unduly favour foreign enterprises to the prejudice of Indian enterprises is well founded. It is true enough that the Industrial Commission makes recommendations themselves unsatisfactory which in some respects may assist the Indians but here again we know from experience how little we can rely on such recommendations when they have to be carried out in practice.

#### **Tramways, Light and Feeder Railways.**

The Functions Committee have recommended that Light and Feeder Railways and Tramways should be in the list of Transferred Subjects under the control of the Indian Minister. My Colleagues would now transfer them to the "Reserved" List. The reason is that the Minister and the Legislative Council might interfere with the scheme of Railway development. Indian opinion is unanimous that District Boards should, in the interests of national progress, be allowed to build light railways; and the decision of my Colleagues is calculated to subordinate national interests to the interests of capitalists. Railway companies and existing contracts and guarantees will, of course, be protected, and further means can be easily provided for that purpose if the Governors' control is not sufficient. I would accordingly accept the recommendation of the Functions Committee.

#### **Education.**

22. It is necessary to have the issue clear before us. The question is not one between official control and the University control, as it is supposed by those who put forward the findings of the Sadler Commission against the transfer of the subject of education. The question simply is: whether whatever official control is to be exercised by the Provincial Governments should be exercised by the Minister. If there is no control to be exercised over university or secondary education, *cedit question*. If there is any control, then should the Executive Council exercise that power or the Minister and the Legislative Council? Again, so far as the Government of India is concerned, what powers should be left to the Government

of India ; and, if so, who should exercise them ? These are the questions.

The Functions Committee have proposed that Education as a whole should be transferred. My Colleagues would transfer only Primary Education. They would fix no limit of age which they would have fixed by the Minister, subject to the control of the Legislative Council. They would not fix the curriculum i.e., whether the entire teaching in all the subjects should be in English or whether English should be taught only as a subject, and what the other subjects are which should be taught. These also are to be left to the Minister and the popular assembly. It appears to me to be impracticable to divide the subject of Education like this. Hitherto no such division has been made any where in India.

Assuming, however, such a distinction can be made, should it be carried out ? A foreign service with different ideals might be able to impart education to the leaders of the people, leaving to them afterwards to take the necessary steps to impart education to the people of the country. But it appears to me, with all respect, that it is absurd to expect them to impart national education to a foreign race. The Reforms Report leaves educational progress to the popular assemblies and there is very little doubt that Ministers alone can obtain the money required for its expansion and improvement. Further, political progress is said to be dependent upon the expansion of sound education, and such expansion should not be left in the hands of classes which have hitherto opposed political and sound educational progress. Indians are deeply interested in it.

I have been the head of the Department of Education now for more than three years and I am satisfied that future educational progress depends upon Indian direction. My predecessor in this office, Sir Harcourt Butler, also would make it a transferred subject. The only other member of the Indian Government who has been an Education member since the creation of the Department, Sir Claude Hill, who is unfortunately not here to sign the Despatch, has recorded his opinion in favour of the transfer. The Governments of Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces would transfer Education as a whole. The Madras Government would not transfer any branch of education. Bengal and Assam would not transfer collegiate education, but my colleagues, like myself, are of opinion that this cannot be done, if secondary education is transferred. Bihar and Orissa alone is opposed to the transfer of secondary, technical and collegiate education. My colleagues would transfer primary education, while the reasons given in their report, if they

are correct, tend inevitably to the conclusion that it is primary education that should be kept in the hands of the Government and that higher education may safely be transferred. Those who would keep education a reserved subject, do so, I fear, not in the interests of educational progress but for political reasons. They have themselves no scheme of education in view and their predecessors have been going on making experiment after experiment, all in the face of Indian protest, which they themselves have now to acknowledge had ended in failure. I should like briefly to refer to our educational policy.

#### **A Retrogressive Policy.**

A retrogressive policy has been followed since Lord Dufferin's time. Considering the vast problem that lay before the Government, it had been laid down that the Government should welcome every kind of private endeavour to supplement their efforts for the education of the country. Lord Dufferin's Government, however, declared, that the Government should retire from any part of the field which could be, or should be, left to private effort and make educational progress depend on private endeavour aided by Government grants. The results on secondary and collegiate education were deplorable. National education not being recognised by Government as an obligation, the pupils were left to study in such schools and colleges as were maintained by private effort. Such schools were inadequate in numbers to receive the crowds who were seeking admission. Institutions multiplied to meet the evergrowing demand. Government grants were given only to the institutions which complied with its rules which were designed to secure efficiency. The other institutions failed to secure competent teachers. This again stood in the way of Government grants. A large number of inefficient institutions with incompetent teachers was the natural result of a system which does not recognize education as a national obligation, but only aids private effort by "doles."

Efforts were then made by the Government to confine higher education, and secondary education leading to higher education, to boys in affluent circumstances. This again was done not in the interests of sound education but for political reasons. Rules were made calculated to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer boys in particular. Conditions recognising fitness for "grants"—stiff and various—were laid down and enforced, and the non-fulfilment of any one of these conditions was liable to be followed by serious consequences. Fees were raised to a degree which, considering the circumstances of

the classes that resort to schools, were abnormal. When it was objected that the minimum fee would be a great hardship to poor students, the answer was—such students have no business to receive that kind of education. Managers of private schools who remitted fees in whole or in part were penalised by reduced grants-in-aid. These rules had undoubtedly the effect of checking the great expansion of education that would have taken place. This is the real explanation of the very unsatisfactory character of the nature and progress of secondary education; and it will never be remedied till we are prepared either to give education to the boys ourselves or to make sufficient grants to the private schools to enable them to be staffed with competent teachers. We are at present not prepared to do either. English education, according to this policy, is to be confined to the well-to-do classes. They, it was believed, would give no trouble to Government. For this purpose the old system of education under which a pupil could prosecute his studies from the lowest to the highest class was altered.

#### **Mass Education.**

23. For the masses, a new course of elementary or primary education solely in the vernaculars extending to about 7 years was devised. It was hoped that this would keep them in their present condition confined to their lowly ancestral pursuits. Schools confined to vernaculars were opened and encouraged to draw away boys from English studies. It was intended, and rules were framed to carry out that intention, that if possible those who commenced their education in these schools were not to be encouraged to proceed to what are called the secondary schools instituted for English education. The masses, the poorer classes of people, were thus deliberately denied all access to any real or English education. The result is that on account of their being prevented from following their English studies, they do not care to continue their studies in the vernacular schools and they cast off the little smattering of knowledge they acquire and lapse into illiteracy again. They are thus denied all means of material improvement, self-development and culture. I am accordingly glad to find that my Colleagues are willing to leave the question of primary education, including the question whether it should be English or Vernacular Education, to the Minister, but what has been our record as regards even primary education? In the earlier years of this century, Mr. Gokhale was pressing the claims of primary education upon the Government, and various statements on behalf of Government were made in the years 1906—07, which were taken to be promises of free education. So stood matters when the



reformed councils met. Almost the first question to which the English educated community turned their attention was elementary education. Mr Gokhale introduced his Education Bill which was opposed by Government and therefore rejected by the Council, but at the end of the year at the Darbar it was announced that the Government have resolved "to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Empire." As a fact, that acknowledgment has not been translated into action. In almost all the local Councils attempts are being made to introduce private bills for optional compulsory education. These bills are allowed to be introduced only on condition that no financial responsibility is thereby imposed on Government. Local resources are inadequate and such education as is imparted will not be efficient. Without Government financial assistance the scheme will not succeed or even cannot be put into operation. With reference to commercial and industrial education we do not give the higher education required to foster manufacturing industries, to start great commercial concerns of any kind, or produce captains of industry or commerce, but we have industrial schools to train intelligent artisans or foremen, or to further or develop the local cottage industries which are capable of expansion by the application of improved methods or improvements. Similarly, it was intended to start or encourage schools with commercial courses whose chief aim was to supply practical training for those who were to enter business houses in a subordinate capacity and hopes were held out that very effort would be made to find employment to pupils who received that training. The necessity of engineering and medical colleges is always recognised, but it is assumed that the efforts that should be made should not be in the direction of starting more colleges but in the directions I have indicated.

Now there is no doubt that in all this the Government were actuated by the highest motives, but at the same time there is no use ignoring the fact that the Indians were satisfied that all these changes were made with a sinister purpose. It is the universal belief and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that Primary English Education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons. Higher, professional, industrial and technical education is discouraged to favour English industries and recruitment in England of English officials.

If, therefore, we should have more Indians in scientific and technical professions and more engineering and industrial colleges, experience shows that the present system must be abandoned and

that an Indian Minister alone would supply the necessary institutions. Otherwise, we are likely to follow the same course as hitherto; we will tell those few of our young men who have made themselves fit for these professions that such education as they have received is not satisfactory; at the same time discourage them from going to foreign countries to receive education and fail to provide sufficient facilities for education in India itself. The errors of the past are admitted even by those who will not allow education to be a transferred subject and a promise is made to repair them. The subject is far too important and vital to the interests of the nation for any further experiments to be made or for the matter to be left in the hands of those who stand thus self-convicted and whose promises have not been faithfully kept. The reason often assigned for mistakes in the past has been want of funds and conservatism of the rural classes both of which I entirely deny.

#### Past Mistakes.

For the nature of our mistakes in the past we have only to look to the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. They rightly point out that the teachers in the high schools are under educated and underpaid. The fact is that the Government are not utilising the funds at their disposal to mitigate the evils of the system, which is described by the Bengal District Administration Committee and the Rowlatt Committee, for which we are responsible. The Commission (University) point out that secondary education is unduly dominated by the examination system, which must be the case as long as the educational services are manned by officials who cannot, on account of their want of knowledge of the vernaculars, be responsible for the teaching, but who, at the same time, supervise the whole system. They further point out that the stage of admission to the University should be that of the present Intermediate instead of the Entrance examination, as the boys who have passed the latter examination are not fit for University education for their want of knowledge in English. This is the result of the system, to which I have adverted, which has discouraged English teaching in the earlier classes even as a language, against strong Indian protest. They also refer to the fact that the Entrance Examination of the University is not a preparation for the medical, and engineering professions, or for careers in agriculture, commerce or industry. This, again, is due to the policy which I have referred to, which would only give secondary education fit for clerks and managers of offices and not for higher education in those subjects for which the Department (that is, the Government), is responsible. The Indian opinion, therefore, is not responsible at all for this result. The

Commission accordingly propose to remedy these defects by the appointment of a board in which the majority should consist of non-official members—a recognition of the superiority of non-official guidance. They would make the Director an expert adviser “to the Member or Minister in charge of Education” which disposes of the arguments sometimes advanced that, according to the views they entertain, secondary education should be a reserved subject.

As to University education, there can be no more scathing condemnation of the system than that to be found in the Commission's Report. It has to be remembered that the University itself is an officialised body under Government control. They say that the Government and administration of the University is unsatisfactory and ineffective as an instrument for encouragement of learning. They point out that even such a University is under the unduly rigid control of the Government. “There is far too much detailed Government intervention.” They are perfectly right, and it is impossible under such a system that any University can carry on its work efficiently. It is just for that reason that Indians are anxious to get rid of the bureaucratic control and place the University and secondary education under the control of a Minister. It is not difficult to come to the conclusion that the same state of things will otherwise continue. I am, therefore, of opinion that the Committee's recommendations should be accepted and Education as a whole should be transferred. Most of the important Native States have gone ahead.

#### **Non—Brahmana Movement.**

24. The nature of the objections taken to the transfer of subjects is proof of the necessity of responsible government. Among the objections advanced to it, there is one which finds a place in this report which for reasons that will appear later I feel bound to notice. The representative of the Madras Government (and it is said the Madras Government accept his view) has taken objection to the division of subjects on the ground that without adequate protection being provided for by communal representation, the non-Brahmans will be oppressed by Brahmanas. I support non-Brahmana communal representation, but I demur entirely to the proposition that it should be regarded as an essential preliminary to any responsible government for the reason given. As we are likely to hear more of this contention, I propose to state my view of the situation.

25. For the consideration of this question it is essential to recognise two divisions among non-Brahmans, the high caste Hindus and the lower classes. In the earlier years of the Congress,

the non-Brahmana leaders were invited by the officials to stand aloof from it, and, if possible, to denounce it as inimical to their interests. They resolved to disregard the advice. Their main reasons were these: They found that by the British conquest it was the Muhammedans and the non-Brahmana higher castes who had suffered most. The Rajahs and the zemindars who were deprived of their properties by the British Government generally belonged to those classes. By far the majority of them were either deprived of their properties or allowed to retain the whole or a portion of them on conditions which were very onerous. The revenue payable was very heavy with reference to the properties which they held at the time of the British conquest. Their rights were being encroached upon. The raiyatwari system before 1857 was iniquitous and destructive of private property. Subsequently, though not quite so bad, it was felt to be oppressive. The merchants and the artisan classes, the labouring classes as well, were involved in the misfortune of these superior classes. I have already pointed out that the *raison d'etre* of the Congress was the intense poverty of the people, and the measures which they put forward to relieve such poverty concerned the non-Brahmanas more than Brahmanas; the non-Brahmana higher castes, therefore, stood to gain from its success more than any others. The other questions which the Congress took up, like the separation of judicial and executive functions, also concerned them more. Under the conditions that then existed, and, to a great extent, even now exist, the Brahmanas had far greater chances of success in the services and elsewhere. They had the qualities which were required by a foreign ruling race who wanted good subordinates. The Muhammadan and the Hindu Zemindars and the Hindu martial classes were looked upon with suspicion on account of such of their qualities which are only required for administration and Government; and not required in those whose main function was to obey and produce wealth which should be at the disposal of their masters. The non-Brahmana leaders, therefore, felt that they had a better chance of success in the new condition of things which they hoped would be brought about by the Congress agitation when the qualities which they, in their opinion, possessed in a higher degree than the Brahmanas, would have a better scope. They found also that though the old class of Brahmanas had faults which are now imputed to them by the leaders of the non-Brahmana movement, a distinct improvement was visible in the younger generation that was growing up and they hoped that common efforts, common aspirations, and the common good of the country will introduce a change in the Brahmana class. These hopes have not been disappointed. It is

true that there are still Brahmana leaders under the domination of feelings and sentiments which are not conducive to harmony or progress, but, on the other hand, there is no doubt that generally speaking the Congress movement has brought about a greater rapprochement between the various classes. Mrs. Besant, in particular, has brought over the whole of her Brahmana party to discard the Brahmana restrictions which stood in the way of the hearty co-operation with the non-Brahmanas. Besides the reasons above referred to the non-Brahmanas were startled at the official attitude. Many of the officials while insisting upon the existence of this class division as a bar to political progress, not only did not themselves take any active steps to remove them, but their passive resistance foiled every attempt of the reform party to remove such restrictions. The latter were sneered at as Anglicised Indians who had lost touch with the ordinary people and therefore untrustworthy in these matters or denounced as impracticable visionaries. Several officials went even so far as to say, not only privately but in public, that this ancient caste system was necessary to the stability of the society as it accustoms the people to order and obedience to authority and it is therefore in the interest of the Government to support that system. The non-Brahmana leaders felt therefore that very little could be hoped from officials to remove this caste restriction. These were the reasons, so far as I remember, that determined the attitude of the non-Brahmana leaders then, and I do not think those reasons have lost their force now.

I have already referred to a number of reforms that are long overdue and they are far more beneficial to the non-Brahmanas than to the Brahmanas. If the proposed reforms are carried out in their proper spirit and proper rules are framed, I have not the slightest doubt that the non-Brahmana higher Hindu castes will be the gainers. I fail to see how they will be worse off.

#### **The Depressed Classes.**

In the case of the depressed classes the conditions are different. It is absurd to say that their position, so far as their material prospects are concerned, has improved under the British Government. It has steadily gone from bad to worse. To mention only a few instances, under the old custom they were entitled to free house sites, materials free from the jungles for building their cottages, free pasturage and a fixed share of the produce of the land which they cultivated for their wages, which ensured a living wage. All these they have lost under the raiyatwari system. With the ruin of the Indian industries also the non-agricultural labourers lost their fixed wages and they were involved in the ruin of their masters.

The agricultural labourers suffered equally from the Government and the zemindars and the big raiyats. The proposed reforms will not directly benefit them to the same extent as the superior non-Brahmana castes, but they are bound to share in the benefits which will accrue to the whole country if reforms are carried out in the directions indicated and the poverty problem, in particular, is properly dealt with. Amongst them it is very doubtful whether representatives can be found in sufficient numbers to protect their interests against the higher caste Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas who now lead the agitation in Madras, and the planters and capitalists. But I think it is possible to devise rules which will enable them materially to influence elections, or to create electorates to send their representatives to the Council. In any event, I am fully satisfied that this class cannot possibly be worse off under the proposed reforms, while it is probable that their position can be improved, and it is certain that if properly safeguarded it will be improved.

#### **Inspection and Advice.**

27. I cannot agree with my Colleagues in their proposals in paragraph 23 about inspection and advice. According to them, these officers are to inspect the operations of the Reserved and Transferred Departments, offer criticisms for the attention of the Governor to be called to the defects disclosed, so that he might use his influence and authority to secure their removal. The authors of the Reforms Report have pointed out (see paragraph 118) that such official inspirations have increased the disposition to interfere in provincial details; they further point out that a substitute for them, in future, should be found in the stimulus afforded by public criticism. Though the necessity of publicity and public criticism is recognised by my Colleagues in the paragraph above referred to, I have little doubt that the tendency again will be towards interference with the Transferred Departments and also with the Reserved Departments. It is the Government of India, as is recognised in the Reforms Report, that have stood in the way of reforms which the Provincial Governments had been willing to carry out. I am, for these reasons, unable to support the recommendations of my Colleagues.

Considering the nature of these recommendations by my Colleagues, it appears to me that the further consideration of these questions should not be put off till the appointment of the Statutory Commission, and that the proposals in the Reforms Report empowering the Viceroy to transfer subjects, if he thinks fit to do so, should be maintained.

**C. Sankaran Nair.**

# Indian Cotton Committee.

## Report Summarised.

The report is issued in a bulky volume of 200 pages and contains several Maps. Each province has a separate chapter devoted to its conditions and at the end of each chapter are the committee's recommendations and conclusions.

The report of the Indian Cotton Committee says :—

We have divided our report into two parts—the first of which deals with the agricultural and irrigational aspect of cotton cultivation, and the second with the commercial aspect. But in conclusion we wish to emphasize as strongly as possible that the recommendations in both parts must be treated as an organic whole. It is of little avail if the agricultural department evolves pure or improved strains of cotton, increases the outturn by the introduction of picking, or if the irrigation department provides facilities for the extensions of the cultivation of cotton, unless the cotton produced is marketed in a condition which enables it to secure its proper price and unless the cotton trade pays that price for it. We have pointed out that the cotton trade is not in a position to cope with the numerous abuses which have been so detrimental to the reputation of Indian cotton in the past without assistance from Government and that a policy of laissez faire in such matters is no longer possible or desirable. The recommendations we have made in the second part of our Report are therefore in every way as important as those in the first part. If a real improvement in Indian cotton is to be obtained, if the proposals we have made in both parts are accepted, the future of Indian cotton will be in the hands of the trade.

The fundamental assumption on which we have thought out is that there is a genuine demand for long staple Indian cotton and that trade is willing to pay a sufficient premium for it to make it worth the while of the cultivator to grow it, but that there have been various obstacles in the past which have prevented it from doing so. We have submitted proposals which will remove those obstacles and will enable long staple cotton to compete with short staple cotton on its merits. It will therefore rest with the cotton trade to convince the cultivator, in the only way in which he can be convinced, that long staple cotton pays him better than any other varieties. If it

succeeds in doing so, as we trust it will, India will be able to make no mean contribution to the resources of the Empire.

#### **Administrative Organisation.**

Touching on the function of a central Cotton Committee, the Report states : in order to secure co-ordination and co operation in all matters relating to cotton a central cotton committee of payment character composed of representatives of the Agricultural and Co-operative Departments, the Director General of Commercial intelligence, the Director of Statistics and representatives of the trade should be established with head-quarters at Bombay. The agricultural adviser to the Government of India should be the President of the Committee, the staff of which should include a whole time Secretary and a Technologist. The main functions of the Committee would be to act as an advisory body to Government and the trade on all matters connected with cotton, including questions relating to legislation and the licensing of ginning and pressing factories, to act as a centre for the dissemination of information regarding cotton and to assist the Agricultural Department through its Technologist in obtaining authoritative valuations of new varieties. In order to carry out its functions the Committee would act through and with provincial committees and local sub-committees. Such committees would be formed in all the provinces in which cotton is grown, except Behar and Oriss and Assam. In view of the special circumstances of Burma, the Provincial committee in the province would be the advisory Body to the provincial body in regard to the licensing of ginning and pressing factories.

The post of the Imperial Cotton Specialist will cease to be necessary on the formation of the central Cotton Committee and should be abolished on the retirement of its present holder. Samples of cotton submitted by the Agricultural Department for trade valuation should in the first instance be not less than twenty pounds of lint. If the report on these is satisfactory 200 pounds of cotton grown on a field scale and handled under ordinary conditions should be sent for a mill test.

Dealing with the world's position in regard to cotton, the report says the total world's production in pre-war conditions is estimated by Professor Tod at about  $25\frac{1}{2}$  Million bales of which the United States produced 15 millions bales. The American crop forming as it does very nearly three fifths of the total outturn of cotton, is therefore the predominating factor in the world's markets. During the first three years after the war broke out it averaged only  $13\frac{1}{2}$  million bales, whilst the crop of 1917-18 was estimated at only 12 millions bales and that for 1918-19 is estimated at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  million bales.



Table 4 in the Appendix shows the very striking increase in the proportion of the crop consumed by American Mills. Whereas in the quinquennium 1890-95, it averaged only 2758,000 bales out of a crop of 8,346,000 bales or 33.05 per cent, in the quinquennium 1910-15, it averaged 576,8900 bales out of a crop of 14,558,000 bales or 39.83 per cent., for the three years 1915-18, it averaged 760,0000 bales out of a crop of 12,871,000 bales or 59.14 per cent. It is evident therefore that unless fresh sources of supply are rapidly developed, the high prices of cotton at present prevalent are not likely to fall to any appreciable extent, even with a return to more normal conditions, especially as all the countries of the world will be seriously short of cotton after the war.

#### Position of Lancashire.

In these circumstances, it is obvious that the Lancashire industry, the importance of which to the Empire needs no comment from us, is faced with a serious situation and that it is most desirable that it should cease to be almost entirely dependent on a source of supply the future of which is so problematic. It is equally desirable in the interest of the Empire as a whole that an alternative source of supply should be found within the Empire. India is the largest cotton producing country in the Empire and being the second largest in the world clearly offers the greatest possibilities of any considerable increase in the supply of cotton in the near future. Apart altogether from the possibilities of an extension of the area under cotton as the result of high prices or of the provision of irrigation facilities and of obtaining an increase in outturn by the introduction of superior varieties, the average yield per acre of the Indian crop is only about 85 pounds of lint whilst that of the United States crop is nearly 200 pounds per acre and of the Egyptian crop, 450 pounds. The condition of affairs is moreover worse than is represented by these figures owing to the condition in which Indian cotton is marketed. It has been estimated that Indian cotton lose about ten per cent in the blowroom than American or Egyptian, thus reducing the real average yield per acre to about 75 pounds. The scope for obtaining an increased outturn merely by an improvement in agricultural practice is therefore considerable. Of the average annual Indian crop of between four and five million bales very little is at present used by Lancashire as is shown by the fact that the average export to the United Kingdom for the five years ending 1917-18 were 215,000 bales only of which a large amount in regard to which we have not been able to obtain exact figures was re-exported. As far as Lancashire is concerned, the immediate necessity is an extension of

the cultivation of long staple cotton in India. The problem is no new one. It has occupied the attention of the Government of India since 1788, but whereas the efforts to extend the cultivation of cotton, more especially of exotic varieties during the early part of the last century, had for their object to render Lancashire independent of the American supply, the position now is that India herself has a flourishing cotton industry which is interested equally with Lancashire. In the question of obtaining larger supplies of better cotton the tendency already visible before the war in this country in the direction of spinning higher counts up to 30s. twist has, we understand, become much marked during the last two years and there is every reason to believe that the advance in this respect will be maintained when the war is over. All the evidence submitted to us by the representatives of the manufacturing interests in India emphasised the importance which the Indian cotton industry attaches to the development of long staple cotton in this country.

#### **Indian Possibilities.**

The Committee next discusses the possibility of Indian cotton replacing American for Lancashire purposes and says it is perhaps desirable that we should at the outset state our views as to the possibility of growing in India cotton of sufficient long staple to meet the requirements of Lancashire and to replace American cotton in the Lancashire mills. It is a matter of common knowledge that the cotton trade practically originated in England and that at one time the export trade in manufactured goods was almost entirely in the hands of Lancashire. Owing to the development of cotton manufacture in other countries, the Lancashire spinners have been compelled to confine themselves in an increasing degree to finer counts for which longer and finer qualities of cottons are required. The results of our enquiry as to the Cottons grown in India which are suitable for the purposes of Lancashire are shown in the table appended to this Chapter. We are of opinion that the only parts of India from which assistance of real value to Lancashire can be expected in the near future, except in the important matter of hosiery yarns are the tracts in which cotton of an inch or slightly more in staple can be grown in large quantities. It will be seen from the table appended to this chapter and from the subsequent chapters of our report that the only tracts which answer to this description at present are those parts of Madras in which Cambodia and Kurunganni cotton are grown, and the Punjab where American cotton is making headway. If the new varieties at present under trial in the latter province can be successfully established, it will fulfil the necessary condition to a greater extent than it does now. Egyptian and

American cotton has been successfully grown in Sind in spite of difficulties and we consider that cotton of both these types of a quality better than any grown in the Punjab and up to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in staple could be grown in that province with ease, provided that perennial irrigation were ensured by the construction of the Sukkur barrage.

#### **Conclusion.**

Our conclusion is therefore that India cannot for at least the next ten years grow cotton in any large commercial quantity of a staple longer than 1-16 inch. Up to this length, we think Madras might furnish 500,000 bales and the Punjab 200,000 bales but these cottons will only be capable of spinning up to 346 twist and 446 weft in Lancashire mills if the conditions in those mills continues like the present. We think however that there will be a demand from Lancashire for cotton for spinning counts up to their degrees of fineness for a very long time to come. We would add that every extra bale of long staple cotton, as the term is understood in this country, will liberate a corresponding bale of other growths for Lancashire and that therefore the proposals we have made with a view to securing an increase in the Indian crop will tend equally to the advantage of the Lancashire and Indian industries.

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# Report on the Indian Silk Industry.

*Simla—5 Feb. 1919.*

The report on the enquiry into the Silk industry in India was undertaken by Mr. Maxwell Lefroy, Imperial Silk Specialist and Mr. E. Ansorge, I. C. S., in December 1915 and has now been published.

## **The Conclusion.**

Diminution in silk production in India, mainly that of Bengal, is due to (1) the increased production of Japan, (2) disease, (3) the increased value of other crops, (4) the inferiority of the Bengal worm. The silk crop of Bengal is now almost limited to areas in which silk is the most suitable crop. With a better race than is now available and with the existing resources in nurseries the industry can be largely revived if the new hybrid races are introduced and if a competent European officer is appointed to organise.

## **Prospects of Extension.**

The introduction of the industry in Mysore and Kollegal is capable of extension on the same lines and its production of silk can be considerably increased if disease-free seeds of an improved (probably hybrid) race can be issued from a station situated in a suitable climate. The industry in Kashmir is in no need of anything but local extension in regard to the planting and the production of silk is nearly at the limit of the existing trees. The question of developing seed supply must depend on the conclusions reached by the Imperial Agricultural Bacteriologist on the pebrine question. The small industries in Assam and Burma are capable of considerable extension with better races of seed and better plant. New areas for silk production are being tested. There is large scope for development in the Punjab, United Provinces, Behar and submontane tracts, but this will require extensive organisation at the start and will develop slowly. Other areas for silk production are uncertain and can be tested only by continued experiment. The development of the industry depends primarily upon continued expert organisation and a seed supply with expert organisation in India. There can be a large extension of production in Bengal and Mysore, some extension in Assam and Burma

and steady growth probably in northern India, and all likely areas in India can be tested. The ultimate limit of development is a perfectly definite one decided by climatic and economic conditions, the latter of which are not yet ascertained for all parts of India. But it is probable that a very large increase in production is possible and may be confidently looked for if competent organisation is applied through ordinary channels. The expenditure involved is small, and the lines of progress and detailed minor improvements in each area are indicated. The broad requirement is the provision of an expert organising staff and central seed producing station.

### **The Tasar Industry.**

There has been a diminution in the tasar industry due mainly to the increased value of food crops, partly to the better control of forest and partly to the decreased demand for tasar goods. The production of cocoons can be assisted only by a prolonged investigation into the biology of the insect the result of which must be uncertain. The position of the tasar producer is not such as to justify this investigation, and it is not worth undertaking. The closely related industry of tasar weaving can be assisted probably only by the provision of organisation. In the disposal of the fabric between better methods and the extension of cooperative credit, the latter is the most vital, the tasar worker being very generally hopelessly indebted and unable to work under proper conditions. The industry is a very scattered one and will be difficult to organise on that account but it is very large and falls chiefly within a single province. Its production is not exported and the position of the industry is a matter wholly of local concern. No real effort to assist the industry has been made during the last forty years and there is probably good scope for development on cooperative lines. This could be easily done and the cost would be fully justified by the results. The Muga and Eri industries are small and practically confined to Assam. They are capable of great improvement with expert advice but will probably never develop to large proportions. It might possibly become a large industry if the use of Indian raw materials was developed in England.

### **Expert Organisation and Competition.**

The production of silk cocoons of all kinds and the disposal of the produce can be considerably developed by the provision chiefly of expert organisation similar to that of the agricultural departments in India, and it is essential that this organisation shall also be in close

touch with the manufacturing part of the silk industry. The question of the utilisation of silk and the development of the silk weaving industry is less simple than that of silk production. The decline in the export of manufactured silk and the growth in the imports of manufactured silk are due to the continuance of defective methods in India, bad economic conditions, and want of organisation. The increased cheap production in Japan is probably due to better organisation of weaving. The export of manufactured silk from India is unlikely to be considerable unless the industry can be organised and the existing methods improved. This will be possible only by such an extension of co-operative credit among weavers as will make them independent of the employers who have prevented improvement of the existing organisation and it will require a combination of expert advice and commercial organisation and cooperative credit extension which will otherwise be extremely difficult. It is uncertain if the Indian worker will ever be able to compete successfully with and work for an export trade. It is more likely that the extension of weaving will be limited to meeting the internal demand except in such articles as require fine imported raw materials, but the deciding factor in this is the question: how Japan is able to produce silk fabrics cheaper than is now possible in India, and it may be that it will ultimately be decided that it will be impossible ever to develop here an export in manufactured silk. The inquiry into the production in Japan has yet to be made. It is certain that Indian weaving industry suffers in competition with other countries in defective methods, in the deplorable position of the workers, in the excessive profits made by the dealers and employers, and in the lack of ordinary business organisation and commercial enterprise. Defective methods cannot be remedied until the actual craftsman can be put in a position to adopt better ones and the Indian weaver can probably compete successfully if he can be properly financed, organised and developed. This requires first the means for experimentally producing silk fabrics, secondly capital with which to finance the development and the production of better goods, thirdly thorough local inquiry into the circumstances of the weavers and the means of organising them, and fourthly co-ordination of organising staff whose operations can extend over all India and who can stimulate trade development inter-provincially and also outside India.

#### **State Aid.**

In doing this, it is essential that the ordinary commercial methods are adopted and that consolidated sums of money are risked until the production and sale can be taken over by commer

cial agency. The ordinary business of trade must be gone through by the State and some further experience is required to definitely ascertain in what areas better methods, proper economic conditions and good organisation will enable the Indian weaver to successfully produce the articles now in demand. Some areas, such as Burma, are far more promising than others, and there is justification for the belief that if a real effort is made with sufficient capital, the great part of the silk required can be produced in India and that possibly export trade can also be created. It is useless to ignore the difficulties and it is also certain that nothing but a real business-like effort will achieve anything. The mere creation of schools, institutes etc., will do nothing. It will be easy to have a large permanent staff and to really achieve nothing, and it is unlikely that any solid progress will be made during the first year or two. The best plan is to provide the organisation and to attempt to reorganise the industry in suitable areas with a combination of local effort and central advice, commencing on small lines in suitable places. The organisation required for this is discussed and the creation of a Central Silk Institute to work with provincial silk assistants is recommended in the Report. In the first place this should be limited to the provision of a seed supply station in a suitable climate. The necessary staff for hybridising, for seed production, for the supervisor of weaving experiments should be provided, and there should be an officer in the imperial service whose advice should be available to all producers on the improvement and development of silkworm cultivation. This having been provided the development in the weaving line should be considered. Any action that will be taken by local Governments will determine how far it will be necessary to provide the staff of the Central Silk Institute. It is suggested also that an inquiry in Japan and China should be undertaken before any development is commenced.

### Conclusion.

The expenditure for the first year will probably in this direction be small, but if provincial Governments generally agree to the proposal and the work commences to develop, the staff of the institute will be required and the buildings and appliances will need to be provided for. Including non-recurring expenditure and capital the amount required annually during the first four years should not exceed Rs. 1,50,000. In recurring expenditure it should not exceed Rs. 75,000 in the first year and rise to Rs. 1,50,000 in about four years, I am assuming that nearly all provinces develop their silk industry and

that the full scheme is worked up. It is impossible to lay down what the development should be. Two things are absolutely essential. The first is that the officer responsible shall be given as much freedom as possible in deciding in what direction to make progress first, and shall not have his budget too minutely sub-divided. The second is that it shall be recognised that progress will be slow and that it is useless to embark on any development unless it is likely to be persisted for a period long enough to really test its value. If success is to be achieved it will require a steady effort maintained over more than one generation and during this time many methods will need to be tried and there will be some failures.

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# Report of Lord Crew's Committee on India Office Reforms.

*Simla July 14,—1919.*

## Summary of Recommendations.

The following is the official summary of the proposals made by the Committee on Home Administration of Indian affairs over which Lord Crewe presided.

### **Relations between the English and Indian administration.**

(1) Save in the case of absolute necessity, legislation should not be certified for enactment by the Council of State without the previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State on the ground that its enactment is essential in the interests of peace, order and good Government of India.

(2) Where the Government of India are in agreement with a majority of non-official members of the Legislative Assembly either in regard to legislation, or in regard to resolutions on the budget, or on matters of general administration, assent to their joint decision should only be withheld in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to the Parliament for peace, order, and good Government of India, of paramount consultations of Imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly.

(3) As a basis of delegations the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, would be substituted in all cases in which previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required.

(4) In the relations between the Secretary of State and the Local Governments the principle should as far as possible be applied that, where the Government are in agreement with a conclusion of the legislature, their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail.

(5) Assent to or disallowance of Indian legislation by the Crown should be signified by His Majesty in Council.

### **The administration of India.**

(6) The powers and authority now vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State.

(7) The Secretary of State should be assisted by an Advisory

Committee to which he shall refer such matters as he may determine and he may provide by regulations for the conduct of the business of the Committee.

(8) The Advisory Committee should consist of not more than 12 and not less than six members, appointed by the Secretary of State.

(9) Not less than one-third of the members of the Committee should be persons domiciled in India selected by the Secretary of State from a panel of names submitted by non-official members of the Indian Legislature.

(10) The tenure of office of a member of the Committee should be 5 years.

(11) The members of either House of Parliament should be ineligible for appointment to the Committee.

(12) The salary of the members of the Committee should be £ 1200 a year.

(13) The Indian members of the Committee should receive a subsistence allowance of £600 a year in addition to salary, in respect of their domicile.

(14) Statutory provision should be made for recommendations (6) to (13) unclusive.

(15) The Secretary of State should regulate, by executive orders the conduct of correspondence between India Office and the Governments in India.

#### **The Organisation of the India Office Establishment.**

(16) Action should be taken with a view to the transfer of the agency work of the India Office to a High Commissioner for India, or some similar Indian Governmental representative in London.

(17) No formal system of interchange of appointments between a member of India Office and India services can be recommended, but a deputation between the two countries should be encouraged.

(18) Occasion should be taken now and then to appoint an Indian to one of the posts intermediate between the Secretary of State and heads of departments.

#### **Apportionment of the Charges.**

(19) The charges on account of political and administrative work of the India Office should be placed on the Estimates, those on account of agency work of the office being defrayed from Indian revenues, the apportionment to be determined by agreement between the India Office and the Treasury.

(20) The Committee are not in favour of the proposal to establish a select committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, and Sir James Brunyate, Prof. Keith and Mr. Basu have stated their views in separate memorandum.

**PART IV**  
**THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA**

# THE NATIONAL MOVE- MENT IN INDIA 1918

BEING A RECORD OF THE POLITICAL & QUASI-  
POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF PUBLIC  
BODIES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. IN  
INDIA DURING THE YEAR  
1918.

EDITED BY  
H. N. MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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# NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

## 1918.



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# Mr. Montagu and the Deputations.

*January 1918.*

[For the genesis of the Indian Constitutional Reforms and the discussion of related matters in Parliament, see Part II of the Register—India in Parliament and Abroad)

After the Calcutta Congress of 1917 and the strong vein of extremism which it left as a legacy to the country there was nothing so important as the constitutional Reforms round which the warp and woof of political thought in India came more and more to be woven. Mr. Montagu's mission in India, to discuss with the Government and People here the questions relating to constitutional changes in what he himself once described as the "too iron, too wooden, too inelastic" Government of India was now coming to a close. For the last few months he had been receiving along with the Viceroy deputations from public bodies and associations, and interviewing public men. This work was finished by the 12th of January, and in Jan. third week he met in conference the Provincial Governors at Delhi and heard their views about the Reforms. Nothing was made public, however, either about this conference or about the nature of the coming reforms. In the following lists are given the deputations received and heard and those rejected.

### *List of Associations permitted to Present Address.*

1. Indian Association, Delhi.
2. Punjab Provincial Muslim League.
3. Punjab Muslim League.
4. Punjab Muslim Association.
5. Ahmadiyya Community, Qadian.
6. Agra Zamindar's Association.
7. Zamindars in Agra not belonging to Agra Zamindars' Association.
8. British Indian Association, Oudh.
9. United Provinces Muslim League.
10. Majlis Muid-ul-Islam.
11. Anjuman-i-Islamia, Saharanpur.
12. Maulvis of Deoband.
13. United Provinces Muslim Defence Association.
14. United Provinces Chamber of Commerce.
15. Ahir Representatives of India.



*THE DEPUTATIONS*

16. Punjab Provincial Conference.
17. Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat-i-Islam.
18. Punjab Zamindars' Central Association.
19. Chief Khalsa Diwan.
20. Punjab Chiefs' Association.
21. Punjab Hindu Sabha.
22. All-India Congress and Muslim League.
23. United Provinces Congress Committee.
24. Home Rule League.
25. Muzaffarnagar Zamindars' Association.
26. All-India Hindu Sabha.
27. Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Federation.
28. Bengal Chamber of Commerce.
29. British Indian Association, Calcutta.
30. Calcutta Trades Association.
31. Anglo-Indian Association.
32. Central National Muhammadan Association.
33. Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.
34. Indian Association, Calcutta.
35. Marwari Association.
36. Bengal Mahajan Sabha.
37. Bengal Presidency Muslim League.
38. Indian Muslim Association.
39. People's Association, Sylhet.
40. Assam Association.
41. Certain Muhammadan Associations of Assam.
42. Representatives of the Burmese Community in general and of the Burma Merchants' Association and the Co-operative Societies in particular.
43. Co-operative Credit Societies of Burma.
44. Young Men's Buddhist Association,
45. National Karen Association.
46. Burma Provincial Congress Committee.
47. European Association.
48. Miscellaneous Body of Europeans and Indians.
49. Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.
50. Hillmen of Darjeeling.
51. Bengal Landholders' Association.
52. Association to safeguard Muslim Interest (Bihar and Orissa).
53. Bihar and Orissa Provincial Congress Committee and Bihar Provincial Association.
54. Pardhan Bhumihar Brahman Sabha.
55. Loyalists' League, Monghyr.
56. All-India Landholders.
57. All-India Orthodox Hindus.

*TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE*

58. Bihar Landholders' Association.
59. All-India Conference of Indian Christians.
60. Utkal Union Conference Committee.
61. United Planters' Association of Southern India.
62. The Presidency Association, Madras.
63. Chamber of Commerce, Madras.
64. Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India.
65. Southern India Chamber of Commerce.
66. Madras Provincial Congress Committee.
67. Madras Mahajana Sabha.
68. Catholic Indian Association of Southern India.
69. Indian Christian Community of Madras.
70. Zamindars and Landed Proprietors of the Madras Presidency
71. Newington Old Boy's Association.
72. Kerala Janmi Sabha.
73. Coorg Landholders' Association.
74. All-India Women's Deputation.
75. South India Liberal Federation.
76. Non-Brahman Communities in the Madras Presidency.
77. Madras Dravidian Association.
78. Madras Adi Dravida Jana Sabha.
79. Dravida Mahajana Sangam, Rangoon.
80. Madras Presidency Muslim League.
81. South Indian Islamia League.
82. Mutialpet Muslim Anjuman.
83. Ulemas of Madras.
84. Andhra Conference Committee.
85. Non-official Members of Legislative Councils.
86. Anjuman-I-Islam, Bombay.
87. Deccan Sabha.
88. Inamdars' Association.
89. Indian Christian Association, Bombay.
90. Decan Ryots' Association.
91. Lingayats of Southern Division.
92. Poona Sarwajanik Sabha.
93. Home Rule Leagues, Bombay and Poona.
94. Bombay Presidency Association.
95. Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, Bombay.
96. Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.
97. Sir Dinshaw Wachha and nine friends.
98. Parsee Community.
99. Talukdars and Sardars of Gujarat.
100. Muhammadans of the Bombay Presidency,
101. Sind Muhammadan Association.
102. Special Sind Provincial Conference.

**THE DEPUTATION**

103. Jain Association of India.
104. Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
105. Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee and Central Provinces Provincial Association.
106. District Council, Nagpur.
107. Berar Provincial Congress Committee.
108. Representatives of Berar Graduates Association.

*List of Associations whose application for Permission to present addresses were rejected*

**Madras.**

1. The Godavari District Association.
2. The Kistna District Association.
3. The Madura-Ramnad District Peoples' Association, Madura, Ramnad District Congress Committee and Home Rule League.
4. The Nannilam Taluk Congress Committee.
5. The Panchamas of the Madras Presidency.
6. The Viswarkamas of Telugu District.
7. The Kistna and Guntur Mandala Viswabrahmana Sangam,
8. The South Indian Yadava Community.
9. The Lingayat Community.
10. The Marava Mahajana Sangam.
11. The Chennai Vannikula Kshatriya Mahasangam.
12. The Buddhists of South India.
13. The Indian Christinns of the Districts of Tinnevely, Mad. and Ramnad.
14. The Catholic Assocaitions of South Kanara.
15. The Madras Ryotwari Landholders' Association.
16. The Tinnevely-Ramnad-Madura Districts group non-Brahmans Conference.
17. The Southern India Skin and Hide Merchants' Association.
18. The Madras Salt Licensees' Association.
19. The Non-Brahmans from eleven Telugu Districts.
20. The Madras Mubammadans.
21. The Carnatic Family Association.
22. The Nattukotti Chetti Community.
23. The Arya Vaisya Community.
24. The Viswakarma Mahajana Conference.
25. The Nayudu Community.
26. The Nadar Community.
27. The Tiyya Community.
28. The Indrakuladhipar Sangam.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

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**Bombay.**

1. Municipal Corporation, Bombay.
2. Maratha Aikyecchu Sabha, Bombay.
3. Hindu Mahajan Committee, Bombay.
4. Bombay National Union.
5. The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and the Arya. Brotherhood of Bombay.
6. Kabber Community.
7. The Maratha Community Bombay.
8. All-India Maratha Conference, Belgaum.
9. Bombay Medical Union.
10. Bene-Israel Community, Bombay.
11. Anglo-Indian Empire League, Bombay.
12. Sind Branch European Association.
13. Madras Home Rule League.
14. Jain Political Conference, Lucknow.
15. All-India Brahma Bhat Samaj, Baroda.
16. District Association, Satara.
17. Taluka Sabha, Karad, Satara District.
18. Kolaba Zilla Sabha.
19. Inhabitants of Bankot and surrounding Villages, Ratnagiri District.
20. Watandars' Association, Karad, Satara District.
21. Kulkarins of West Khandesh.
22. Koli Dnyati Sabha, Bombay.
23. Kanarese speaking British subjects residing in Kanara Districts, Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and in Coorg.
24. Raddi Community, Bombay Presidency.
25. Lingayat Semaj, Poona.
26. Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Bombay.
27. Millowners' Association, Bombay.
28. Ahmedabad Millowners' Association.
29. Indian Shipowners and Charterers, Bombay.
30. Servants of India Society, Bombay.
31. Indian Liberal Club, Bombay.

**Bengal.**

1. Murshidabad Association.
2. Rajshahi Association.
3. Tippera Peoples' Association.
4. Bakarganj District Association.
5. Chittagong Peoples' Association.
6. Krisnak Sammilani, Nator.
7. Suhrid Sammilani, Noakhali.

**THE DEPUTATION**

8. Jottdars' Conference, Jamalpur.
9. Jessore District Association.
10. Bengal Namasudra Association.
11. North Bengal Zamindars' Association.
12. Eastern Bengal Landholders' Association.
13. Bengal Vaishya Barujibi Sabha.
14. Vaishya Sabha, Calcutta.
15. Bangiya Brahmin Sabha.
16. Bengal Medical Association.
17. Members of the Arabic Department, Calcutta Madrasa.
18. Bengal Provincial Conference Council.
19. Bengal Buddhists' Association.
20. Chittagong Buddhists' Association.
21. Provincial Muhammadan Association, Bengal, Dacca.
22. Kshatriya Samati, Rangpur.
23. Bratya Kshatriya Samiti, Bengal.

**United Provinces.**

1. Jain Political Conference.
2. Tenantry of North-West India.
3. Kashi Sujan Samaj.
4. All-India Brahma Bhat Samaj, Baroda.

**Punjab.**

1. Sikh and non-Sikh Artizan Community.
2. Anjuman-i-Islamia, Punjab.
3. Multan Hindu Muhammadan Panchayat.
4. Gaur Brahman Maha Sabha, Jagadhri.
5. District Congress Committee, Hoshiarpore.
6. Doaba Association of Commercial Classes.
7. Secretaries, Zamindar Association, Hoshiarpore.
8. Kangra Landowners.
9. Amritsar District Congress Committee.

**Burma.**

1. Mandalay Bar Association.
2. Monks of Moulmein.

**Bihar and Orissa.**

1. Gope Jatiya Mahasabha.
2. Orissa Landholder's Association.
3. Central National Muhammadan Association, Cuttack.
4. Mahishyas of Bengal, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Assam.

## RECEPTION OF Mr. MONTAGU

9

### Central Provinces and Berar.

1. The Central Provinces and Berar Moslem League.
2. The District Congress Committee, the non-official members of the Municipal Committee and the Malguzari Sabha, Bhandara.

### Delhi.

1. All-India Yadava Ahir Khatriya Conference.

## THE RECEPTION OF Mr. MONTAGU.

The reception accorded to him was far from enviable. Barring a handful of Moderates ready to take him as befits his station in life, he was from the very beginning mercilessly exposed to the cross fires of Indian Extremists on the one hand and the Anglo Indian junkers on the other. The attitude of Anglo India as a whole was very hostile, that of the Extremists and Home Rulers truculent, while the Moderates tried to keep an open mind and a cool head. Perhaps the scarcely veiled contempt or indifference with which a section of the people came to regard the Sec. of state and his mission was to a great extent due to the gradual disillusionment as to the true meaning of the famous Announcement of Aug. 20 on which Indians had built great hopes and Anglo-Indians scented great danger. The elucidation of that announcement in Parliament served to give the impression that Mr. Montagu's work in India was little more than a masked performance of discredited diplomacy. For, in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon on behalf of the War Cabinet declared. :—

This statement of policy (the Announcement of 20 Aug.), couched in most moderate and well-thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion in the Cabinet.....I do not think that any formula has been the subject of more close and constant discussion by responsible persons, both in India and here, than was that formula. The noble Viscount (Lord Sydenham, who strongly criticised the policy) might have been entitled to take the objection he did if there had been in that pronouncement any definite drawing up of a programme, any sketch of what exactly was to be done. It was nothing of the sort. It was a broad general declaration of a principle, and the lines upon which our administration of that country ought to proceed in future.

Only a declaration of policy, no definite programme !

Militant Anglo-India did not like the mask—this time-worn political expediency. They said in effect : it is foolish to raise hopes which it is not in anybody's power to satisfy ; the reaction would endanger safety and bring forth the inevitable misery and bitterness. If something must be done, it should not at least be through the

low tactics of political diplomacy. The following account of an Anglo Indian meeting held early in the year under review will give an idea of their point of view as to what is actually wanted in India.

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**BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.**

*Calcutta, 26 Feb. 1918.*

At the Annual general meeting of the Bengal Chamber Sir **Hugh Bray**, the president, expressed himself on the Reforms in the following words :—

“Next let me refer to the visit of the Secretary of State which we may consider the most noticeable event of the past twelve months apart from those that have to do with the war. He has had the opportunity of listening to innumerable opinions, and until he announces the conclusions at which he has arrived there does not seem to me much to be gained by further public discussion on the subject of how soon or in what instalments the inhabitants of this country may be given the privilege of managing their own affairs. I use the word “inhabitants” to include all races and classes that claim India as their mother or their adopted mother and I use the words “their own affairs” because Imperial interests must remain imperial. I take back nothing that I said in Simla last September nor have I much to add to it. Ours is a difficult and invidious position and the part we have to play makes it difficult for us to avoid the appearance of hostility in the eyes of those who look only to the end and see nothing of or ignore the difficulties of the road thereto, but I hope and believe the more moderate leaders of Indian thought do not misunderstand us, and do realise that this is essentially a field for co-operation between those who set the country’s good above their personal ambitions, and those who, whether they put the country’s prosperity above their own or not, nevertheless are as truly working for the country, since the two are interdependent and inseparable. I would go further and say that even the extremists know it too, but in the game of politics as they play it, it suits them to use what in their own minds they know is, to put it politely, political license. Until, then, the Secretary of State makes known his proposals and they come up for discussion as he has promised, I think we may content ourselves with doing all we can to equip ourselves for taking a larger share in the political life of this country than we have done in the

past, an equipment of which a better knowledge of our Indian fellow subjects and an appreciation of their point of view are by no means the least important items. I should like to read you a few lines I came across in a volume of essays the other day in reference to a different problem.

"In taking a given idea, the fight only begins to rage round the question whether that idea is in fact holding fast and spreading, and if so, whether the community is or is not yet sufficiently permeated with the idea to be safely entrusted with its fulfilment. Nonetheless must it be borne in mind that if this idea can be proved to be surely spreading, it must be an idea emanating from the root divinity of things from the over-mastering principle of Equity, and sure of ultimate fulfilment, and the only question will then be, exactly how long the rule of expediency and force may advisably postpone its fulfilment."

"I think you can apply those words exactly to the problem of what is called Home Rule for India"

**Mr. Shirley Tremearne** said :—

"Some six years ago I ventured to sound a note of warning. I pointed out that momentous changes were looming in the future, that our best men were abstaining from serving on your Committee ; and that if this apathy continued, we should wake up before long to find our cherished privilege gone ; and that it would then be too late to agitate for what we might have retained without any ill feeling being aroused. I assured you that the people of this country welcome the co-operation and assistance of Europeans, if they are sympathetic and straight ; and that they would always look to us for help and guidance and leadership, if we are loyal to ourselves and sympathetic to them. My words seem to have had some effect, for quite a number of our best men came forward at the next Election ; and I was able to heartily congratulate the Chamber on the excellent Committee that had been elected ; I am able to do so again to-day. I took the opportunity to refer to the mischievous activities of the Public Services Commission and to warn you that its only effect would be to stir up any racial feeling that was lying dormant, and to create in the minds of many persons ideas that may never be realised. My prediction has unfortunately been fulfilled. The report of this ill advised Commission has set a section of the community on the war path and has roused an agitation somewhat similar to that which arose some thirty years ago over the Ilbert Bill.

"The persons who are demanding with an insistent voice that they should Rule Britannia in this country very forcibly remind



me of a familiar passage in Burkes Reflections on the Revolution in France. He wrote :—"Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle repose beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew-the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field that of course, they are many in number, or that after all they are other than the little meagre, shrivelled, hopping, though loud and troublesome insects of the hour." Now, gentlemen, it is true that at present the position is somewhat analogous to the grasshoppers. Here we have a handful of men, most of them with no substantial stake in the country, unable to properly govern themselves yet claiming the right to govern their fellows. But grievances are easily spread and the discontent of the few may, if not taken in hand, be some day the discontent of the many. The remedy for this is to educate the masses, so that when self-government, responsible government, Home rule, or whatever it may be called, comes in sight it may find a people ready to use it in an intelligent way. The elementary school for our budding politicians are the village panchaits, the Municipalities, District Committees and the like. We should build our houses from the foundation and not from the top. I am and have always been an ardent advocate of local and responsible self-government for we shall have eventually to give to the people of this country a much greater voice in the management of their affairs, and it is far better to set about doing this cheerfully, instead of grudgingly and of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver. But it is no use giving the people what they do not really need and would make no profitable use of ; the franchise under such circumstances is little short of a farce. We want a government eventually broad based upon the people's will, but the time is not yet. Home Rule is at present a far cry but it will gather force, and it is for the Government and us to prepare and educate the masses for it.

### **Know and sympathise.**

Now, in this state of affairs, our role should be the 'suaviter in modo.' To quote the words of a well-known Bishop, we stand at a critical point in the history of India. It is a time of peculiar difficulty and trial. There are two points about which we specially need to be watchful. First, scrupulously to abstain from the use of language about our Indian fellow subjects, which may be in any way provocative or offensive. To use language that bites and stings is an act of political incendiarism. And secondly, to try and acquire a generous and sympathetic insight into the aims and aspirations of educated Indians. We can often make men loyal by

believing in them, and we help to make them disloyal by treating them with unmerited suspicion and distrust. We do not always get at the real man from his public utterances, and I will give you a case in point. Some few years ago when in London Sir Seymour King invited me to dine with him at St. Stephen's Club. When I arrived there he said : I have a little surprise for you. I have invited three known Home Rulers to meet you—Swift Macneill, Tim Healy and Sir Thomas Esmonde. You will find them three of the nicest men you could meet, and utterly different from what you would expect." And so I did ; a sweeter, nicer, milder gentleman than the truculent Swift Macneill I have never met ; nor a more entertaining companion than Tim Healy, whose birthday, by the way, it happened to be ; nor a truer gentleman than Sir Thomas Esmonde.

#### Character of Indian Gentlemen.

"Now, Gentlemen, you have all heard of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and its elusive pimperl of an editor, Babu Moti Lal Ghose. Judging from his writings you would no doubt expect to see a regular Bombastes Furioso : instead of which you would meet one of the gentlest and nicest of Indian gentlemen—an Indian Swift Macneill. Therefore, I say get to know them, they may convert you somewhat to their ideas ; you may convert them somewhat to your own. In this way a golden bridge may be constructed and harmony take the place of discord. I have known that "Banerjes blast of turgid eloquence," Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. B. Chakravarti, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose, and others for years. I have always been ready to do them a good turn ; they have done me several. Speak of men as you find them but find them first."

#### INDIANS AND Mr. MONTAGU.

It was pointed out in many papers that Indians were prevented from giving such a reception to Mr. Montagu, socially and otherwise, as they would have liked to give him. He could not see even distinguished Indians without being accompanied by big officials. In official announcements his name was mentioned not only after the Viceroy's but even after that of the Governor of Bengal. When he came to Calcutta from Howrah he was not placed in the first carriage in the procession. Indians at Delhi noted that he was accommodated in a tent in the Viceregal grounds. It would have been the easiest thing in the world so to arrange his tour programme as to enable him to remain in Calcutta during the Christmas week, and see for himself how the Congress, Moslem League,

and other conferences are attended and conducted. That would have given him experience of value. But it was officially arranged that he was to be in Calcutta in the first part of December and in Bombay in the last week. These things were pointed out and commented upon in the papers while there was still ample time to change the programme, but Mr. Montagu could not help being in the leading strings of Indian officialdom.

An interesting letter written by Msmt. Bano Begum, the venerable mother of the celebrated Muhamedan internees, Messrs Muhamad Ali and Saukat Ali, to Mrs. Nehru of Allahabad is worth reproducing. The Begum was chosen to be a member of the Women's deputation to Mr. Montagu. The letter was written with reference to that fact. She explained in it that in her present state of health and mind she would not be able to undertake such a long journey. Then she goes on to say :

"There are besides one or two other considerations on which I think I can freely and frankly speak to you, knowing full well that I would not be misunderstood. Whatever outsiders, who hardly know our country even on the surface, may say about us, the "poor miserable *pardah* women of India," you know and I know what queens we are in our own little kingdoms, and what enormous powers we wield over our households. The times have indeed changed, and demand from us newer methods of getting what we may want, and it may be permissible to-day to go even before strangers with our appeals, although we may be doubtful of the success of our mission. But may I not ask if it would not be better to bring the pressure of our united wills to bear on our own husbands, fathers, brothers and sons instead of going a-begging before others, however exalted? I feel strongly on this point, and you must bear with one who belongs to the old Indian world, though she tries to keep in touch with the new."

"If a deputation like ours had ever waited on any old king of India, whether Hindu or Moslem, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it would have brought back from "the Father of his People" all that it wanted even if it had been refused to their men-folk a hundred times. What is more, the king would have thought it a unique honour conferred on him, and the bards of his court would have sung of it, and the ballads of the people would have immortalised the incident. The results of this deputation I cannot guess; but judging from the way in which our brave sister Annie Besant has been treated in her efforts for the preservation of the British Empire we may at least guess what we would get from the chivalrous Anglo-Indian Press. For the honour of Indian womanhood—nay, for the honour of the manhood of India also, I would have liked

that no such deputation was going to wait on the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, but that one should have gone out to the Congress and the Moslem League and declared openly and in clear terms what the women of Hindustan wanted from their men. I am sure whatever the women would have asked them they would have sooner or later provided. That is the lesson of History all over the world.

"Besides these general considerations, I have another and a personal reason why I cannot join you all at Madras. The Secretary of State comes from a free country, and it is only natural that as a free man he would have liked to go about when and where he liked and to discuss with those who were in a position to know what our country really needed to make it free and happy and great. But the powerful European Services that have everything to lose and nothing to gain from any and every enquiry of a truly searching character, even if undertaken by their own countrymen who are used to freedom and popular control, decided that he should be, while in this country, a *pardahnashin* like us and not see those who, including my own sons interned here, whose request to have interviews with him has been refused by the Government of India, could put things plainly before him. It would indeed be extremely curious if, while he, a man, and one used all his life to the freedom and open-air existence of the West, had been put in *pardah* to suit the exigencies of an Oriental country, I who have been brought up all my life as *pardahnashin* should go out of it. But even if I consented to give up all the conventions of a lifetime, I doubt if some convention or other would not be discovered for him in time to prevent me from speaking out my mind on some vital issue, like the respect for our faith, our lives and liberties, and the honour of our manhood and womanhood, though I assure you it would never occur to me to put forward any personal petition. I reserve these for another and higher authority that has never failed a petitioner, and, far from avoiding such petitions, Himself invites them and also pledges Himself in advance to grant them."

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## THE INTERNMENTS

### The Internments.

For some time past the internment policy of the Government, specially of the Government of Bengal, under the Defence of India Act, had served to keep up a vigorous agitation in the Country. A detailed account of the internments would itself cover a volume, but the reader would get some idea of the extent of government action and public agitation from the following pages. The strength of the movement owed much in part to the activities of Mrs. Besant who whole heartedly threw herself to the task and personally went about to collect facts about the alleged political suspects and the detenus. The treatment of the latter in some cases was complained to be equal to a degree bordering on inhumanity. Free comparison was drawn with Russian methods, and several cases of insanity, disease and death were laid at the door of the Government. Question after question was put in the Bengal Council about the alleged torture of the detenus and their confinement in solitary cells. Two most shocking cases were often mentioned as instances of official callousness and ineptitude. One was Prof. Manindranath Seth, M. Sc., Vice-principal of the Daulatpur College, who was arrested on the 28th Aug. '17, showed symptoms of insanity in September, was reported to be have developed phthisis next November, complained to have been kept in solitary confinement for the first ten days after his arrest, and then fled from all earthly bondage on 16 Jan. '18!

A ghastly tale of suffering and woe was that of Prof. Jyotish Ch. Ghose, M.A. This young man was a public spirited teacher of Hoogly and enjoyed the confidence of the European District Magistrate of that place. But he somehow incurred the suspicion of the C. I. D., was arrested on 3rd January '17, as usual without any formal charge, kept in a solitary cell from 3rd Feb. till the end of March, gradually showed symptoms of malingering, sometime suspected to be feigning, developed insanity, gradually sank into a state of coma; totally irresponsive to all sensations, he was artificially red through the nose, and thus lived a life in death—dumb, staring, rigid, paralysed into a block! His poor old mother cried and appealed, from the lowest to the Viceroy, to give back her child to die in her arms, but all in vain!

The usual exculpatory laconic Government communiques were issued. No body could say that Government was wrong but every body felt that grievous wrongs were being suffered.

To all popular comments on these harsh measures, especially on the alleged unscrupulous activities of the C. I. D., Government took up the attitude that the very stringency complained of had saved the country from anarchical crimes ere long so prevalent in the country.

## The Sindhubala Case.

About this time the whole of Bengal from one end to the other received a stunning shock in the news that two young purdah ladies both named **Sindhubala**, one being in a family way, have been arrested by the Police and interned under the Defence of India Act ! The facts are shortly as follows :—

On the 4th January the house of one Kunja Ghose of Shabajpur in sub-division Bishnupur was suddenly surrounded by the Police Superintendent of Bankura with an armed force. The superintendent enquired if there was any woman named Sindhubala in the house, and on being told that there was, he asked her to be produced and at once arrested her. He said he had orders to arrest "Sindhubala" whom he took to the cutchery house of the Zamindar of Behar a short distance off at about 9 P.M. in the night. There she was questioned and it transpired during her statement that there was another Sindhubala, wife of her (the first Sindhubala's) brother Debendra Ghosh who lived in the village of Behar. The Police next searched the house of Debendra and brought the 2nd Sindhubala to the cutchery. There the two women, one 24 and the other 27 years old, each with young children, were kept for the night in police custody and were sent to the sadar thana of Bankura by the next evening and thence again to the Bankura Jail pending orders. There they were kept about a fortnight and then released. There was no charge against them ; they were arrested, two rustic ignorant women arrested, and kept for a fortnight in a Jail, with what comfort may be easily imagined, on mere suspicion !

It was a stunning blow. Such callous Police outrage on the inner shrines of home in the name of Law and on the plea of suspicion flushed articulate resentment and choked the feelings of the country for some brief time. After the spell the people of Bengal, stirred to the depths, roused themselves to their favourite pastime or power of agitation. The Indian Press became more and more truculent in their attack on the Govt. and their policy. Even the Anglo-Indian Press, the chartered opposition of Indian Nationalism, showed sym-

pathy with the unhappy victims, for, be it noted, the women were not of the labouring class but were purdah ladies of poor middle-class Hindu family. As a result of the growing agitation Government at last issued the following *communique* on the 17th February, a month after the incident.

### Government Communique on the Sindhubalas.

The attention of Government having been drawn to certain newspaper comments relative to the arrest under the Defence of India Act of two women, both named Sindhubala Dasi, in the Bankura district, enquiry has been made into the circumstances of the case, and it is thought desirable to make known the following facts.

Among the papers of a dangerous member of the revolutionary party recently arrested in Calcutta was found a slip of paper bearing the following name.

Srimati Sindhubala Dasi,  
C/o Kamanvia Ghosh,  
Village Sahabazpur,  
P. O. Rajkhamar,  
Via Indas (Bankura)

On the suspicion that the name indicated a participant in the revolutionary movement the Criminal Investigation Department, Calcutta, telegraphed order on the 3rd. January 1918 to the Superintendent of Police, Bankura, to search the woman's house and arrest her under the Defence of India Act. The telegram was received by the latter on the evening of the same day, the contraction 'C-o' being transliterated as 'at,' and the word 'Kamanvia' as 'Kamanbia.' The Superintendent of Police travelled to Indas by train on the morning of the 4th idem, arriving there at about 8 A. M. At that time he knew nothing of the matter beyond the instructions communicated to him. He first visited the village of Rajkumar some 4 miles from Indas where he learned of the existence of one Kunja Ghose at Shahbazpur, some 3 miles further. Surmising that the words 'Kamanbia Ghosh' in his orders might be a mistake for Kunja Ghosh the Superintendent proceeded to Shahbazpur which he reached about 4-30 P.M. At the house of Kunja Ghosh he was informed that one Sindhubala Dasi, wife of Natabar Ghosh, was residing there, and thinking this was the woman named in his instructions he arrested her and searched the house. In the house were found photographs of prominent revolutionaries. On questioning the woman he came to know that she had a brother Debendra Ghosh, resident at the adjoining village of Behar, and after some equivocation it was elicited

that his wife also was named Sindhubala Dasi, daughter of Beni Madhab Khan. From others it appeared that the brother of this second Sindhubala was one Profulla Khan, who had been interned, the facts of that case being known to the Superintendent. The answers of the first Sindhubala, both about the second Sindhubala and Profulla Khan, appeared to the Superintendent to be suspicious, and he accordingly proceeded to the village of Behar (about 1-4 mile distant) to pursue his enquiries about the second Sindhubala. He took along with him the first Sindhubala, under arrest, accompanied by her nephew. He arrived there between 9 and 10 P. M. and formally recorded the statement of the first Sindhubala. He was further told by the villagers that Debendra Ghosh had left the place that afternoon and this added his suspicions that the latter might have gone away on hearing of the presence of the police. He also began to entertain doubts whether the word Kamanbia might not after all have been meant for Debendra. He accordingly sent for the second Sindhubala who was brought by her relation to the cutchery. After questioning her, the Superintendent considered that his suspicions justified action under the Defence of Indian Act, and arrested the second Sindhubala also. The two women were kept at the cutchery that night, three of their male relation being also present, and next morning (the 5th January) were sent by bullock cart to Indas thana, the Superintendent also proceeding there by a more direct route.

From Indas he despatched a telegram to the Criminal investigation Department stating that he had arrested both women and asking which should be detained or both. This telegram appears to have been delivered at the C. I.D. office, but to have been subsequently mislaid, with the result that it was not put up before any officer. The train to Bankura from Indas left about 6-30 P. M. and till then the two women (with their relatives) stayed in the vicinity of the thana, the whole party reaching Bankura eventually at 11 P.M. At that hour there were no carriages at the station, and the women were taken on foot to the thana. Next day (the 6th January) the brother-in-law of the second Sindhubala requested that the women might be given time to cook their food before being taken to the jail, and this being allowed, they were not sent to the jail till the afternoon. They were conveyed to the jail in a closed carriage. The Superintendent also delayed thinking that he might receive an answer to his telegram to Calcutta. On the night of the 6th he posted his report of the occurrence to the Criminal Investigation Department.

This report reached the latter office on the 7th January, and according to the usual routine was marked by the Special Assistant to one of the Special Superintendents by name. The latter officer,



however, left Calcutta on urgent duty on the 8th idem, and the report was not seen by him till the evening of the 11th idem on his return. He at once called for the file and submitted it to the Deputy Inspector General on the 12th idem. By that time information had reached the Department involving grave charges against Debendra Ghosh, the husband of the second Sindhubala, and it was decided to telegraph to Bankura for his arrest, while deferring orders in respect of the two women until the whole matter had been cleared up. About this telegram there was a misunderstanding, and as a matter of fact, it was not despatched, though the Deputy Inspector-General was under the impression that it had been sent. He accordingly delayed several days expecting an answer but when this failed to arrive, he came to the conclusion that the two women could not be detained longer and on the 18th January recommended their release to the local Government whose orders are necessary in such a case. The release of the women was at once directed.

Complaints have been made in the press that the two women were unnecessarily made to walk while the first Sindhubala was pregnant and took with her a small child to jail. The facts are that the first Sindhubala walked from Shahbazpur to the zemindari cutchery at Behar (about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile) as the Superintendent failed to obtain a bullock cart; the second Sindubala was also brought by her relative on foot to the cutchery from her house in the village, while both women walked from the Bankura railway station to the thana, (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile) no carriages being obtainable at a late hour of night. From Behar village to Indas station they were sent by bullock cart, and from the Bankura thana to the jail in a closed carriage. Up to the time of arrival at the jail they were accompanied by their male relatives.

Nothing was said at the time about the state of health of the first Sindubala, neither did the Superintendent of Police infer anything unusual. No complaint was then made about the treatment of the women. The first Sindubala took her small child to the jail by her own choice.

#### **The Government's Conclusion.**

From these circumstances the Governor in Council draws the following conclusions :

(a) The Criminal Investigation Department had reasonable grounds for regarding the original name found among the papers already mentioned as suspicious, and for taking action to elucidate the fact by search. *The order of arrest was an error of judgment.*

(b) The action of the Superintendent of Police, Bankura, was justified by a bona fide doubt as to the identity of the woman covered by his orders and by a bona fide suspicion of both the women whom he arrested. He endeavoured to treat the women with consideration, and as soon as possible he telegraphed for further orders, supplementing this by his written report. (As regards the disappearance of his telegram further enquiry is proceeding.)

(c) The delay in considering this report is accounted for between the 7th and 12th January by the fact that it was marked to an officer who was called away from Calcutta, and in his absence *the urgency of the matter was not appreciated.*

(d) As regards the delay between the 12th and 18th January, *it is to be regretted that the Deputy Inspector General did not decide at once that the case against the two women did not justify their continued detention,* and that he deferred orders pending the pursuit of another clue. The delay was intensified by the misunderstanding regarding the despatch of a telegram. When he realized the true position, the Deputy Inspector General acted correctly in at once applying for the release of the women.

The views of Government in the matter will be communicated to all officers concerned. It is regretted that the two women were detained unnecessarily in jail, but the reasons for the action taken and the misunderstandings which unfortunately complicated the facts have been explained above.

The communique, however, did not satisfy the people. Nor did it purport so to do. It was an attempt as usual to meet as far as possible the reckless attacks of the Indian Press on the officers of the police. But in effect it sent fury one degree higher. The communique, it was clamoured, shamelessly exonerated the police on the one hand, and added insult to injury on the other by recognising an error of judgment and evaporation of documents without much concern and not rectifying that error perpetrated on two simple middle-class women. In the Bengal Council on 19th Feb. the Hon. Mr. A. C. Dutt moved a resolution asking for a mixed committee of officials and non-officials so that after enquiry the offending or careless officials might be suitably dealt with. In the course of his speech he said :—

#### **Hon. Mr. A. C. Dutt's Speech.**

My Lord, We have been assured that the Defence of India Act is not an Oppression of India Act for the prosecution of innocent young men. We have been assured that the Act is

administered with the utmost consideration and circumspection and that the personal liberty of His Majesty's subject is never lightly interfered with. But the case of the two Sindhubalas and the Government communique published in yesterday's papers have made disclosures which we cannot contemplate without equanimity and have proved beyond doubt that all that glitters is not gold and that things are not what they are represented to be.

Let us examine the Government's version and see whether there was any justification for the arrest and detention of the two unfortunate women of Bankura. We are told that a slip of paper containing the name of one Sindhubala with her address was found among the papers of a member of the revolutionary party in Calcutta, and the Criminal Investigation Department, Calcutta, at once telegraphed orders to the Superintendent of Police, Bankura, to arrest her under the Defence of India Act.

The Government communique says that the Criminal Investigation Department had reasonable grounds for regarding the original name found on the slip as suspicious. My Lord, such a view can only be based on the assumption that all relations, friends and acquaintances of members of the revolutionary movement are themselves revolutionaries. Not only this. Even those who are known to them, but to whom they are perfect strangers, are also revolutionaries. Suppose a political suspect wants to communicate his grievances to the Secretary of the Indian Association and writes his name on an envelope, then according to the dictum laid down in the communique, it could be said that the discovery of the envelope would constitute reasonable grounds for suspecting that the Secretary of the Indian Association was a participant in the revolutionary movements! I shall not labour on this point. But I shall say this: We have always been told that the people are never suspected unless the C.I.D. have reasonable grounds for suspecting them. Am I then to understand that during the last 3 or 4 years, many of my countrymen have been suspected on such reasonable grounds as have been disclosed in this Government communique?

It is now admitted that the order of the C.I.D. for the arrest of Sindhubala was an error of judgment. But the two Sindhubalas say to the C.I.D. "It may be an error to you, it may be play to you, but it has been something more serious to us." Error of judgment—honest error of judgment—honest error made in coming to an honest judgment by an honest enquiry to get at the truth is certainly pardonable, and I for one never quarrel with such errors.

But error of judgment presupposes the exercise of some judgment. The question, therefore, arises—Was then enquiry made by the C. I. D. before they came to the erroneous judgment? Did the C. I. D. take any evidence of any kind? Did they examine any witness? Did they make any enquiry of any description whatever? Was there anything before the C. I. D. except the mysterious communication made to them by that magical slip? There was not even so much as the statement of a Police spy or informer. It is, therefore, a case where there was no judgment, erroneous or otherwise—it is, therefore, not a case of error of judgment. Judgment without enquiry is an achievement of which the C.I.D. may be proud, but I shall certainly say this that such procedure is repugnant to all ideas of justice and fair-play.

### The Popular Complaint.

Our complaint, My Lord, is that the C. I. D. has been invested with extraordinary powers; our complaint is that they have exercised those powers without any sense of responsibility; our complaint is that many persons, as innocent as the two Sindhubalas admittedly are, have been arrested as recklessly as the two unfortunate women were arrested. Our complaint is that many innocent men and boys have been the victims of the overzealous activities of C. I. D. We have been persistently and insisently inviting the attention of the Government to the inherent defects of the general policy regarding the administration of the Defence of India Act and to the outrageous injustice to which it has inevitably led to in individual cases. But we have always been told in reply that we are abnormally suspicious; that our complaints are without any foundation.

If I were permitted to speak out with absolute frankness, I would say that we have all this time cried in the wilderness and failed to make any impression upon the robust optimism of the Government that the Act is administered with the utmost care and scruple. But, My Lord, the case of the Sindhubalas and the facts admitted by the Government in connection with the case have conclusively demonstrated, if any demonstration were needed, that our complaints were not unfounded; that we were in the right and that the Government was in the wrong, that there is a screw loose somewhere in the machinery of internment and that there is something wrong somewhere in the affairs of the Internment Department.

Why should it be supposed for one moment that the case of these unfortunate women is an isolated instance of grievous wrong done by the C. I. D.? Who knows, My Lord, how many have been

arrested and deprived of their personal liberty, under similar circumstances? This case is only a typical illustration of the gross abuse of power by the C. I. D, brought to light possibly owing to the fact that the victims happened to be women. It is such cases which justified the strong views held by our distinguished countryman, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, on the subject of internment.

### The Comedy of Errors.

Why was the first Sindhubala arrested, although she did not answer the description given in the warrant? It is said that the Superintendent surmised that the word "Kamanbia Ghose" in his order might be a mistake for "Kunja Ghose"—and thinking that one Sindhubala, wife of Natobar Ghose residing in that house, might be the woman named in his instructions, he arrested her. Now the Superintendent's explanation is, to say the least, astounding and carries its own condemnation. It is, of course, now admitted that the Superintendent arrested a wrong Sindhubala.

The next question is why did he arrest the second Sindhubala, when the order was to arrest only one woman? She also did not answer the description given in the order of the Superintendent—even the name of the village did not tally. This Sindhubala was the wife of one Debendra Ghose. It is seriously stated in the Government communique that the Superintendent began to entertain doubts whether the words "Kamanbia" might not, after all, have been misspelt for "Debendra" and arrested her!

The first Sindhubala was arrested because the Superintendent thought "Kamanbia" might be a mistake for "Kunja" and the second Sindhubala was arrested, because he thought "Kamanbia" might be a mistake for "Debendra." It is of course now admitted that like the first Sindhubala, the second Sindhubala is also as innocent as anybody present here. Verily, My Lord, we are fallen upon evil times when even our women are arrested on such pretexts as these! Was there the shadow of justification for arresting two women, one of whom the Superintendent knew was no more guilty than his own self was? Would this abnormally overzealous Superintendent arrest a third woman, if he had got scent of a third Sindhubala?

Possibly he had drawn his inspiration from that interesting hero of Ramayana, who was sent to the mountain of Gandhamadan to fetch the plant "Bishalyakarani," but unable to recognize the same carried the entire mountain over his shoulders. We should be thankful to him that the Bankura Superintendent did not arrest the entire female population of Bankura!

Let us, however, see what happened after the double arrest. We are told that the Superintendent despatched a telegram to the C.I.D. asking which Sindhubala should be detained or both. We are further told that this telegram was delivered at the C. I. D. office ; but it was subsequently mislaid and it was not put up before any officer. The result was that neither Sindhubala was released and both had to rot in jail. Not receiving any reply to his telegram the Superintendent posted his report of the double arrest to the C.I.D. Like the telegram, this report also reached the C. I. D. office and like the telegram this report also failed to obtain any immediate attention of the C. I. D. For we are told that according to the usual routine, the report was marked by the Special Assistant to one of the Special Superintendents by name. The latter Officer, however, left Calcutta on urgent duty on the 8th January and the report was not seen by him till the evening of the 11th idem on his return. So the poor Sindhubalas had to rot in jail up to the 11th January. But the Special Superintendent returned to Calcutta on that day and let us see whether one or both of the Sindhubalas were released without further delay.

We are really grateful to the Special Superintendent, for we are told that he at once called for the file and submitted it to the Deputy Inspector General on the 12th January. Very well, let us see what prompt action is taken by the Deputy Inspector-General. Why, he decided to telegraph to Bankura for the arrest of Debendra Ghose, the husband of the second Sindhubala, against whom grave charges had in the meantime been brought by the Police and deferred orders in respect of the two women, until the receipt of an answer to his telegram.

But alas, we are told that there was a misunderstanding about this telegram also and as a matter of fact, it was not despatched. The Deputy Inspector-General was, however, under the impression that the telegram had been sent and postponed orders about the women several days, expecting an answer to the telegram which had never been sent. The women were no doubt spending their days in the Jail, but we cannot be too grateful to the Deputy Inspector-General, for the communique says in a tone of great self-complacency that after a week he "at once" came to the conclusion that the two women could not be detained any longer and on the 18th January recommended their release to the local Government and their release was at once directed !

Such is the interesting history of the arrest of the women and their detention for 15 days in the Jail, as told in the Government

communicé. As I was reading it, I was only wondering if it was really the version of the Government. For I cannot conceive a greater indictment than this explanation itself. The most powerful and skilful advocate of Sindhubala could not possibly think of a more scathing impeachment of the C.I.D. We are treated with the story of a series of blunders—a story of a series of commissions and omissions committed in that mysterious Department popularly known as the C. I. D. If the story is true, it only proves how efficiently the Department is working. There is one thing, My Lord, in the communiqué to which I feel bound to call your Excellency's attention. It is said that the detention of the two Sindhubalas for a fortnight in the Jail was due to a tissue of blunders. But is it not rather difficult to appreciate this explanation in view of the fact that throughout the whole of that fortnight the newspapers were crying hoarse over this unfortunate and outrageous incident? The indecent haste with which the order of arrest was passed and executed was, however, more than made up by the abnormal delay made in releasing them! The raid on the Sindhubalas may be a feather in the cap of the C. I. D., but it may be the last straw on a camel's back. For the Orientals are very sensitive about the honour of their females.

In view, My Lord, of the far-reaching effects of such reckless arrests, it behoves your Excellency to institute a careful and searching enquiry regarding the incident and award suitable punishment to all those who are responsible for it and who have thereby exposed the Government to such criticism. Your Lordship should also order such steps to be taken as may make the recurrence of such an incident in future impossible. The short-sighted and bigoted policy of not washing the official dirty linen before the public will no longer do. It is an old and exploded shibboleth which must now be cast to the winds. Public opinion must now be reckoned with. It will not put up with such conduct on the part of the public servants. The time is gone when public servants used to lord it over riding roughshod over the feelings of the people—the time has come when public servants must be servants of the public, not merely in the sense that they receive their pay out of the taxes paid by the public, but in the sense that they exist only to serve the public. As Lord Morley (then Mr. Morley) wrote to Lord Minto :

“That system (system of arbitrary rule) may have worked in its own way in old days, and in those days the people may have had no particular objection to arbitrary rule. But, as you have said to me scores of times, the old days are gone and the new times breathe a new spirit ; and we cannot carry on upon the old maxims.”

My Lord, the people demand that a searching enquiry be made and suitable and deterrent punishment be meted out to all those who are responsible for the unjust and unnecessary harassment of the two women.

The **Hon. Rai Bahadur Debendra Chandra Ghose's** speech in support of the resolution was also telling and outspoken. After giving Government the highest praise for its *Communique*, he spoke of that document as follows :—

“It has said that the order for arrest sent from the Seal of the Government to the Bankura Police Superintendent was wrong. But it has not said anything about any punishment for any officer, high or low, through whose carelessness and want of judgment the two village women of Bankura were arrested, and kept in prison for about two weeks.”

“The officers concerned have this much to be said in their favour that they have in the past been encouraged in these courses, that their predecessors in office have been doing the same and that high-handedness is the tradition of the Police, who are otherwise a most useful body of public servants.”.....And he concluded by saying :

“In the present instance the Press has served the country very well. But for their persistent references to this unhappy incident in this remote corner of Bengal, I doubt very much whether the detention in jail of these two supposed suspects would have terminated after two weeks. In this country interference with personal liberty is made generally in a light-hearted manner by the Executive, and judging from recent events women here do not get the same amount of consideration in their hands as their sisters in England. Your Excellency no doubt remembers the incident of the Cass case in London which took place some years ago. An innocent shop girl of that name had to leave her business place at a very late hour in the evening, and was passing by a street alone, when an over-zealous police constable arrested her, and kept her in the lock up for a few hours. It created such a sensation in England that I believe the Home Secretary had to resign and make a scape-goat of himself. My Lord, I implore your government to caution the police in their pursuit of anarchical criminals amongst the women folk of the country. If they did that, they would be increasing the virus of anarchism instead of lessening it. The present case is an illustration of the flimsy grounds upon which the police of the country proceed to deprive a person of his personal liberty, and of the ill effect upon the feeling of the people, of their wild and injudicious proceedings. It is not necessary in the interests of good government



to drag out a woman from her home because her husband or brother was a suspect and photographs of revolutionaries were found in her room. And whether you are prepared or not to mark your disapproval of the conduct of the officers concerned in the manner suggested by the words of the motion of my honourable friend, you can do some reparation to the victims of your act, and the least you can do is to give adequate money compensation to the two injured women. This will not only soothe their feelings, but will have a very wholesome effect on the country—a thing more to be prized than the fetish of prestige.

### Government Reply.

On behalf of the Government the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler said that he could not accept Mr. Dutt's resolution as "an enquiry had been held, a communique had been issued, and they proposed to send their expression of disapproval to the officers concerned." H. E. the Governor too found himself in a very delicate position and accepting the full responsibility of the indiscretion of his subordinates assured the house that Government sincerely regretted such an "error of judgment" and that strict orders have been issued to prevent a recurrence of such errors. The sympathetic attitude of the Governor and his personal assurance went a great deal towards appeasing the public, specially the moderate section of the community, but the extremist section did not fail to make capital out of the incident at every turn. It is to be remembered that at this time the Rowlatt Committee on sedition was sitting in the High Court to examine all evidence which the Government of Bengal could produce to justify their colossal internment policy. And even the *Capital*, the upright and non-party Anglo-Indian journal, remarked: "The Government of Bengal knew all about the Rowlatt Commission and its silent trench-digging. One would therefore suppose that it would be particularly careful to keep the C. I. D. on its best behaviour..... The police explanation of this most singular lapse is an insult to the most ordinary intelligence..... A Pride's Purge is wanted, not a mere expression of disapproval. Considering how sorely he has been embarrassed by contratemps, Lord Ronaldshay should not hesitate to send the delinquents packing, bureaucratic opposition notwithstanding.

### Post Sindhubala affair.

Rumblings of popular feeling still continued to be heard here and there but no practical step to build an organisation for resisting

the internment policy of the Government was made anywhere in Bengal up to this time. The initiative however was taken by Madras where a manifesto was issued over the signature of her prominent Nationalists purporting to form an Indian Civil Rights Committee. The Manifesto is given below. A great public meeting was also held at the Town Hall, Calcutta on the 5th March to consider how best to protect the personal liberty of the people. The example set by Madras was followed by this meeting and the Bengal Civil Rights Committee was established with Sir Rash Behary Ghose as president. The objects of the Committee were :—

(i) To watch over, protect and safeguard the civil rights and liberties of the people of this Province, specially with reference to the working of the Regulation III of 1818 and the Defence of India Act and other enactments and legislation, present or prospective, curtailing the liberties of the subject :

(ii) To afford relief pecuniary or otherwise, to the families of the detenus who are unable to maintain themselves in cases where adequate provisions for their maintenance have not been made by the Government ;

(iii) To enquire into and report on the cases of persons detained under the two aforesaid enactments and their physical and mental conditions when under such detention and to take all measures to afford them any necessary relief or help.

(iv) To carry on agitation both in this country and in England with a view to make the law in this country consistent with the rights and the liberties of the people ; and

(v) To raise funds for the carrying out of the above mentioned objects.

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## The Madras Civil Rights Manifesto.

The undersigned beg to invite attention to a proposal which has been for some time before a number of gentlemen interested in a most vital point connected with the liberty of the subject in this country. This proposal has been very carefully considered by many friends in all the provinces, and it is felt that no delay should be allowed in launching the scheme proposed and carrying it out vigorously.

The proposal is to form a Committee entitled "the Indian Civil Rights Committee." The necessity for such a step must be obvious to those who have watched the action of the authorities in the matter of internments generally, and to those who have been following in particular the working of the Committee now sitting in Calcutta with Justice Rowlatt as president. Apparently the organisers of the Committee have in mind what, in effect, is similar to that which was attempted by the Government in or about 1909, when Reg. 3 of 1818, that barbarous relic of the East India Company, legislation was made (in the words of Mr. Mackarness M. P.) "a part of the normal machinery of Government." In other words, it is the intention of the authorities, including the Government of Bengal, to procure an enactment which would enable them to exercise as a matter of ordinary procedure the power of imprisoning, arbitrarily and without any sort of trial, those who unfortunately come under the suspicion of the police. It is a well-known fact that during the last two or three years there have been a number of instances of imprisonment—arbitrary and without trial—and that this practice still continues as vigorously as ever under the Defence of India act, which needless to say, is purely a War measure and is being grossly misapplied. Is it possible for any people in the face of this not to be roused to such immediate action as will prevent this introduction of catastrophic legislation?

The discussion which took place in the House of Commons in 1909 and in the press in England with reference to the policy of deportations under the Regulations of 1818 will be invaluable to us at this present critical juncture. A considerable number of liberal members of Parliament at that time were keenly interested in the

subject. With Mr. Mackarness as Chairman they formed themselves into a committee called "The Civil Rights Committee."

In the House of Commons Mr. Mackarness moved, on the 5th March '09, the following Amendment that this House while cordially welcoming the proposals which have been laid before it for the reform on the Government of India, is of opinion that the success of those proposals is gravely endangered by the fact that British subjects in that country are subjected to imprisonment and deportation without having had any charge made against them and without having been convicted of any crime.' The amendment was rejected by 195 to 76 votes but notwithstanding this rejection, it is evident that it was this Committee that by its untiring efforts then put a stop to further deportations. Lord Morley's Recollections will confirm this. It is now no longer disputed that it was Lord Morely who, in spite of opposition from Lord Minto and his councillors, compelled the Government of India to cancel the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, Krishna Kumar Mitter, Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, and other great patriots.

It will be admitted on all hands that we can afford to delay no longer in endeavouring to procure by constitutional methods adequate protection of our people in the matter of free speech, discussion of public questions and representation of grievances. We feel sure that we shall have with us the sympathy of the majority of the Liberal Party and still more of the influential Labour Party—all of whom desire to ensure to His Majesty's Indian subjects that freedom from autocracy and Prussianism for which Britain and her Allies to day are shedding their very life blood. Further we take it that the Secretary of State who is now visiting India has not failed to be affected by the deep discontent which prevails, particularly in Bengal, because of the inhuman treatment of hundreds and hundreds of innocent person—for the most part youths of education and high aims. We are very confident that, on his return to England, he will do all in his power to guard against the policy of unrestrained arrest of persons on mere suspicion by the Police, their incarceration without limit of time, and with no possibility of obtaining redress by fair and reasonable means.

It is worth noting that the Civil Right's Committee, in protesting against deportations, etc., were not working solely in the interests of of the Indian people, for they feared and very rightly that this policy would find its way into their own country. Mr. Mackarness drew attention to this danger in his very exhaustive and convincing speech in support of the amendment he moved on the 5th March, 1909.

In fact, since the War, the British public itself has had some experience of this nature. Consequently, we expect that they will

help us in our efforts to prevent further unjust curtailment of our liberty.

In these circumstances, we submit that the formation of the "Indian Civil Rights Committee" is absolutely essential and accordingly we invite the co-operation and support of every citizen, man or woman in India. The co-operation of the latter is highly desirable and should meet with a ready response, since so many women have suffered by reason of the internments of their husbands and sons. The Committee will limit itself strictly to the particular purposes indicated. It must not be confounded with the movement for securing Home Rule or Self-Government, for whatever the constitutional reforms granted to us may be, they would be of little value, as long as this power of internment is in the hands of the Executive Government.

The Committee will work for the most part in England, for it is only by agitating there that we can hope for success. To work in England, however, means expenditure. To ensure this it is proposed, among other means, that donations should be asked for. We beg that communications from persons desirous of helping us in this all important matter may be addressed to Mr. B. P. Wadia, "New India" Office, Madras, who has kindly promised to act as Provisional Secretary of our informal Committee.

S. Subramania Iyer  
S. Kasturiranga Iyengar  
Annie Besant  
C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar  
A. Rangaswami Iyengar  
B. P. Wadia

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# Internment Meeting.

*Calcutta, 5 March—1918.*

## Mr. B. Chakravarti's Address.

The following is the text of the speech delivered by Mr B. Chakravarti as president of the great Town Hall internment meeting, at Calcutta, on the 5th March, '18.

### Our Point of View

What is our point of view on the question of internments and deportations? We stand at a critical point in the history of India. It is a time of peculiar difficulty and trial both for the Government and the people.

Gentlemen, during the last decade we have seen quite a crop of repressive legislation disfiguring the statute book of our country. I shall content myself by mentioning a few of them. There is the Seditious Meetings Act passed in 1907. That Act was passed, as its preamble says, to make better provision for the prevention of public meetings likely to promote sedition or to cause a disturbance of public tranquillity. I remember our distinguished countryman Sir Rash Behary Ghose raised his voice of protest in the Imperial Council. He pointed out that the measure proposed could have but only one effect, viz., of driving crime, if any, underground. The Indian Government did not heed either his words or the many public protests which were made at the time. The next year saw the passing of the Newspapers Incitement to Offence Act. In the same year again was passed the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act to provide, as its preamble says, for the more speedy trial of certain offences and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace. In 1910 was passed the Indian Press Act to provide, as its preamble says, for the better control of the Press. And in 1913, was passed the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act to provide for the punishment of criminal conspiracies. Then came this great war in August 1914. In March 1915 followed the Defence of India Act. And now we are threatened with further legislation to enable the Government to deal effectively with the revolutionary movement in India.

### Remedies Worse than the Disease.

Gentlemen, you are all aware of the working of the police during the last decade, armed as they were with these repressive legislation. I shall not repeat them here. You are all painfully aware of them. Deportations and political trials—were the order of the day. One never knows what a vast amount of public money had been spent on the mischievous working of the C. I. D. and these futile political trials. People were taken by surprise. They wondered and groaned; they protested again and again: they were sullen and silent. But who cared? The idea on the part of the authorities was to meet acts of violence on the part of a small group of young men who had lost all faith in constitutional agitation by organised terrorism, lawless law, and C I D. activities. I believe I am justified in saying that there was no attempt to discover the root-cause which had led the law-abiding Bengalee youths into these paths of violence. Gentlemen, it might be said that there was some excuse for the bureaucratic Government which was mainly alien and which was not of the people, by the people, and for the people, to lose its balance when face to face with new and destructive forces and rush into forging remedies which were worse than the disease and were so declared by competent critics at the time. But what excuse is there for making a regular practice of it and not only retaining such enactments on the Statute Book but also asking for more?

### Facts and Figures.

Gentlemen, we have been taken to task by the Government, our Anglo Indian friends, and the Anglo Indian Press, for not being exact in our facts and figures. Firstly, I ask whether facts and figures are only what are stated to be such by the Government, our Anglo Indian friends or the Anglo Indian Press? Secondly, I further ask, are facts and figures about internments and deportations available to the public? Again and again we have clamoured for information but it has been systematically denied to us. There have been interpellations in the Council but to what effect? The Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, on July 26th 1915, soon after the Defence of India Act was passed, wanted information about internments and deportations. But what answer did he receive? The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr said in reply.—

“Government do not consider it consistent with public interest to publish in the proceedings of this Council the names and position of life of the persons on whom orders have been served, or to give public information as to the places where they have been ordered to reside”.

Even as late as the 20th of November last, to a similar question by the Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Dutta, the Government gave a

similar answer. I shall give you another sample of information supplied by the Government with regard to this matter. The Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray on the 20th of November 1917 put the following questions to the Government :—

- (a) In how many instances have the Government received complaints regarding the unsuitability of the places of domicile of detenus and what enquiries have been made with regard thereto and with what result ?  
 (b) What is usually the nature of the complaints ? (c) In how many cases have the places of domicile been described—(i) malarious ; (ii) desolate ; (iii) infested with snakes (iv) unusually damp ; (v) jungly ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr in reply said :—

The collection of the information asked would involve an additional burden on already overworked officers and Government do not think that the public utility of the information when obtained would be commensurate with the labour entailed"

I leave it to you, gentlemen, to judge about the charge levelled against us that we do not give facts and figures.

#### **A Pious Wish.**

His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay told his Council on the 20th November last, I shall give you his exact words :—"I wish I could place before the public all the information which Government possesses." "If I could", His Excellency continued—

"I venture to think that such phrases as the Oppression of India's Act for the persecution of innocent young men would speedily disappear from the repertoire of our platform orators and from public Press".

Gentlemen, may I, with great respect to His Excellency, also wish His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay was here occupying the chair and in my position and fully alive to the feeling actuating all of us. If he was, I doubt not gentlemen, His Excellency would have said the same thing as we are saying, perhaps more. His Excellency would have done the same thing, as we are doing, perhaps more.

I shall, however, confine myself to the facts and figures and the information furnished to us, meagre as they are. I shall mainly depend on the speeches in the Council and the answers, uninforming though they are, to the interpellations by the Hon'ble Members in Council. I feel so sure of our case and the justice of it that I shall not travel beyond. I shall base my case on admitted facts and figures, on official facts and figures, and on the official presentation of such facts and figures.

#### **Persons "Regulated" out of Liberty.**

This policy of internments and deportations has run its course now for close upon three years. According to the official figure given on 14th March 1917, approximately 800 of our fellow countrymen have been "regulated" out of their liberty either under the Defence of India Rules or the Bengal Regulation III of 1818. It is the prevailing impression that the number has increased since that



date, but official figures up to the present time are not forthcoming. The personal liberty of so many of our fellow subjects have been arbitrarily invaded without charge, without trial, and without conviction of any crime by any competent court established by Law.

"To bereave a man" says Blackstone "of life by violence, to confiscate his estate without accusation or trial would be so gross and notorious an act of despotism as must at once convey the alarm throughout the whole kingdom. But confinement of the person by secretly hurrying him to goal where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public, a less striking, and therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary Government".

#### **Government under a Misapprehension.**

His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay in his recent speech took Sir Rabindra Nath to task for deliberately stating that the public "are justified in thinking that a large number of those punished are innocent." "That is", His Excellency continued "a grave charge for any responsible person to make against any Government and it is one which I cannot allow to pass unnoticed". Sir Rabindra Nath, however, subsequently reiterated his statement and said "that the policy of secret condonation and punishment hitherto pursued has naturally led a very large number of my countrymen to conclude that a great many of those punished are innocent. Imprisonment in jail, in some cases in a solitary cell, savours to the public at large more of vengeance than of precaution." "Moreover," Sir Rabindra Nath continues "the harassment to which a detenu is subjected even after his release by reason of continued shadowing by the police may not be admitted by those who are responsible but is too painfully patent to those who share the suffering." Gentlemen, in this statement Sir Rabindra Nath has only voiced the public opinion in Bengal and I have no doubt you endorse every word of it. It seems to me the Government is under a misapprehension in this matter, for I find that in answer to a question in the Council on the 13th December 1916, the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr said :

Government are aware that there is a feeling among many people in Bengal that people are being interned upon insufficient materials."

But mark the words which follow :

"Government are also aware that there is also a feeling among many other people in Bengal to the opposite effect."

I venture to think that this "many other people" is only a microscopic minority in Bengal : at any rate, the public have not had the privilege of learning first hand from any such people whether they entertain such a feeling, why they do so, and what opportunities they have had of considering the question.

#### **That Old and Archaic Regulation.**

Gentlemen, you are aware that some of the detenues have been dealt with under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818. That old and archaic provision, suitable to the times when it was enacted, has

been resuscitated from the cast-out statute book and has been summoned to the aid of the Government. The main difference, as I understand it, in dealing with the detenus under the Defence of India Rules and those under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 is that persons dealt with under the Regulation are confined in jail, whereas persons dealt with under the Rules are domiciled in select areas. Therefore, whatever I say about internements under the Defence of India Rules apply "mutatis mutandis" to the deportations under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818.

The Defence of India Act, as you are aware, was passed in March 1915. This measure was considered and passed at a single sitting of the Imperial Council. And yet this is a measure the like of which is not known in the constitutional history of any country, so far as its provisions relate to internal administration. I say this without fear of any contradiction, and challenge all concerned to point out any other legislation in any civilised country and in civilised times intended to deal with internal administration which is a parallel to this measure.

We have been told again and again that this is not merely a war measure. The Act itself shows that. But I say this that under the cover of a war measure has been passed this drastic measure dealing with the liberty of the subject and affecting the internal administration of the country. Indeed Sir Reginald Craddock pointed out while introducing this measure in the Council that it was really a Defence of the Realm Act (which was a temporary measure adopted in England for the successful prosecution of the war) to which he was inviting the assent of the Council. He added further that the powers he was asking for were primarily required in the military interests of the country. There is no doubt there was a reference by him to the internal situation in Bengal as a cause for the introduction of the provisions affecting internal administration. But, gentlemen, I ask this in all sincerity what was the emergency of his measure so far as the internal administration of the country was concerned? Why was this part of the measure mixed up with the war measure? His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay stated in his speech in his Council about the movement in Bengal:—"Though it has sought to take advantage of the war in which the empire is engaged it is not" mark the words "a product of the war; it existed long before the war." Again I ask why was advantage taken to pass this legislation so far as it affects the internal situation in the country in such great haste and in connection with a temporary measure for the successful prosecution of the war.

I now pass on the particular provision of the Defence of India Act dealing with internments. The Defence of India Act, sec. 2, cl. (d) provides as follows:—

"To empower any civil or military authority where, in the opinion of such authority, there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that any person has acted, is acting, or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, to direct that such persons shall not enter, reside, or remain in any area specified in writing by such authority, or that such person shall reside and remain in any area so specified, or that he shall conduct himself in such manner or abstain from such act, or take such order with any property in his possession or under his control, as such authority may direct."

Then a rule has been framed under this clause which runs as follows :—

"Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has acted, is acting, or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India, the Local Government may by order in writing, direct that such person—(a) shall not enter, reside or remain in any area specified in the order (b) shall reside or remain in any area in British India so specified ; (c) shall conduct himself in such manner or abstain from such acts, or take such orders with any property in his possession or under his control as may be specified in such order ; Provided that a Local Government shall not make an order under cl. (b) of this rule specifying an area outside the province without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council."

Gentlemen, the statutory provision in the Act and the rule framed under it deal with a generality. It is left entirely in the hands of the executive without any limitation whatsoever. There is no counterpart to this in the English Act. There could not possibly be any. Sir Reginald Craddock while comparing the English measure with its Indian counterpart of cl. (f) said,—"Sub-clause (f) which permits of control over the movements and acts of individuals is paralleled by English regulations which allow of the removal of the inhabitants of whole areas as well as individuals, the direction to them to remain within doors within specified hours and to extinguish lights, and the taking census of private goods." With the greatest respect to the Hon'ble Member, I fail to see any analogy whatsoever in this with the internment clause.

There is only one rule under the English measure which has any similarity to this and that is Rule 14 B, which provides for the internment of persons of hostile origin or association. But even under this the interned person may submit his case to an advisory committee which shall be presided over by a person who holds or has held high judicial office. It is therefore, clear that even under this solitary provision the Government in England has not tried to bring British subjects within the scope of the executive authority. There the executive authority has to submit to the decision of the advisory committee presided over by one holding high judicial office. This provision affords some guarantee that the liberties of persons, even of hostile origin or association, shall not be lightly interfered with. But, gentlemen, I ask what

guarantee have we in this country? What is the procedure followed in this country? I shall show this from the procedure; the Government says it follows and I shall show that there is no guarantee, no safeguards in this country.

#### **The Procedure.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr said on the 4th of September 1916—

"In the case of each suspect who is interned under the Defence of India Rules, he is informed generally as to the allegations made against him and is asked what he has to say in answer to them."

On the same day again the Hon'ble Member said in answer to another question :—

"Full enquiries are made in the case of each suspect by Gazetted officers of the police. The enquiry is of an executive character. Orders of internment are not passed by Government until the papers of each case and all representations, if any, made by and on behalf of the suspect, have been considered."

It is therefore clear that up to that time no charge used to be framed against the detenus and that action was taken on the initiative of the gazetted officers of the police.

Then again we find that the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr said this on the 3rd of July 1917 :—

"For some months past, however, the charges have been reduced to writing and written replies are taken. The person concerned is invited to sign the paper to indicate that he has understood the charges. The original charges and answers are forwarded with the other papers of the case to Government. Government sees no reason to alter the present practice."

So the Government does not make over such written charges to the suspects but takes them away.....A person who is thus ruled out of his liberty is not even entitled to keep the written charge against him with him!

Then we find H. E. Lord Ronaldshay assuring his Council on the 20th of November that all proper precautions are taken. He says this—

"We have taken the most careful precautions against the chance of over committing injustice by any action which we are driven to take by virtue of it. Every person dealt with under it is charged in writing with a definite offence and is invited to write his reply. The whole of the evidence against him is submitted to a judicial officer for his opinion. I do not believe the Act could have been better administered with greater care or with more consideration for those against whom it has been employed.

With the greatest respect to his Excellency I fail to see, gentlemen, how anything is done even now to safeguard the interests of the detenus. On the other hand, it merely had laid open the door for the so-called confessions and criminating statements of approvers. What can the judicial officer do on 'exparte' evidence? How can he test the evidence? Where is the right of appeal to the advisory committee under the English law against the arbitrary action of the executive?

**Lord Carmichael's Analysis of the Evidence.**

Lord Carmichael in his last speech to his Council on the 14th of March 1917 said that approximately 800 people have been dealt with either under the Defence of India Act or the Bengal Regulation III. of 1818 and attempted an analysis of the so-called evidence in the possession of the Government against these detenus. His Lordship said:—(a) 121 have been implicated by their own confessions made here in Bengal, (b) 229 are implicated by confessing associates whose statements are supported by corroborative evidence, such as finds of arms or property known to have been stolen in dacoities, or by documentary evidence, or by their own conduct on arrest, (c) 161 are implicated by the confession of associates generally two or more but without such corroborative evidence as I have just mentioned, (d) 195 are implicated by such corroborative evidence supported by statements made by informers, (e) 70 have been implicated by evidence of informers coupled with evidence of association. Of these seventy, ten are accused by informers, who have been murdered. This strengthens, to my mind at least, the case for believing that the information given was probably true. In six other cases bombs were produced by the sources who gave no information. In 21 more of the 70 cases what seems to be very strong evidence of association with known criminals is relied on in addition, of course, to the informers' statement. In 17, the men are accused though only on the evidence of informers of such dangerous crimes that I do not think Government would be justified in giving up such control as they have of them" May I pause? The graver the charge the less the necessity for evidence! This is the un-cross-examined evidence on the strength of which the Government of Bengal has thought fit to deprive about 800, if not more, of His Majesty's subjects of their personal liberty!!

This was in March 1917. But apparently His Lordship had not all along the same confidence about the cogency of the evidence at His Lordship's command. His Lordship in a speech to his council on the 4th of April 1916 when the Act had run its course for about a year said—

So far we have not been able to produce, I wish we could, exact evidence to bring home their guilt, beyond a shadow of doubt, to the individuals who committed those crimes. But we have evidence which goes a long way towards it."

And His Lordship's Government confidently acted on this evidence!!

But, gentlemen, this is not all. After three months of this speech His Lordship in another speech to his Council on the 4th of July 1916 reiterated the same fact. I shall quote again His Lordship's words lest I do His Lordship any injustice. He said—

"I can assure you that Government believe that they have been fully justified in all they have done. We may of course have made mistakes in some cases but we have interfered with the liberty of no one against whom we did not feel that there is evidence, though we admit, it is not evidence which ought to lead to conviction in an ordinary Court of law."

#### **What the evidence act Demands.**

But what proof does a Court of law require for a conviction? It does not demand anything extraordinary. In the words of Sir Lawrence Jenkins (*Emperor of India v. Narendra Nath Sen Gupta*). 19 C. W. N. 923): "we decline to hold him guilty, or that his guilt is so probable that a prudent man ought, under the circumstances of this case, to act upon the supposition that he is guilty". This is all that the Evidence Act demands. But, according to Lord Carmichael, the evidence before His Lordship's Government was not evidence that came to that standard! I leave you to judge if it is wise or politic—not to say legal—to act on this evidence. Yet His Lordship's Government all along acted confidently on that evidence!!

In the same case Justice Sir Ashutosh Mukerji said,—

"I am in full agreement with the views set out in the judgment of the Court which has just been read out by the Chief Justice and to which I am a party. I desire only to emphasise that after anxious consideration of every element in the case, as it was developed before us from day to day, I am strongly convinced of the absolute innocence of the accused; my deliberate conclusion is that the endeavour made to establish a connection between this innocent lad and dastardly crime by means of evidence tainted in large measure by manifest untruth and manufactured evidence, has been completely unsuccessful".

#### **Lord Ronaldshay.**

But it seems His Exeellency Lord Ronaldshay and his Government have more confidence in the matter. His Lordship in his speech in the Council on the 20th of November said:—"The evidence now in our possession, is overwhelming. I wish I could place before the public all the information which the Government possess". And His Lordship following Lord Carmichael made a similar analysis of the evidence at the disposal of the Government. His Lordship said:—" (a) Over 200 persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act alone have confessed to definite complicity in revolutionary movement; (b) nearly 300 others are implicated by their associates, the evidence of their complicity being corroborated in every case by other evidence of an entirely independent character; (c) rather more than 200 others are implicated by their own incriminating statements or by finds of arms or seditious literature, or by the circumstances of their arrest, the evidence in nearly all these cases being confirmed by information obtained from other sources....."

We ask : why do you not prosecute them in the law Courts ? The answer is very simple :—Because it will not carry conviction ! Lord Charmichael said so more than once.

### Law of Confession.

Justice Straight, C. J. says :—

“My experience in this Court has conclusively convinced me that the primary object towards which the police direct their attention and energies is, if possible, to secure a confession ... . To repeat a phrase I used on a former occasion, instead of working up to the confession, they work down from it with the result that we frequently find ourselves compelled to reverse convictions simply because beyond the confession there is no tangible evidence of guilt. Moreover, I have said and I repeat it now, it is incredible that the extraordinarily large number of confessions which come before us should have been voluntarily and freely made in every instance as represented. I may claim some knowledge of an acquaintance with the ways and conduct of persons accused of crime, and I do not believe that the ordinary inclinations of their mind which in this respect I take to be pretty much the same all the world over, to is make any admission of guilt. I certainly can add that during 14 years' active practice in Criminal Courts in England, I do not remember half a dozen instances in which a real confession once having been made was retracted. In this country, on the contrary the retraction follows almost invariably as a matter of course. It is impossible not to feel that the average Indian Policeman with the desire to satisfy his superior before him and the terms of the Police Acts and rules behind him is not likely to be overnice in the method he adopts to make a short-cut to the elimination of a difficult case by getting a suspected person to confess”.

Mr. Justice Mahmud in the same case :—

“The Legislative provisions (referring to section 25 of the Indian Evidence Act) leave no doubt in my mind that the Legislature had in view the malpractices of Police Officers in extorting confession from accused persons in order to gain credit by securing convictions, and that those malpractices went to the length of positive torture. Nor do I doubt that the Legislature in laying down such stringent rules regarded the evidence of Police officers as untrustworthy and the object of the rules was to put a stop to the extortion of confession by taking away from the Police Officers the advantage of proving such extorted confession during the trial of accused persons. That the extortion of confession by torture continued to be a rampant evil in India is further shown by the fact that the Legislature in framing the Indian Penal Code provides two special sections directed specially against such malpractices. see secs. 330, 331.”

### Public Apathy.

His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay in his speech mentions a second difficulty, viz. that there is an unfortunate disinclination on the part of the public to come forward and give evidence against these persons. But there is nothing to wonder at this. The public believe that most of these persons are innocent. The public maintain that these people are being interned on insufficient evidence. They have their doubts as to how these confessions, incriminating statements and information by spies are worked. What sympathy can

the public have with the police when their methods and their practice are so well known to them? Arrests without definite charge of any crime, imprisonment in solitary cells, want of proper medical treatment, discontinuance of educational facilities and prospect of employment even after release, suicides, lunacy—all these are incidents rankling in the mind of the public. I ask in all sincerity what sympathy the public may have with this policy of internments and deportations by the Government?

His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay very confidently propounds this rider for his councillors, "Do you seriously suggest that it would be in the best interest of the society at large that these men should be released to continue their career of conspiracy and crime?" His Excellency thinks that this paradox is unanswerable. With great respect to His Excellency, I shall attempt an answer to His Excellency's dilemma. First of all, there is a fallacy in His Excellency's question. His Excellency assumes that these men are conspirators and criminals. That is begging the whole question. His Excellency, in the phrase of common parlance, gives the dog a bad name and then hangs him. We say, prove by the tests laid down by the ordinary law of the land that they are conspirators and criminals. The question is not what His Excellency suggests. But it is and I shall phrase it in the words of Lord Morley—"Have the gazetted officers of the police got a blank cheque to draw on the personal liberty of the British subject in India?" That is a question which the Government will have to answer. It may not be answered to-day. It may not be answered to-morrow. Preoccupation of the British Empire in the great war may postpone an effective demand for an answer to this query. But, gentlemen, I do not doubt that before long this question will have to be answered before the High Tribunal of the Indian people and Princes and before the High Tribunal of the People of the British Empire.

#### **Revelations in the Sindhubala Case.**

Let us take a recent case. The recent communique on the Sindhubala case has betrayed the hollowness of the so-called safeguards. Her case has further disclosed this fact that persons are liable to arrest and detention without any reference to any responsible person whatsoever, if some Police Officers think that the person in question should be arrested and detained. The liberty of none of us is worth a moment's purchase. Indignities may be inflicted on us, not only on men but upon women also,—if your name, my name, happens to be mentioned in some documents in the possession of the C. I. D.!!!

Gentlemen, though we so heavily pay for the C. I. D., it has proved to be notoriously incompetent. Important documents are mislaid. Responsible officers leave their offices, leaving no one in



charge during the time they are away. In the meantime any of His Majesty's subjects may be arrested, detained and subjected to humiliation beyond recompense in the eyes of the Government and his country men. What amends, I ask, has the Government up till now made to this woman for the humiliation she was subjected to? Errors of judgement, gentlemen, are inevitable. But was this case one of error? Why this undue haste particularly when dealing with a woman? Would the Government Officers dare to deal with a European woman in this country or any other in the same way!!!

We are told that the Act and the Regulations thereunder are preventive. But what are the facts? Imprisonment in solitary cells, internment in unhealthy areas—leading to break-down of health and in some cases, insanity and even death. Do they suggest mere prevention? Do they not make it absolutely clear that under the guise of internment the police are pursuing a course of real punishment and repression?

It has been asserted both by the Government and the Anglo-Indian newspapers that the situation in Bengal is a special situation requiring special remedy and that the Indian Penal Code is not sufficient for the purpose. But I venture to think that the ordinary law of the land is quite adequate and there need be no difficulty in securing conviction if the evidence, as it is suggested, is really overwhelming. I have carefully considered the provisions of the Indian Penal Code with the recent amendments made and it is my deliberate opinion that there is no difficulty in securing a conviction in a Court of law if the evidence on which the Government is relying will stand the test of investigation by ordinary tribunals of the country, and it is also my clear conviction that the Government is not entitled to invoke the aid of different and separate standard so far as the evidence is concerned.

His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay has told us that these extraordinary measures, with their inevitable errors of judgment, are meant only to secure the safety of the public! Such an argument is not new to India! We find this argument laid bare again and again in Lord Morley's Recollections where he characterised it as Russian in his disclosures about the deportations made by Lord Minto.

Gentlemen, the Defence of India Act is as strong a dose of repressive legislation as any country can bear; but if it is contemplated to administer a stronger dose in the shape of fresh legislative enactment the Government will be taking upon itself a responsibility which the Government is not likely to bear easily. Fresh legislation has been suggested in the council speeches of the Governors and it seems to be suggested by the official communique appointing the Committee of Internment, dated the 10th of December 1917. As a loyal citizen I feel it my bounden duty to raise my humble voice of protest and

warning against any more repressive legislation which may be in contemplation. And this done I have done my duty. I can do no more.

Gentlemen, I have shortly portrayed to you the long course of repressive legislation during the last decade under which we are groaning to-day. It is said that the legislation has been successful the crime has decreased. Is that correct? The external manifestations may be less, but I am afraid the disease is there and is likely to eat into the vitals unless remedied soon. The series of drastic and repressive legislation points to one thing and one thing only viz., that there is something wrong with the "body politic." Do you not think that the remedy of this is not what the Government has applied or is threatening to apply? Do you not think that the remedy lies in the immediate granting of substantial constitutional reform to India? There is no doubt as to your answer. I commend the answer to His Majesty's Government in India and I demand on your behalf—

(1) that the Defence of India Act, so far as it is not a war measure but is intended to affect the internal administration of the country, be repealed;

(2) that the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 be also repealed;

(3) that such detenus against whom there is adequate evidence be tried in the Courts of law :—

(4) That the rest of the detenus be at once set at liberty.

(4) That any further idea of repressive legislation be abandoned

Gentlemen, I am afraid that in inviting us to place implicit confidence in their action in this connection the Government is losing sight of the fact that it is an alien bureaucratic Government and not a national one. Even if this claim was adduced by a national Government, it could have been appropriately disputed as founded not on the principles of free Government but on the arbitrary decisions or views of a close body of officials, however honest and well intentioned they might be. The Government of India and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and his advisers are at the present moment engaged in devising the first instalment of Responsible Government which India is to have. This meeting invites them to take a step towards Responsible Government by bringing the executive under the purview of the ordinary laws of the land. This will create an atmosphere which will enable the people of this country to make such "reasoned representations" as His Excellency the Viceroy mentioned in the proposals on constitutional reform when they are published. We respectfully urge our claims in this behalf on the Government in their interest, in our interest, and in the interest of all nationalities residing in this ancient land of ours. We believe in constitutional struggle and have urged it on our fellow-countrymen in season and

out of season. We have also urged it on the Government and do so again. The only alternative to constitutional struggle is revolution. The majority of our people still have faith in constitutional struggle. Only a handful had lost faith in it and revolutionary tendencies manifested themselves. If those tendencies are to be counteracted, constitutional struggle is to be constitutional or otherwise. Struggle there must be. Some people dream of liberty won without struggle. "Liberty has never been so won, nor even so maintained. A virile nation does not shrink from struggle nor seek for beneficent bestowal of gifts. It wins its rights." We must no longer hesitate in the face of difficulty, hope for smooth and easy progress, beg for small boons.

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# **The Bengal Provincial Conference.**

***Chinsura, Bengal—30th & 31st March, 1918.***

The Annual meeting of the Bengal Provincial conference was held at Chinsurah on the 30th March, 1918. Almost all the prominent Bengal leaders were there, as well as numerous delegates from all over Bengal. Practically one subject absorbed the whole attention of the conference. This was the internments and deportations which had for sometimes past, and specially at that particular time, been intensely agitating the public mind of Bengal and other provinces. The President of the Conference also, the Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Dutt, was a man specially fitted for the occasion as he had recently taken a very courageous and challenging stand against the Government and their internment policy in the Bengal Council. His incisive questions on the unfortunate Sindhubala affair had the merit of eliciting apologetic replies not only from the Government but also from the Governor himself, and his very bold and open speech on the matter in the local Council contributed not a little to the intense popularity to which he suddenly rose for the time being.

The Hon'ble Rai Mohendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the Delegates. The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Banerji next proposed the Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Dutt to be their President. He referred to Mr. Dutt as a very "energetic member of the Bengal Council persistent in defending the interests of persons detained under the Defence of India Act and Bengal Regulation III of 1818. He fought—heroically fought—on behalf of the Sindhubalas and lastly, only the day before yesterday, he was able to extort from the Govt. a concession which was a tribute to the growing power of public opinion in the country viz., the formation of a committee to enquire into the case of Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, an internee."

## **THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH.**

### **Why does India want Responsible Government ?**

Apart from the world forces, and apart from the trends and tendencies of the world-wide political evolution, there are other causes why India demands Responsible Government. The first and foremost of those causes is that the public mind of India has expanded more quickly than Macaulay expected and has long ago out-

grown the present system of bureaucratic administration. "The proudest day in English History" which Macaulay foresaw in dim but prophetic vision, dawned long ago. But the bureaucracy has no fascination for the "title to glory" which he exhorted them to earn and has been moving heaven and earth to retard and avert that day of consummation. Indian bureaucracy have been uniformly hostile to our aspirations. Never was there a reform proposed which was not opposed by them. They absolutely ignored the growing spirit of Indian nationalism. It was their duty to encourage and foster that spirit, and to guide the political self-development of the people but they took every precaution to smother that spirit. They have been false to the trust. The Government of India has now become "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian" to be suitable for the requirements of modern India. I am voicing the sentiments of the whole country when I say that self-development of India is impossible under the present bureaucratic system of administration. National Government is the only road to self-redemption of India. The Bureaucracy have been tried and found wanting; they must now surrender their power to their adolescent ward. Sir William Wedderburn observed so truly "As a matter of British history and experience, bureaucratic rule has always proved a failure. Through bureaucratic inaptitude we lost the United States of America; and it was only by the grant of Self-Government that our great colonies were preserved to us. Now, the merest common sense demands that we should extend to India's peace-loving, intelligent and loyal population a generous measure of that Self-government which, under circumstances of difficulty and discord, brought peace and brotherhood to Canada, Australia and South Africa."

The second reason, why we want Responsible Government is that it is as much necessary for the sake of the Empire as it is for our own regeneration (hear, hear). The Titanic struggle is still convulsing the Empire and nobody knows how long this devastating war will go on. War requires men. You require men for war, both pending and impending. It is believed that a cloud not bigger than a man's hand has made its appearance on the offing. Who knows that the cloud will not assume huge proportions and darken the entire horizon of Asia. It is seriously believed in certain quarters that the political and geographical destiny of Japan is the danger-signal for the Empire and for India. Nor can we shut our eyes to the present position of Russia and complications in Turkey. To meet all possible future contingencies man-power will be necessary. We have got an extensive frontier from the north-west to the north-east but practically no National Militia. We have an extensive sea-board from Chittagong to Karachi but no national navy. How will you protect the Indian continent without man power? (hear, hear). Where will

you get the man-power except in India? (hear, hear). You cannot get the benefit of man-power of India unless you can put implicit trust in her people. (hear, hear) They may not make spontaneous and cheerful response unless they feel that they are citizens of the Empire (hear, hear), and unless they feel as much love for the Empire as an Englishman feels for it. There must be mutual trust and mutual love. How can that be achieved? I say, gentlemen, that can be achieved in only one way viz., by the immediate grant of complete and full measure of responsible Government to India. (hear, hear). If you want to save the Empire, if you want for that purpose to have the man-power of India, you must remove the Indian discontent and one may be absolutely certain that Indian discontent will not be removed until they receive full-fledged Responsible Government (hear, hear).     ...     ...

Allow me, Brother Delegates, to place before you the following quotation from Walter Bayles :

“Such question as Home Rule for Ireland ceases to be of purely domestic concern. Our great alliances practically force us to explain our conduct to the world, and especially to America : and the answer which we thought good enough for Ireland will not be good enough for the United States and the world.

“Seeing ... that we are challenging the doings of Germany, Austria and Turkey in their own dominions, we shall not be able to shirk enquiry into our own concerns. When we press questions as to Belgium, Serbia and Poland, we can not avoid being interrogated as to Ireland, Egypt and India.”

Weak, crippled, helpless and discontented India will be a source of weakness and danger and a strong, contented, self-contained and self-protected India a source of strength to the Empire. Brother delegates, India wants Self-government ; the Empire demands it.

The third reason why we want self-government is that the situation in India is grave. That is the informed opinion and pronounced verdict of the man on the spot. According to Lord Chelmsford ‘the situation in India is grave and is becoming graver and graver every day.’

But, Brother-delegates, our strongest claim for Self-Government is a very very simple one. We want Self-Government because we have a birthright to it. It is our birthright to manage our own affairs. The Bureaucracy may laugh, the Anglo-Indian community may ridicule, but none the less it is true. When a whole nation is determined to be free, no human power can resist that determination. (hear, hear). What we want, Gentlemen, is complete Provincial Autonomy in a Federated Indian Empire under the British Suzerainty. Mere tinkering will not do. Isolated concessions and isolated political boons will no longer satisfy the people. Mere memberships and judgships will not be of any avail. There is

nothing in individuals, it is the system which counts. (hear, hear). Our rulers should take note of one fact. An expansion of our Councils without real power is bound to add to the volume of discontent. We want Responsible Government—responsible in its essence and responsible in its details. The Executive must be made responsible to the elected Legislature with complete control over finance. And we shall not trouble our mind as to wherefrom the Civil Service is recruited.

[He then referred to the Reforms, characterised the announcement of 20th Aug. 17 as delightfully and elastically vague, and went on to say how from the Queen's Proclamation downwards promises have been lavished either with no idea of being kept or with the sheer prospect of being treated as "scraps of paper" by officials. He reminded the audience how the Viceroy had already warned people not to expect too much, how the Governor of Madras had already expressed his firm loyalty to the century-old bureaucratic Govt; how Lord Ronaldshay of Bengal "uttered a word of caution lest you be encouraged to cherish hopes which are not destined to be fulfilled."

He then referred to the activities of the European Association and other Anglo-Indian bodies who he said "are full of patriotism; and if they oppose Home Rule for India they do so not so much in their own interest, as in the interest of the masses of this country (laughter)," and combated the argument that India was unfit owing to the general illiteracy, to her numerous class-distinctions, etc. "As you admit that 160 years of British rule could not make us fit for self-Govnt., this very unfitness on our part proves unfitness on your part to govern us any longer." "I feel that all their stock arguments based on illiteracy, unfitness, absence of electorates etc are absolutely dishonest and insincere. Their best argument would rather be: We oppose Self-Govt. for India because we can not persuade ourselves to part with the powers and privileges we have so long enjoyed. You can not ask us to cut our own throats."

Referring to the Indo-British Association of England and Lord Sydenham and their anti-Indian Reform agitation, the president said: "They consist of retired Civil Servants fattening upon money paid by the people of India...while here they carried the anti-Indian banner throughout their career, opposing any and every scheme of reform large or small...they have now retired from service but they can not allow the solid work of a life-time to be nullified. Well, gentlemen, you are nursing them with milk and they must bite you".]

#### **The Internments.**

Brother Delegates there are two facts about which there can be no manner of controversy, viz:—

(1) The Indians are the victims of the revolutionary crimes; the Europeans are not.

(2) The Indians demand the release of the internees and deportees ; the Europeans do not.

Now, Brother Delegates, the very pertinent question arises—how to explain this curious phenomenon? Why should the people have any pity for those who are supposed to be enemies of our Society? It appears to me that the explanation is simple and obvious. It is this :—The people believe and honestly believe that there are many amongst the interned and deported who are innocent. They honestly believe that their belief is well-founded and it is therefore that they demand their release. This is the only theory which can rationally explain the otherwise anomalous and mysterious attitude of the people towards the interned. I wonder whether the Government has ever considered this aspect of the question. It has been said, Gentlemen, that a whole nation can never go wrong. It is admitted on all hands that the criminal conspiracy is confined to a handful of men. Lord Chelmsford has declared in most unequivocal terms that the heart of the great mass of the people is sound.

Sir Rabinndra Nath Tagore expressed his opinion that a large number of those punished are innocent. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay thought that was a grave charge for any responsible person to make against any Government. I for one cannot imagine a greater impeachment of any Government whether responsible or irresponsible. The charge is no doubt extremely humiliating to the Government. The question however is whether there is any foundation for the charge. If the charge is true, then certainly the Government has inflicted a grievous wrong upon the people—a wrong for which there can be no manner of compensation, a wrong for which the Government will remain answerable to God and men for all time to come.

#### **Professional Informers.**

It is admitted that many internment orders have been passed on the testimony of professional informers even when it is not corroborated by any other evidence circumstantial or otherwise (disgraceful.) Gentlemen, nothing more can be more disastrous than this. We know that a large amount of money is being expended from year to year in maintaining the glorious band of informers. If the King's coins and the rate-payers good money are so freely circulated among the Police underlings and police spies and if their evidence is not to be tested in a public trial, is it any wonder that there should not be any discrimination between proof and suspicion, between evolutionary and revolutionary parties and that many innocent persons should suffer for affording justification for the existence and maintenance of the secret service? It is too late in the day, Gentlemen, to ask us to accept the evidence of informers. From Titus Mates to Narendra Nath Goswami they have never inspired any confidence and will never do so. They can create a



reign of Suspicion and a reign of Terror but the people will never feel induced to accept a verdict based upon their uncorroborated whispers. The existence of the Secret Police is an admitted fact. The history of Russia proves the evil of such an agency. We know that in Russia there is such a thing as Agent Provocateur. It was the business of these agents to instigate political crimes and thus to draw unsuspecting impressionable youths into the meshes of political conspiracies. It has been said by a high authority that these agents have their fore legs in revolutionary conspiracies and their hind legs in the secret police office. I am not suggesting that these evils have manifested themselves here but they are the attending evils of the Secret Police. Is there any reason to suppose that with the advent of the Secret Police our Society will not be similarly poisoned by such unscrupulous agents?

I ask you, Brother Delegates, is it not a fact that in the vast majority of instances our people have been condemned unheard? "Strike but hear" is a prayer which our rulers think is more than they can reasonably grant. The inevitable result is the massacre of innocent men, innocent boys, and even of innocent women. It can no longer be said that we are abnormally suspicious. That was the charge that used to be brought against us formerly. It is now admitted that two Purdanashin ladies were arrested and detained for a fortnight without any justification whatsoever. (shame) Gentlemen, what are things coming to? Are we to maintain the C. I. D. at the cost of the public to serve the public in this outrageous fashion? Is this the sort of service for which we are maintaining our public servants? Does the Government ask us in all seriousness to put up with such vagaries of the servants of the public with icy coldness? Ladies and gentlemen, with your permission I shall here tell my countrymen what I told His Excellency the Governor on this subject from my place in the Bengal Legislative Council. I said :—

"The raid on the Sindhubalas may be a feather in the cap of the C. I. D., but it may be the last straw on a camels back. (hear, hear) There is, after all, my lord, a limit even to Oriental patience (hear, hear). People have tolerated indiscriminate arrest of men and boys. They will never do so in the case of their mothers and sisters" (hear, hear).

As Mr. Lal Mohan Ghosh said on a certain occasion, "There are moments in the history of nations when the virtues of patience and forbearance may be carried too far. This is one of those moments". Do you hear, gentlemen, the piteous but impassioned appeal which the injured innocence of the Sindhubalas is sending forth to this Provincial Conference from their out raged and humiliated village homes in the interior of Bankura? Do you hear how they call upon you to obtain redress of their grievances? Do you

hear how they call upon you to peremptorily ask the Government to dismiss outright all those public servants who are the authors of these unparalleled insults (hear, hear); how they call upon you to insist upon the Government to take steps for preventing such arrest and such detention in future not only in the case of women but also in the case of men and boys; because we have received an assurance that such cases will never happen in the case of women, as if the liberty of men and boys is of no consequence; how they call upon you to move heaven and earth, to leave no constitutional stone unturned to bring the C. I. D. under proper control; how they call upon you to carry on the constitutional agitation both here and in England until you can compel the Government to abandon the policy of internment and deportation? Gentlemen, I for my part appeal to you in the name of the outraged humanity of Bengal to carry on your constitutional fight, undeterred by the frowns and unseduced by the smiles of power, and I am sure, as I am sure of my own existence here at the present moment, that this lawless law will soon be a thing of the past (hear, hear). You must carry on the constitutional agitation, if necessary, in England; if necessary, you must take to passive resistance until you have the "Oppression of India Act" repealed.

#### **Political Unrest—its Economic Causes.**

It is only a truism to say that the origin of Political unrest is two-fold—Political and economical. Has not British rule destroyed India's finest arts and industries in order to favour the importation of cheap foreign goods? Has it not taxed the home produce in order to balance customs duty on imported goods? Did it not encourage the export of raw materials to come back as manufactured articles, thus paralysing Indian industrial efforts for the benefit of foreigners? Did it not encourage and facilitate exploitation of the country by English Companies and English capital? In fact the last 100 years witnessed the extinction of all our industries, and British rule has effected the impoverishment of the people and the country to an extent almost unparalleled in history.

We have at last arrived at a stage when the bread problem must be solved, or a process of disintegration will begin. The solution of the problem of the provision of the unemployed can no longer be put off with impunity. Whatever may be the orthodox official opinion, there is no doubt that many of the so-called political dacoities have hardly any political complexion, and even sons of Bhadrals have been driven to this dastardly crime as a means of livelihood. Lord Chelmsford said some time ago "I share with you the belief that political unrest can often be traced to the economic conditions".

People may become accustomed to all sorts of oppression but never to hunger. They become desperate. The danger to British rule lies far more in the misery of the masses than in the discontent of the educated. The recent hat-lootings have shown to what desperation the masses may be driven even by a rise in the price of salt. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that the evil has been nipped in the bud. But it should be an eye-opener both to the Government and to the people.

### Political Unrest—Its Root Political Causes.

What are the political forces which have eventually resulted in the growth of a revolutionary party?

Apart from the ideals and pious wishes held out in the Proclamations and apart from instances of individual generosity, can any one honestly deny that the one principle which has been uniformly and religiously followed in the governance of India is : India for England, and not India for Indians ?

I ask you, Brother Delegates, are we anything better than hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country ? Do you feel, can you feel at home in our own home ? Are we not so many intruders in our own country ? The bitter resentment of the Indian mind was best expressed more than a quarter of a century ago in that well-known line : *Nija Basobhūma Parobāsi hola*. Who monopolise the loaves and fishes of the State ? The foreigners or the children of the soil ? Is there the least exaggeration in the statement that in all departments of life the greatest sin and disqualification in India is to be an Indian ? Is there the shadow of justification for that intellectual giant Dr. P. C. Roy finishing his career as a member of the Provincial service (shame), while Europeans who are no better than pigmies by his side, begin their service as members of the Imperial grade ? (shame). European civilians of indifferent merit become Divisional Commissioners and Provincial Governors but such capable and meritorious Indians as Mr. R. C. Dutt and Sir K. G. Gupta were practically shunted off the line. Is there not any Indian who is fit to be placed at the head of a Provincial Government ? Is Sir B. Mitter not qualified to be Advocate-General of Bengal ? (here hear). Why should the higher appointments in the Police and other departments be a close preserve for the spoilt and half-educated children of foreigners when educated and qualified Indians are available ? Why are the doors of many departments shut against the Indians for no other reason than that they are Indians ? Is it not literally true that in the public services the upper branch is synonymous with European and the lower with Indian ? Does the average Englishman flatter himself with the idea that he is in any way superior to an average Indian ? Why the most irritating distinction between Indians and foreigners in the matter of arms ?

Can any self-respecting Indian contemplate over this distinction with equanimity? Why should higher pay be given to the European incumbent for the same office? Even people of the non-descript classes are given higher emoluments for performing the same duty. Englishmen look down upon our caste system with unmitigated abhorrence, but can they deny that they have instituted a new caste system here which is of a far more virulent character? (hear, hear) Where is the Brahmin who has such unadulterated hatred for the so-called depressed classes as the Europeans entertain towards the Indians? Brother Delegates, is it not a stern reality that we Indians are looked upon and treated as untouchables by the ruling caste? A Brahmin has certainly to be invited on the occasion of a Sradh, but he does not think it beneath his dignity to call upon a neighbour of a lower caste even apart from such invitation. But have you ever come across a member of the ruling caste who does not think it beneath his dignity to return the visit even of a most respectable Indian, or to grace the house of an Indian except in response to an invitation, not on the occasion, of course, of a Sradh, but on the occasion of a party given in honour of some European? I believe "parties" are now celebrated with more religious fervour than Sradhas of parents! (laughter). Are you aware, gentlemen, that even Indian District Magistrates and Indian District Judges are denied the honour of a return visit if they do not belong to the "Heaven-born Service"? Who ever returned from the house of a member of the ruling caste without a feeling of humiliation? The most faithful description of the popular feeling on the subject is "Insolence! Thy name is Indian bureaucracy." Has the Government any idea as to how disastrous the effect of this insolence upon the Indian mind is, I mean, for the Government. Even law is a respecter of persons in India. In the British courts in this country even-handed justice was out of the question as between an Indian and a foreigner. I should think things are not much better now. Not to speak of miscarriage of justice owing to the perversity of individual Judges and Magistrates, the legislature itself has made most irritating distinction between Europeans and Indians. The Ilbert Bill agitation is no doubt ancient history now, but I for one refuse to believe that it has not left behind it a permanent sting, and influence for ever the relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

The Partition of Bengal, the Bande Mataram Circular, the Riseley Circular, the Carlyle Circular and the crop of repressive circulars which proceeded and followed them, the Regulation Lathis which were not only brandished in the streets of East Bengal but were actually showered upon the devoted heads of the promoters of the Swadeshi movement, the deportation of our most earnest and honest workers, the unjust persecution and prosecution of many true sons

of Bengal, the preposterous sentences which used to be passed in what are known as the Swadeshi cases which staggered humanity—Lord Morley not excepted—the letting loose of the Gurkha soldiers upon the helpless people of Backerganj and other districts of East Bengal, the game of divide and rule, the doctrine of “favourite wife”, not only preached with refreshing and cynical frankness but translated into action not certainly for the sake of the favoured but with a sinister design, the indiscriminate and wanton house-searches and arrests and the shadowing by the police, the breaking up of all social service leagues and beneficent ‘Samities’—all these certainly put a most severe strain upon the loyalty of our people. They staggered, they paused, they rubbed their eyes, they wondered if they were in the twentieth century under enlightened British rule,—they groaned. They became silent, they became sullen too.

### Legislature Subservient to the Executive.

All the executive zburdastism was not considered sufficient to crush the rising new spirit, a spirit which any national Government should have guided, encouraged, fostered and directed in a right channel, but the angry bureaucracy summoned the subservient legislature to forge the most reactionary and repressive measures one after another. In all civilized countries, Brother Delegates, the executive are subject to wholesome control of the legislature, but here in this country the legislature dances to the tune of the executive. In other countries the legislature exercise a check upon executive vagaries. But everything is topsy-turvey here. Whenever the executive here want to start a fresh campaign of repression, the bureaucracy forges an engine of oppression in the dark recess of the Secretariat, sends the bill cut and dried to the legislature whose function it then becomes merely to register the decree of the bureaucracy loyally, some times taking away the primary and elementary rights of the people in one and the same meeting of the council and sometimes going through the farce of useless formalities. As the role of the prosecutor and the judge are played by one and the same person, so the executive and the legislative functions are conveniently blended in one and the same body of men. Some member of the bureaucracy discovers one fine morning that his powers under the existing law are not sufficient to meet the new situation ; he formulates his demands, draws up a bill in some capacity, introduces it in the legislative council in some other, votes for it and gets it passed. This is the sort of thing which passes in this country under the name of legislation. The legislator is only a glorified edition of a bureaucrat. How unreal ! how sham !! what a mockery is this all !!! But to come back to my point. I was speaking of the legislative bolts which were hurled at us with all the rapidity of shots from a machine gun.

**A Crop of Repressive Laws.**

First came the Seditious Meetings Act passed in 1907. That shrewd statesman, Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, opposed the Bill; he saw that the measure was calculated to drive sedition underground. He protested in vain and the law was passed. May I ask 10 years after this unwise legislation whether the Government had not attempted to purchase "public tranquillity" at a very dear price? Will the Government now take stock and say frankly whether sedition was not driven underground? In 1908 the bureaucracy had the Newspapers Incitement to Offences Act passed. In 1909 they wanted to do away with all our associations which were rendering valuable service to the country. They said, let there be an Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, and the law was passed. The next link in that interminable chain of cruel legislation is the Indian Press act which was passed in 1910. It may serve as a temporary wet cloth on all expression of public opinion but its inevitable fruits are bound to be bitter. In 1913 we had the Indian Criminal Amendment Act passed for the punishment of criminal conspiracies. The last, though not the least, was the Defence of India Act passed in 1915. So many repressive legislations crowded in such a short period must be unparalleled in the history of the civilised world. I wonder, Brother Delegates, if British statesmanship failed to realise that the discontent, already deep, would be driven deeper and would, according to the immutable laws of human nature, find out its own outlet in some other channel.

**Discontent leading to Constitutional Agitation.**

Discontent inevitably leads to struggle for liberty. Struggle we must until we reach the goal. The path may be long and devious, but we are not going to break our journey till we get to the promised land. You cannot arrest the march of time any more than you can make to-day like yesterday. You may chain the Prometheus but the fire is lighted and can not be extinguished. You may as well stand on the bank of the Hooghly and ask it to roll back to the Himalayas. The lesson of history is that repressive Legislation not only frustrates its own object but recoils upon its author with vengeance. Need I point out that the oppressive Laws of the last decade accelerated the growth of a revolutionary party? They certainly are the immediate and exciting causes of the movement. As usual in all countries the discontent in India led in the first instance to constitutional agitation.

**Failure of Constitutional Agitation.**

In 1883 the first Indian National Conference was organised by the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose and by our leader Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, and it was the precursor of the Indian National

Congress which met at Bombay two years after and laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress which has during the last 32 years been fighting our constitutional battle. It is idle to disguise the fact that the National Congress failed to evoke a sympathetic response from the Government. The aged, the sober, the wise, and the cool-headed people—the, however did not desert their posts. They have carried their constitutional struggle upto now. But a section of the younger people lost their faith in constitutional agitation. But the world began to move very fast, the experience of generations became crowded into a few years. Our young men became intoxicated with the new wine of freedom. They became mad for the service of the country but there was no scope. Their beneficent activities began to extort admiration from the Government itself. But the appreciation was short lived. When it was discovered that the province might be a net work of organisations and that the enthusiasm of the young men was not merely a temporary excitement, their activities began to be misunderstood and viewed with suspicion. They began to receive attention from the police and the repressive legislation that followed I have already placed before you. Their activities were smothered. They were not allowed to meet and talk and work. The emotional temperament of the inpatient and impetuous youth must however find out its own out-let. The bureaucracy instead of guiding this new spirit threw all possible obstacles in the way of their self-realisation. The budding activities of our youngmen entitled them to the whole-souled and unwavering support of a determined and united nation. They looked forward towards their leaders. They wanted opportunities. They wanted field of action. The leaders did not help them ; possibly they could not. Thus both the government and the leaders failed in their duty. For the popular leaders it was a sin of omission but, so far as the Government was concerned, it was a sin of omission and of commission. The result was discontent and distrust which under further repression eventually slid into disaffection.

Discontent leads to constitutional agitation. Constitutional agitation leads to repression. Repression leads to disaffection. Disaffection leads to political crime. Every political crime leads to further repression and every fresh act of repression breeds a more acute form of revolutionary feeling and leads to an expansion of the movement. Thus we are oscillating like a pendulum between the repressive and the revolutionary movements ; sometime the repressive measure getting the better of the revolutionary, and sometimes the revolutionary movement getting the better of repression, but each getting stronger and stronger as the result of continuous struggle between the two. Sometimes the police overcome the revolutionary party, and believe that they have annihilated them, but only to be disillusionised by their recrudescence shortly

after, in such a form as to elude their grasp and vigilance. In the result both are becoming stronger and stronger. The C. I. D. are being multiplied "ad infinitum." Who knows that the party of violence will not some day burst forth with unexpected and increased virility?

### **Internment—What it means.**

Brother Delegates, how shall I describe to you the intolerable sufferings of the people interned and deported. They are too painful for description. I shall not dwell upon the privations and inconveniences to which these detenués are subjected. I shall not describe the horrors of the environments which they are forced to put up with. I shall not remind you of the snakes which constituted the only companions of some of the detenués in their exile. I shall not tell you how these ill-fated people have to remain alone in a solitary house in a solitary place even during illness. I shall not tell you about the low and ill-ventilated huts in which they are accommodated. I shall not tell you how many of them have not been allowed access to any books and newspapers inspite of repeated requests. These are hardships to which the detenués have by this time reconciled themselves. But I would ask you, Brother delegates, to ponder for one moment, over the circumstances that brought about the untimely and tragic death of Professor Set and Chandi Charan Nag. (shame). I want to ask you to dive deeper into the mysteries of the Dulanda house and their cloistered seclusion in the cells. I would ask you to imagine and realise what impelled some young man to seek repose in death. I would ask you to enquire into the circumstances which in some cases caused insanity and goaded others to go on a hunger strike. I would ask you to remember the legacy of a debt which Sachindra has bequeathed to you in his last testament, I mean the debt of duty you owe to the unfortunate detenués. I would ask you to hold before your eyes the picture of Jyotis Chandra Ghose (shame)—the ghastly picture of death in life. I would ask you to listen to his mother's cry. It is not mother Dakhyani's cry. It is the cry of mother Bengal. (hear, hear.) It is the cry of the mother of outraged humanity. Verily, gentlemen, my flesh creeps, my blood curdles, my voice chokes, my pulse beats slower when I recall to mind the ghastly tragedies of so many blasted lives.

Gentlemen, our impotent wailings have only brought forth the Rowlatt committee and God alone knows what new shackles are being forged on its anvil. The history of commissions in India is the history of forced capitulations of her rights and liberties.

Brother Delegates, the internment policy is ought to be justified on the ground that political crimes have ceased. It is said in a tone of exultation "Look here, Bengali politicians, the internments and deportations have annihilated the revolutionary party." The argument is however vitiated by the fallacy of Non causa Pro causa



wherein purely accidental circumstances are put forward as causes, just as the Norwegians attributed the disappearance of the fish from their coast to the introduction of inoculation or just as the wearing of an amulet is sometimes believed to be the cause of prosperity. Even a beginner in logic will tell you that an antecedent is not always the cause "post hoc ergo propter hoc". A palm fruit may fall as soon as a crow sits upon it and yet the crow is not the cause why it falls. But I forget logic is never the best point of those who revel in political superstition. There may be a temporary lull just at the present moment in revolutionary crimes. But suspension is not cessation. Temporary inactivity of a volcano does not prove its total extinction any more than a superficial scab argues the healing of an internal sinus which may still be eating into the very vitals. It does not require much political insight to anticipate the effect on a body politic if the root cause be not removed in time. Revolutionary activities are always fitful. Besides, the suspension of these activities does not show that all the interned people are guilty.

Brother Delegates, before I bid good bye to you I take the liberty of making an appeal to my countrymen and that appeal is this: Assert all your lawful rights manfully; offer lawful resistance whenever encroachment is made thereupon; respect the rights of the Europeans, but assert yours. Be polite to all, but not subservient to any; stand erect and meet everybody as a man should meet a man; overhaul and purify the public life of Bengal—Be hard task-masters in dealing with the popular representatives and the leaders (hear hear). Let there be no moderates and extremists, but only Home-Rulers (hear hear) Preach the gospel of Home-Rule to our people and establish Home-Rule Leagues all over the country (hear hear). Organise a band of political missionaries and Sannyashis to carry on this propagandist work and start a daily paper (hear hear) in simple and homely Bengali and thereby educate the masses. Organise a system a national education. Take to Commerce and Industry and float national Banks. Multiply co-operative Societies under non-official agency and control. Lift up the depressed classes, improve the sanitation of the villages and above all, be true to yourself and to your country.

Brother Delegates, I thank you most heartily for the kind and patient hearing which you have been pleased to accord to me. I wish you a successful Sessions of the Conference (loud cries of "Bande Mataram.")

### **The Proceedings.**

The President than asked the delegates to send in the names of the members of the subjects committee.

Mr. J. N. Ray suggested that instead of electing members of the Subjects committee the whole house should go into the Subjects

Committee so that everyone might have an opportunity to discuss the subjects to come up before the Conference.

Mr. Jogendralal Chaudhury seconded the proposition.

The Hon. Mr. Abdul Kasem opposed it, saying that it would only protract business.

Babu Sasankajiban Ray also opposed Mr. Ray's proposal.

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea said that they would not enter into any discussion over the matter.

Mr. J. N. Roy said that if there was any opposition he would not press his suggestion.

The President said that as there was a difference of opinion they should abide by the rules.

The delegates then sent in the names of their representatives on the Subjects Committee which sat till late hours in the evening.

The first two resolutions—one expressing loyalty to the Throne and the other expressing the sense of loss of the Conference at the death of six illustrious servants of India, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A Rasul, Sir Chandra Madhav Ghosh, Babu Saroda Charan Mitter and Babu Sacindra Chandra Sinha were then put from the chair, and carried unanimously, all present standing.

The fourth resolution on the Bengalees and the army, was next moved by Mr. B. Chakravarti.

Babu Surendra Nath Banerji next rose to move the **Self-Government resolution**, as outlined in the following, barring the details.

That this Conference, while according its cordial support to and urging the acceptance of the Congress League scheme of constitutional reforms, so far as it relates to the constitution of the Government of India, demands that as the first substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India, a full and complete measure of provincial autonomy be granted at once to Bengal as per scheme mentioned below :—

The functions of the Government of India should be confined to :—

- (1) Military and Naval affairs.
- (2) Foreign and Political relations.
- (3) Relation with other parts of the Empire.
- (4) Legislation affecting Inter-Provincial fiscal matters.
- (5) Legislation as regards tariffs, customs duties, taxes to be applied for Imperial purposes : regulation of coinage and weights and measure ; Banking and Currency regulations.
- (6) Treatment, Surveillance and Expulsion of Foreigners.
- (7) Colonization and Emigration.
- (8) Patents Invention and the protection of the products of Intellectual Activity.
- (9) Protection of Indian Trade abroad.

(10) Inter-Provincial Railway, Roads, Waterways.

(11) Posts and Telegraphs.

(12) All other matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India may be desirable.

It was over the **Internment resolution**, or more strictly speaking, on the Advisory Committee portion of it, that there raged the greatest controversy.

The portion runs as follows :—

(e) That this Conference while appreciating the spirit of the Govt of India in so far as it seeks to allay public consternation in the meantime desire to express satisfaction for the appointment of the Advisory Committee consisting of two High Court Judges one of them being an Indian and urges that further provision be made so as to give legal assistance to the persons arrested and opportunity be given to them for cross-examination ; and that further provision be made to supply them with the copy of the charges and adduce defence, without which the advisory committee will not be able to discharge its duty properly.

It was over the substitution of the wording in the last line, namely "is ineffective" into "will not be able to discharge its duty properly", that there raged the hottest discussion, Mr. J. N. Roy being for the amendment, while Mr. Jitendra Lal Banerji strongly opposed it. So did Mr. Nishit Sen, and Mr. Sasanka Jiban Roy, Mr. I. B. Sen, and others. As the discussion raged hotter and hotter, it was Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt who threw oil over the troubled waters. He said that he had no objection to the use of the word "properly" and that it was the right word to use in that connection. The resolution was next put to the meeting and carried.

The other resolutions related to the repeal of the Arms Act, the Boy Scout movements, Reunion of Bengal-speaking district with Bengal and change of constitution of the Provincial Conference-Committee etc. etc, which were all carried 'nem con.'

### **The Bengal Scheme.**

The Conference ratified the scheme of constitutional reforms framed and passed at its exarordinary sessions in December last. In the Subjects Committee an attempt was made to bring back the Conference to stick to the Congress-League Scheme of reforms and not to go farther, but the attempt failed as the overwhelming volume of opinion was against it. The Bengal Scheme thus affirmed by the Conference at two successive sessions was that more emphasis should be laid on the control of the Provincial Governments by the Local legislatures.

The remarkably strong speech of the President indicting the Govt. for its internment policy, as well as the extremely enthusiastic proceedings of the Conference drew the attention even of the Govt. and the Anglo-Indians and Europeans in the country. Immediately after the Conference the Anglo-Indian Journals, the Englishman and the Statesman, attacked Mr. Dutt, more personally than on the merits of the statements made in his speech, in unmeasured language. Day after day the Englishman began to assail the President and accused him of heaping up false charges against the Govt. It peremptorily called for some Govt. action to bring to book such a delinquent as the Hon'ble Mr. Dutt, or to express at least the Govt's disapprobation of such language, and the Bengal Govt. at last persuaded themselves to take notice of the matter in the following way :

**Letter from Bengal Govt. to the Hon. Mr. Dutt.**

*Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta, 4th April 1918.*

DEAR SIR,

According to the reports which have appeared in certain newspapers of a speech recently delivered by you as President of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Chinsura on the 30th ultimo, you observed as follows, in speaking of the action of the local Government under the Defence of India Act. —

“The inevitable result is the massacre of innocent men, innocent boys, and innocent women.”

I am directed to enquire whether your remarks in this respect have been correctly reported, and, if so, what construction you intended to be placed upon them.

*Yours truly,*  
Sd. J. H. Kerr,

To

The Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Dutta.

**Mr Dutt's Reply.**

*113 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.*

5-4-18.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of yesterday and interview of date, I beg to inform you that the word 'massacre' was used merely in a figurative sense and could not possibly have been used in any other sense. It is believed that amongst the interned there are many who are innocent. The whole context shows that my language is not susceptible of any other construction. I need only add that the Editors

of the "Bengalee and "Amrita Bazar Patrika", who were present at the Conference, when the speech was delivered, also understood me in the same sense, as would appear from their issues probably of the 2nd and the 4th instant respectively.

*Yours truly,*

Sd. Akhil Chandra Dutta.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, C. S. I., C. I. E.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, Chief Sec. to the Gov. of Bengal.

To—The Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Dutta.

*Calcutta, the 9th April 1918.*

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th April regarding the language used by you in your speech at the Bengal Provincial Conference with reference to the question of internments. I am to point out that you have not replied to the enquiry made in my letter of the 4th April as to the construction you intended to be placed upon your remarks, but have simply stated that the word "massacre" was used merely in a figurative sense and could not possibly have been used in any other sense. In no sense, liberal or figurative, however, can the use of this term be justified with reference to the action of the local Government under the Defence of India Act, and the Governor in Council is surprised to note that even when your attention has been drawn to the point, not even an expression of regret is offered for the use of language obviously liable to be interpreted in a sinister sense. In these circumstances he can only express his regret that a Member of the Provincial Legislative Council should have so little sense of the responsibility of his position as to employ words so improper and inappropriate.

2. As the public are interested in your explanation of this passage in your published speech it is proposed to communicate a copy of the correspondence to the press.

I have etc.

Sd. J. H. Kerr,

Chief Secy. to the Government of Bengal.

# Home Rule League Conference.

*Bombay, 16 March, 1919.*

The Second Home Rule League Conference met at Bombay on the 26 March '18 under Mr. Tilak. Mr. D. V. Gokhale LL. B. Secretary, read the Report of the year 1917-18. Members on the Roll were 34,000, most of whom were from the Bombay Presidency.

An analysis of the Balance Sheet shows that Rs. 25,072 were received as subscriptions of Ordinary and Life-Members while the sum of donations was Rs. 13,282. Lok. Tilak undertook a tour in Berar and Central Provinces which alone brought in Rs. 1,17,000. Sums of money have been received and are being received after the date of this report, and when the final accounts are made the above figures will show considerable improvement. In the last two days only the League has received more than Rs. 41 thousands.

## **Educative Propaganda.**

This year the League made determined efforts in carrying on the propaganda of political education throughout the country. In all nearly 425 public meetings were organised and were addressed by the leading members of the League in the year under report. Out of these more than 88 lectures were delivered by Lokamanya Tilak alone. He undertook nearly 25 extensive tours and visited even small towns and villages and the Congress League Scheme of Reform was taken to be the basis of the Indian demand for Home rule. Mr. N. C. Kelkar as Secretary of the Home Rule League, visited 20 places and delivered 25 lectures.

## **Home Rule Pamphlets.**

The League published in all 13 Marathi and 6 English pamphlets. Out of one and a half lakh of copies printed, one lakh and a quarter are already sold or distributed. Out of these Lok. Tilak's lectures in Marathi were very popular. Out of the 50,000 copies printed in Marathi, nearly 45,000 are already sold or distributed. Besides the Karnatak, the Bombay and the Nagpore Branches got the books

translated in Canarese, Gujrati and Hindi and distributed them in their provinces. The Congress League Scheme was translated into Marathi and 50,000 copies were distributed free. A want also was keenly felt for a full exposition of India's case for Home Rule and the League tried to supply it by publishing "the Case for Indian Home Rule" written by Mr. N. C. Kelkar.

#### **Internments and externments-**

Last year the Government of Bombay tried to put a stop to the work of the Indian Home Rule League by launching a prosecution against Lok. Tilak under Section 108 Cr. P. C. for his Home Rule lectures at Belgaum and Ahmednagar, but he came off victorious owing to a decision of the High Court of Bombay in appeal in his favour.

The Governments of Bombay, Berar, and C. P. thought it fit to intern Mrs. Annie Besant, the President of the Madras Home Rule League and the Government of Madras thought it necessary to intern her along with two of her lieutenants Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, and extern Mr. V. R. Karandikar and Mr. N. S. Marathe. The Government of the Punjab and the Commissioner of Delhi in their wisdom sought the safety of their provinces by issuing orders of externment against Lok. Tilak and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. The evident object of these various activities on the part of Government was to deal a death-blow at the League by declaring them to be illegal associations. There then came forward at such a critical juncture in their life-history a man of strong mettle, respected throughout India for his knowledge of Law—Sir Subramaniya Aiyer—to defend the cause of the Home Rule League. He boldly declared that he believed in the rights of the British Indian citizens, believed in the legality of the objects of the Home Rule Leagues, and declared that he would stand by them even if the Government declared them illegal and would suffer any punishment that would be meted out for that offence. It was apprehended that the Government of Bombay would also adopt similar measures against the Indian Home Rule League, and the noble example of Sir Subramaniya Aiyer was at once worthily followed in Maharashtra, Karnatik, Berar, and C. P., and more than two thousand members of the League, men of light and leading, pledged themselves to stand by the Home Rule League in case it was declared illegal.

#### **Mr. Baptista's Mission to England.**

Last year, at the Annual Conference of the League at Nasik, a resolution was passed urging the necessity of sending immediately a strong deputation of representative and influential men to England.

Accordingly Mr. Joseph Baptista left for England in July last and is still working there. He has carried on an incessant campaign of lectures throughout the British isles, and to a great extent it was his endeavours that ultimately induced the Labour party to accord its support to the grant of Home Rule to India.

### HOME RULE DEPUTATIONS TO ENGLAND.

The first deputation, the less important of two, in personnel but more interesting in future events, consisted of the Hon'ble Mr Narasimha Aiyar, and Messrs Syed Hossain, J. N. Gurtu, George George Joseph and M. Ramaier. It sailed in two batches, one on the 10th and the other on the 18th March '18 and safely reached Gibraltar on the 14th April. As soon as the ships had cast anchor a Naval officer came on board with written instruction for the Captain from the Admiral Commanding to the effect that the members of the deputation were to disembark and put up in the Grand Hotel where arrangements had been made for them, and that they should remain there until further instructions came. They did so under protest and on the next day, April 15th, sent the following letter to the Admiral.

*To the Senior Naval Officer, Gibraltar.*

DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned, were asked under your orders to disembark here yesterday while on our way to England. Neither the Captain of the ship nor the officer you deputed offered us any explanation beyond saying that we should receive further instructions. As we had no option in the matter, we left our ships under protest. In the circumstances, and as we have received no further communication from you so far, we shall be thankful if you will be so good as to let us know at your early convenience whether you are acting under the instructions of the Home Government or the Government of India in thus detaining us, so that we may make necessary representations in the proper quarters accordingly. We shall also be obliged by your informing us whether we are at liberty to communicate by cable with our people and legal advisers in India and in England in regard to this matter.

As you are probably aware, we were on our way to England with fully endorsed passports granted to us for the purpose by the Government in India, and we need hardly say that this unexpected hitch has subjected us to very considerable inconvenience, apart from upsetting our plans for the mission on which, with the full knowledge of the Government of India, we were proceeding to England.

Awaiting the favour of an early reply, and such further instructions as you may have for us, we remain—Yours, etc.



The following reply came the next day :—

*H. M. Dockyard, Gibraltar, 16th April, 1918.*

Gentlemen,—In reply to your letter of the 15th instant. I have the honour to inform you that you were removed from S. S. Margha in accordance with instructions received from the British War Cabinet.

2. I would further inform you that on a suitable opportunity occurring you will be sent back to India.

3. You are requested to note that your passports to England are cancelled.

(Sd.) Heathcoat, S. Grant,  
Rear Admiral

### Protest to Premier and the Return Voyage.

The following day they were asked to go to the Officer of the Military Controller to have the passports formally cancelled. They then cabled to India and England. After eleven days they were put into an outward bound boat to India. Before leaving Gibraltar, on April 28th, the deputation sent the following telegram to the Premier :—

To The Right Hon. the Prime Minister,

*10, Downing Street, London.*

Members of the Indian Home Rule Deputation were disembarked here, had our passports cancelled, and are now obliged to return to India. It has been officially intimated to us that the action has been taken under instructions from the British War Cabinet, but although we remained at Gibraltar for a fortnight, no explanation of the reasons for the step was communicated to us. In the circumstance we feel it our duty to enter a strong protest against an order which has prevented the fulfilment of a constitutional mission to Great Britain from His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects one of whose main objects was to assure the British democracy of India's staunch adherence to the cause of Great Britain and of the Alliance in the world-war, which is the vindication of international justice and the principle of nationality. The action which His Majesty's Government have been led to take is the more deplorable as it has come at a time when it must tend to react on the consummation of the splendid response which India, through the National Congress, has made to your appeal for renewal of and further active co-operation in the prosecution of the war. We feel bound earnestly to request that the policy underlying the Cabinet's decision may yet be reconsidered with a view to assuaging the deep disappointment which cannot fail to be aroused throughout the country at this juncture by the unprecedented treatment which has been accorded to a fully accredited national deputation.

(Sd.) Syed Hossain,  
Secretary to Deputation.

### Second Home Rule League Deputation.

This headed by Mr B. G. Tilak with whom were the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde and Messrs N. C. Kelkar, Karandikar and B. C. Pal, left Bombay on the 27th March '18 for Madras enroute to Colombo from which Port they intended to sail for England by the Cape route. A magnificent send off was accorded to it at Bombay and several receptions were held at which purses were presented for the Home Rule Propaganda. The party arrived at Colombo on the 2nd April. What followed next is given in the language of the Secretary of the Deputation :—

“On the 4th, at about half past ten in the morning, the Secretary of the party was informed that the Colonial Government had received instructions from His Majesty's Government through the Government of India that the passports of Mr. Tilak and party were to be cancelled. The Colonial Secretary wrote to Mr. Tilak and Kelkar the following letter :—

“Colonial Secretary's Office,  
Colombo, 4th April, '18.

Sir,

I am directed to state that a telegram has been received from the Indian Government requesting that under instructions from His Majesty's Government passports issued to you and the members of your party in order to proceed to England have been cancelled. It will not, therefore, be possible for you or your friends to continue your journey to Europe. Will you kindly return your passports which were endorsed at this office yesterday for the endorsements to be cancelled,—I am Sir, etc.

#### Mr. Tilak's Representation.

“Mr. Tilak, saw the Colonial Secretary personally and represented the whole case to him. The Secretary was however unable to do anything. Mr. Tilak then sent a telegram to the Viceroy in which he clearly pointed out that he was primarily proceeding to England to fight his case against Sir Valentine Chirol and that if he was not allowed to sail by the next steamer available, there might be great risk and loss and, therefore, he requested the Government of India to move His Majesty's Government at home and obtain the necessary permission.

“The Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde's surprise was perhaps even greater, because he had personally seen the Viceroy at Delhi and had obtained his passports from the Government of India itself at Delhi. Mr. Khaparde had a talk with the Viceroy in which he assured Mr. Khaparde of his intentions to give all necessary facilities for the Deputation that may be going to England. The Viceroy also gave Mr. Khaparde the necessary leave of absence from the Supreme Legislative Council for some time till he would

be away in England. The Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde, therefore, sent a separate telegram to the Viceroy on his own account asking permission to proceed.

"Mr. N. C. Kelkar also on behalf of the Deputation as a whole sent another telegram to the Viceroy protesting against the discriminating prohibition obviously because other members of a similar deputation had already been to England only two or three weeks ago.

### The Viceroy's Reply.

On the 5th Mr. Tilak received the following reply :—

"Viceroy's Camp, Dehra Dun."

Action taken by the Home Government was no doubt in view of the need of complete concentration of all public thought and effort on the prosecution of the war. The Viceroy will represent to the Home Government your case and that of the delegates accompanying you. In the meantime, the local authorities at Colombo have been authorised to allow you to proceed further on the understanding that you are willing to take the risk of being turned back from the Cape.

### Colonial Secretary's Message.

The Colonial Secretary also received a similar message and he at once wrote the following letter to Mr. Tilak and party giving them the option to go to Capetown.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that a telegram has just been received from the Viceroy stating that you and your party should be allowed to sail to the Cape by the steamer now leaving on the clear understanding that you may have to return if the Home Government do not modify their orders. I am ready, therefore, to reendorse your passports for the journey to the Cape, if you desire to avail yourself of the permission.

"The party decided to accept the conditioned offer and sail up to Capetown and await the order of the Home Government there ; but unfortunately their steamer "Lancashire" happened to be not sailing via the Cape but was bound for England via Suez. The party naturally could not proceed to Capetown as allowed by the Government of India. Mr. Kelkar represented to the Colonial Secretary to enter into the real spirit of the telegram of the Viceroy, which obviously never intended to stop the party at Colombo but which simply put the condition that the party would have to return, if the further journey was disallowed by the Home Government. Mr. Kelkar requested the Secretary to endorse the passports up to Port Said or any other port on the Suez route instead of to Capetown. The Secretary referred the matter to the higher authorities and the Ceylon Government thought it right to stick to the letter of the instruction and refused to endorse the passports to any other place but Capetown.

As the steamer was to leave Colombo on the same evening, Mr. Tilak sent the following telegram to the Viceroy at about 3 p m. on the same day (5th) :—

“To the Private Secretary, Viceroy, Dehradun.”

Our steamer “Lancashire” is going via Suez. As we understand she leaves at 7 P. M. to-night. We are prepared to take the risk of return from any place if required by the Home Government. Kindly, therefore, issue instructions to the Colonial Secretary here to permit us to proceed to-night via Suez.—Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

No reply to this telegram was received on that day. The steamer sailed at night on the 5th. On the morning of the 6th the following telegram was again sent to the Viceroy :—

The Deputation feels grateful to the Government of India for representing its case to the Home Government and in the meantime allowing us to proceed on the understanding that we may have to return from the Cape, if journey is disallowed by the Home Government. The mention of Cape in our telegram unfortunately led the Local Government to interpret the permission as restricted to the Cape route only, although the passports bear endorsements for any route from Bombay or Colombo via Cape or Suez. This prevented the party from proceeding by a steamer which left yesterday from here for England, via, Suez. In these days it is always uncertain which route any steamer will take. I humbly request, therefore, that the orders of Government of India may be expressly worded so as to allow us to proceed by any route, by any steamer, provided of course the party undertakes to return from any intermediate station on any route in case the Home Government disallows further journey. I solicit this general permission may be communicated to me and the local government as early as possible.—Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

### The Cancellation of Passports.

No reply to the above telegram was received till the 12th April '18, when the Colonial Secretary wrote to Mr. Tilak :—“I am directed to inform you that a telegram despatched at the request of the Secretary of State for India has been received this morning from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The telegram states that the War Cabinet has finally decided that your party should not be permitted to proceed to the United Kingdom. In the circumstance, I regret that I must request you to submit your passports to this office for the last endorsement to be cancelled.”

And on April 16 the following *Communique* was issued from Simla—

“In connection with the recent decision of His Majesty's Government that passports must be refused to Home Rule and Congress delegates wishing to proceed to England, the following communication received from the Secretary of State is published for general information. The question of passports for Home Rule and Congress delegates came again before the cabinet and the cabinet have reaffirm-

ed the decision that in the existing circumstances none of the Home Rule delegates can be allowed to proceed to this country. It is considered by His Majesty's Government that the journey on which these persons have embarked was uncalled for, and the purpose of it, lacking in any sufficient justification. It was proposed by these persons at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown and had not yet been submitted to His Majesty's Government, to come to England with the avowed role of agitators to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. Such a proceeding at any time would be improper. Under existing circumstances when the country is waging a great war and is confronted with a crisis of the greatest magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort, and so far as is possible the suspension of purely political agitation and platform controversy, in whatever interest, it is one in which the Government could not acquiesce. Further, the generous intentions of His Majesty's Government, which have already been demonstrated by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament and his visit to India, would be seriously compromised and might be fatally impaired if an attempt were made before or at the very moment when they were considering his report to force their hands by a premature and possibly harmful propaganda. It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government are recompelled to give this decision. But they have no alternative."

Thus ended the Home Rule Deputations. Public feeling was however keen in the country. It was left that after the Viceroy had encouraged the idea and promised to facilitate the passage the action of the War-cabinet was unjustifiable. Protest meetings were held at many places. At Calcutta a crowded protest meeting was held at Beadon Square on the 17th April, where

**Mrs Besant, Said :—**

"If the cabinet at the beginning had said that during the time of the war they would have no political agitation in England then we should have known where we were, but instead of that they have allowed Lord Sydenham and the merchants of the city of London who exploit the resources of India, they have allowed them to carry on a political propaganda against the grant of reforms to India. We have had Lord Sydenham forming an Indo-British Association and that association is carrying on a propaganda of slander and of falsehood. That propaganda is allowed to go on week after week and month after month. The War Cabinet did not find out that this was objectionable ; they did not say that was improper, but now they declare that it is improper that a deputation should go from India to oppose, to

expose the slanders of Lord Sydenham and to put the cause of the Indian people before the British democracy. Surely it is not just, surely it is not fair, that our enemies should be allowed a free course in Great Britain and that we should not be allowed to defend ourselves. Surely if Lord Sydenham is allowed to slander India and to declare we shall not have Home Rule, then Mr. Tilak ought to be allowed to go to oppose Lord Sydenham and to claim Home Rule for India. They are carrying on the work in England to prevent the development of Indian resources for the benefit of India. They want Indian resources developed for the benefit of the Empire, that is for the pockets of the British capitalists who will exploit the country for their own advantage. Even here at the present time you find concession being made to British firms and refused to Indians. You find a monopoly of bamboo pulp for paper put through for long years for a British firm while a similar demand from an Indian firm is refused. Surely then it is necessary for the days that are coming after the war, for the days of commercial struggle, for the days of the great struggle—it is necessary that some of you should go to England to explain your condition, point out your difficulties, win the sympathy of the democracy and so make ready for the passage of reforms which shall make you masters in your own country."

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## The Kaira Ryots Affair

Far more important than the Home Rule Deputation were the affairs at Kaira in the Bombay Presidency where the Government, or rather the Officials, came in direct conflict, not with political agitators or Home Rulers or Congressmen, but with the mass of the People—the agriculturists and villagemen. All India awaited with bated breath the result of this conflict. The spectacle was unique : on one side the humble peasantry of India refusing to submit even unto death and preferring to starve and die meekly, and on the other the mighty officials calling upon them to submit on pain of suffering and woe. All India had its eyes fixed expectantly, not so much on the Ryots of Kaira as on the Man who was the soul and spirit of it all—Mohonchand Karamchand Gandhi—Mahatma Gandhi—of South Africa and Champaran fame ! All India felt too, as it never felt before, what a fund of political strength lay in easy

reach if only the detent were raised, if instead of illimitable talk and action and brain and business of big men, the heart of India—the heart of the Mass could be reached. That heart was touched, was purged of its evil, and transformed and welded into a solid whole by Gandhi. His apostolic faith in the people, in the poor, infused faith in themselves and that faith worked almost a miracle. But here is the story.

### The Kaira affair.

About the end of March '18 the distress owing to failure of crops which had for some time past been growing in the Kaira District in the Bombay Presidency became very acute and the cultivators asked Govt. for suspension of revenue. Official enquiry showed that the distress was not so wide-spread and acute as to warrant the suspension, while a non-official enquiry by the Gujrat Sabha told a different tale. In Matar Taluk three members of the Servant of India Society (Poona) made enquiries and were so much impressed with the real facts of the distress that they recommended Government half suspension of land revenue for 22 villages, but with very little effect. At last Mr. Gandhi came into the field of controversy and persuaded the Ryots to adopt passive resistance.

The crux of the controversy was that while the ryots submitted that only 4as. crops were on the land, and the all round rise in prices due to the war had made their condition miserable, Government held that the valuation of the crop was greatly underestimated and that remission or suspension of revenue can not be granted with such a war in hand. Mr. Gandhi personally examined the villages and crops and having satisfied himself of the justice of the ryots case came to their rescue, and then began that war of passive resistance of the Kaira ryots against the Government which ended so gloriously in establishing the triumph of Right over Might, both for the Government and the People, which is only possible under the British Crown.

### The Propaganda.

On March 22, 1918, a large meeting of agriculturists of the Kaira District was held at Nadiad (Gujrat) where Mr. Gandhi advised them that if they really and honestly believed that their crops were less than 4 as. they should resort to passive resistance by refusing to pay the revenue, and let the Government recover rent in any manner it pleased. Some 200 agriculturists, small and big, signed the following declaration:—"Knowing that the crops of our villages are less than four annas we had requested Government to suspend revenue collection till the ensuing year. As, however, Govern-

Government has not acceded to our prayers, we the undersigned hereby solemnly declare that we shall not pay full or the remaining revenue but we will let Government take such legal steps as they may think fit to collect the same and we shall gladly suffer all the consequences of our refusal to pay. We shall allow our lands to be confiscated, but we shall not of our own accord pay anything and thereby lose our self-respect and prove ourselves wrong. If Government decide to suspend the second instalment of revenue throughout the district, those amongst us who are in a position to pay will pay the whole or balance of revenue as may be due. The reason why those of us who have money to pay and still do not pay is that if they do so the poorer might in panic sell their things or borrow to pay and thereby suffer. Under the circumstances we believe it is the duty of those who are able to pay to protect the poor."

On the 6th April Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi in company with Messrs V. J. Patel, M. H. Mehta and others visited Ultarsanda a village three miles off Nadiad. The meeting was attended by more than two thousand agriculturists., Mr. Gandhi in the course of a very soul-stirring address said that he was glad to find that the enthusiasm of the people was increasing day by day. It was a people's fight and if they understood its true significance Government might fight as long as they please, since the people were sure to remain unconquered in the struggle. A time will come when their courage would be put to a very hard test. In the struggle they would rally a wealth of courage, patience and firmness. Their duty lay in enduring cheerfully whatever sufferings might follow the non-payment of revenue. In Ultarsanda Government had taken all harsh steps possible. But they ought to be fearless. They ought to even show to the world that they were men—men who stick to their vow in the face of death. He finally advised young and old, men and women, all to be firm in the observance of their vow.

On the 7th instant Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi paid a visit to Navagaum—a village in Matar Taluka. Two hundred agriculturists had signed the declaration from this and the surrounding villages. Mr. Gandhi addressed a very large meeting. He said that if they wanted to gain "Swarajya" they ought to learn to be firm in their vows. It was a struggle for understanding and preserving their rights. But no amount of suffering should make them swerve from the path of duty. Their duty lay in standing by their vow. Continuing he said that he had heard many complaints of harassment. But he said such harassments were necessary. Harassments which result from untruth, incivility and insolence are quite useless. It is a sign of self-will. If they were insolent towards Government officers, the officers would be insolent towards them in return. Therefore they ought to learn to be civil in this struggle. He then exhorted them to keep eternal



faith in themselves and not to depend upon others. The struggle was not a struggle for money. It was a struggle for asserting rights. He finally said that a Government which was not supported by public opinion could not last for a very long time.

On the 10th April Mahatma Gandhi in company of Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. V. J. Patel and others paid a visit to Aklacha, a large village in Membabad Taluka. Agriculturists from fifteen other villages had assembled there to hear Mr. Gandhi's advice.

Mr. Gandhi in his address said that the whole of India was looking at Kaira with very eager eyes. If it failed in its struggle, the agriculturists of other parts of India would not rise for a long time. It was wisdom to think twice before we began any work, but if after beginning it we gave it up, we shall only be designated as unmanly. The value of the land depended upon the men who lived on it. If the land of Kaira were not occupied by men, it would have no value. The struggle in Kaira was not a struggle for the suspension of revenue, but it was a struggle for principles. Government said that they were in the right and that the people were wrong or rather, as Government now put it, that they were right as well as the people, but Government desired that their power should be respected and therefore the people should pay up the revenue. Mr. Gandhi said that we were being taught from our childhood that justice and nothing but justice was meted out unto us under the present rule. That was the ideal of the British Government. Although all did not receive it, so long as it was the ideal, a subject like himself could remain loyal to that rule. But now, he said, he felt that Government was abandoning that ideal and an element of autocracy was being introduced into it. Mr. Gandhi said that such Government ought to be resisted. Our loyalty consisted in protesting and resisting against every piece of injustice that might be done to us. He said :

"Independence, fearlessness, truth, these are the virtues which we have to obtain. They are dormant in our soul : if we cannot awaken them in ourselves, then we are not men but brutes. We fight to obtain manliness. You, my sisters, I tell you that you also request your husbands to endure whatever pain may fall on them, but not to give the Government dues. The nation will rise when it will learn to stick to its vows. Do all you can to preserve your vow."

At another meeting in a neighbouring village, Sinhuj, he said that they ought to be prepared to sacrifice anything—their cattle, their ornaments, their lands, except their self-respect. He was not a religious man who was not self-respecting. He who feared God need not fear anybody in the world. The Government rule at present was a rule of fear. It is a totally wrong belief that kingdoms can exist only through fear.

Mr. Gandhi then pointed out what they would learn from this struggle. He said: "We are not going to fight with the Government with weapons. We do not require spears or 'lathis,' we want to fight with the weapon of truth. One who has that weapon needs no others." Finally he said that fearlessness was the only key to Swarajya. Addressing the ladies, he said "Give courage to your husbands, to your children, to your brothers, like women of old and make them firm in their vow."

On April 11. Mahatma Gandhi visited Vadod. Vadod is one of the chief villages of the Anand Taluka and one in which every farmer had taken the Passive Resistance Vow and maintained a heroic stand. There was a big meeting in the Dharmashala, people from numerous villages attending it and their strength and enthusiasm were quite unusual.

After having assured himself that a large majority of the audience was composed of the covenanters Mahatma Gandhi made a stirring appeal to them to adhere to their vow steadfastly. He urged them to attend the meeting of cultivators convened by the Commissioner at Nadiad on the 12th instant and charged them not to mince matters and plainly submit to the Commissioner that they could not in any case retract vows solemnly taken. He laid emphasis on the inner meaning of the struggle and said that their supreme object was to convince the Government that no Government could go on for a day without consulting and respecting public opinion. "The nation is emasculated," he said, "and there is no way out of it but that of keeping fast to our anchor while we are passing through a supreme ordeal." In a pathetic simile he likened the condition of people shuddering at the sight of Government officers to the piteous spectacle of bullocks shying, shedding tears, and perspiring when motor cars rushed past them. "It is from this mortal fear of the Sirkar that we have to shake ourselves free," he said "and on our doing so rests our salvation. If your great names, Sita, Rama, Damayanti, Nala and Pralhad that you are repeating every morning are no more than empty names, you ought to prove so by laying down your lives for your vows." Our objects, he continued, could be secured either by killing others or by killing oneself. Of these the latter was the essentially human course, the former belonged to the brutes. "It is only the soul of human beings that can remain ever awake whilst that of the brutes lies ever dormant, and only by treading down brute force and planting soul force in its stead, is the eternal wakefulness of the soul, and consequently our salvation possible". Voluntarily undergoing intense suffering was an indispensable condition for installing soul force in the place of brute force, and the only advice he could accordingly give them was that of putting up with any amount of sorrow and misery, patiently and

fearlessly. He concluded with a prayer that God may bless them with enough endurance and self-respect and enable them to leave to their children a rich heritage thereof. He begged of the people the assurance that they would not fail even if the very heavens came down and this assurance was amply given by several speakers from amongst the agriculturists present.

#### Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Press.

April 17.—Mr. Gandhi sent to the local press a letter in reply to the Divisional Commissioner's address to the land-holders of the Kaira district from which the following extracts are taken :—“The Commissioner's position is that the revenue authorities decision regarding the suspension is final. They may and do receive and hear complaints from ryots but the finality of their decision cannot be questioned. This is the crux of the struggle. It is contended on behalf of the ryots that where there are in matters of administrative orders sharp differences of opinion between the local officials and the people, the points of differences are and ought to be referred to an impartial committee of inquiry. The Commissioner has on principle rejected this position and invited a crisis and he has made such fetish of it that he armed himself beforehand with a letter from Lord Willingdon to the effect that even he should not interfere with the Commissioner's decision. He brings in the war to defend his position and adjures the ryots and me to desist from our cause at this time of peril to the Empire. But I venture to suggest that the Commissioner's attitude constitutes a peril far graver than the German peril and I am serving the Empire in trying to deliver it from this peril from within. There is no mistaking the fact that India is waking up from its long sleep. The ryots do not need to be literate to appreciate their rights and their duties. They have but to realise their invulnerable power and no Government, however strong, can stand against their will. The Kaira ryots are solving an imperial problem of the first magnitude in India. They will show that it is impossible to govern men without their consent. Once the Civil Service realises this position it will supply to India truly Civil servants who will be the bulwark of the people's rights. To-day the Civil Service rule is a rule of fear. The Kaira ryot is fighting for the rule of love. It is the Commissioner who has produced the crisis. It was, as it is now, his duty to placate the people when he saw that they held a different view. The revenue of India will be no more in danger because a Commissioner yields to the popular demands and grants concessions, than the administration of justice was in danger when Mrs. Maybrick was relieved purely in obedience to the popular will, or the Empire was in danger because a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was re

placed in obedience to the same demand. Had I hesitated to advise the people to stand firm against the Commissioner's refusal to listen to their prayer, instead of taking the open and healthy course it has taken, their discontent would have burrowed under and bred ill-will. That son is a true son of his father who rather than labour ill-will against him, frankly, respectfully, tells him all he feels and equally respectfully resists him if he cannot truthfully obey his commands. I apply the same law to the relations between Government and the people. There cannot be seasons when a man must suspend his conscience. But just as a wise father will quickly agree with his son and not incur his ill-will especially if the family was in danger from without, even so a wise government will quickly agree with the ryots rather than incur their displeasure. We cannot be permitted to give license to officials to exact obedience to their orders even though the ryots may consider them to be unreasonable and unjust."

In another address to the people of Sandesar in Borsad Taluk, Mr. Gandhi said :—

"When the people abuse their authority over the poor and oppress them I would advise the poor to resort to passive resistance and not to leave the part of justice. That is the only road to happiness. The weapon that has fallen into your hands is invaluable. No one could stand against it. One who has realised the beauty of it would firmly say that there is no other religion but that of truth. I have already told you that we have won. This struggle is not for the suspension of land revenue only. If it were so, that could have been obtained long ago. In this struggle there is much more than that. Even Mr. Pratt admits that this struggle is not for suspension of land revenue only, but it involves the interests of thirty crores of people. It is a struggle between the will of the people and the prestige of officials. We must by now realise that the authority of Government is nothing before that of the people. No Government has yet ever come into existence which could successfully resist the will of the people. When the people are determined to get their rights they will have them. We do not want to be discourteous and at the same time we would not be slaves.

"This is a struggle for self-Government. We wish that we may get it. But what is the use of that authority in the hands of the weak and the emasculated? The dead body is unable to make use of the sword in its hand, or of the heap of corn placed before it. So a worthless man is unable to do anything. Such a man has no right to eat. It is said in the Gita that he who eats without performing Yajna ( sacrifice ) is a thief. The meaning of Yajna is that the body is for the people, for God. It means that one should sacrifice his self, and give up one's all. That is the real Jajna. He who eats without performing Maha Yajna is a thief. No authority

could ever tyrannise over a nation that has understood this. If the true meaning of this saying could become one with our blood and flow in our veins we have nothing else to win. Then we have won everything. Passive resistance is a celestial weapon. That man only can fittingly hold it who possesses manliness and courage. If we all act up to it after having well understood it, it will be said of India that this is not the land of cowards but of thirty crores of Gods."

At Khandhali on 27th May Mahatma Gandhi in his address said that the men and women of Khandhali had shown great pluck and courage. But, he continued "just as when a river is overflowed we are not able to use the overflowing water and it flows away to the sea in vain, so some of your boldness and courage is also wasted away. When a Government official went to attach the property of a woman she let loose her buffalo. She has committed a blunder in so doing, so also the Government officer who stroked her with his umbrella. But remember that you must not commit such blunders. A true 'Satyagrahi' cannot do so."

Then he explained briefly the significance of Satyagraha. He said that "the first thing to do in any struggle of Satyagraha is to stick to truth. If we make a very subtle definition of truth, it includes many things. But because our definition of truth is rather narrow we are compelled to add a little to it. In this struggle we are not to oppose anybody, we are not to abuse anybody. If the opponent abuses us, we have to tolerate it. If he gives a blow to us with a stick, we have to bear it without giving a blow in return.

"Secondly, a Satyagrahi has to be fearless. He has only to perform his duty. You know that so long as we stick to truth, we remain absolutely free from fear. You will always get protection if your dealings be straightforward. When we are in the wrong, we feel very nervous about us. Those gentlemen who have committed the crime have run away from the village. (The reference is to certain gentlemen of Khandhali who had let loose certain attached buffaloes from the Govt. pound and had run away from the village.) But you have not to run away in the struggle of Satyagraha. Always stick to truth; never be mischievous. A Satyagrahi will always welcome imprisonment or a warrant if he has committed a crime. Even if he had not committed it, he should welcome it. What if it is not committed and yet be proceeded against in Court? The government has authority over this body, not over the soul. A soul can be conquered only through love. A Satyagrahi understands this and, therefore, whether he has committed a crime or not, he remains fearless. The gentleman who has removed the cattle unlawfully will, I hope, admit his mistake and boldly say that he would undergo any punishment that may be ordered for him. Only thus shall you be elevated."

### Correct Attitude Towards Officials.

Proceeding he said: "It is no theft if we do not allow our goods to go into the hands of Government officers. So long as it has not fallen into their hands, you can take it to another village, you can bury it. You can remove your cattle and take them anywhere you like. But no sooner are they attached, either by a horde of Government officials or by any one of them, we should not even touch them. We are not going to help Government in attachments, we do not protect our cattle for them, but as soon as any Government officer attaches our buffalo we have no right to take it back. Brothers and sisters, I appeal to you to act accordingly. It is not our business to speak insolently towards officers or to let loose our cattle when they come to us."

Continuing, he said: "The Collector told me that the ryots are very gracefully acting in the struggle, but such tricks as are played by some Khandhali people mar the beauty of the struggle. I beg of you not to do so again. Real bravery lies in receiving rather than in giving blows. Yesterday I was reading my Gita. Therein I saw that one of the characteristics of a 'Khastriya' was "Aplalayanam." It means that in face of danger a Khastriya does not fall back, but, on the contrary, sticks to his post. If our Government will not fight with the Germans as it does now, if our soldiers go and stand before them weaponless and will not use explosives, and say, "We will die of your blows," then I am sure our Government will win the war at once. But such an action requires "sanskar"; and India possesses most of it. The vegetables that grow in India will not grow properly in England. The seeds of "sanskar" will flourish in India. Pure bravery lies in the power of endurance. It is real Satyagraha. It is mean to run away in face of danger."

### A call to repentance.

Then he appealed to the gentleman who had committed the crime to admit it and to undergo the punishment that law may inflict on him. He then asked the ryots to act cautiously but courageously and requested them to be hospitable towards Government officers. Finally he said that they had already attained success in their struggle, and congratulated them on their great pluck and courage.

When Mr. Gandhi finished his speech, the culprits who had absconded and who were present in the meeting appeared before Mr. Gandhi and made a clean breast by confessing everything and expressed their willingness to submit to law without any hesitation. The cattle that were removed from the "pound" were also handed over to the police before the Mahatma left the village.

## Sir Sankaran Nair's Note.

On the Kaira Ryots Affair the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair, Member, Supreme Executive Council of the Viceroy, says the following in an appendix to his Minute of dissent to the Government of India despatch (1st despatch) on Reforms, dated the 5th March, 1919.

### The Kaira Case.

For a number of years the district of Kaira in the Bombay Presidency had suffered severely from failures of crops, partial famine, diseases, and general agricultural distress. According to the collector of the district, the crop in a normal year is valued at 12 annas and not 16 annas or more. Owing to excessive monsoon rains towards the end of 1917, the crops had failed. It is a feature of the Revenue rules that individual cases of hardship are not attended to, or, in other words, an individual is not exempted from payment for failure of crops in his holding only, but if there is failure in the locality he might get relief with others. The ryots sent numerous petition for suspension of collections of revenue signed by about 20,000 persons. Their prayer was that they were entitled to a suspension of revenue under the Revenue rules as the outturn of their crops was below 4 annas. They demanded that the Government should not force them to pay when they had not obtained from the land crops adequate to cover the revenue. These petitions were returned by the Government with the remark that they were not sent through the proper channel. They were afterwards submitted through the Collector. The District Association, after making enquiries, also petitioned Government to stop the collection of revenue. They were told in reply that their intervention was ill-judged and mischievous. Two members of the Legislative Council—the Hon'ble Mr. Patel and Mr. Parekh—also made detailed inquiries into the matter. They were satisfied of the justice of the complaint and petitioned the Collector, who assured them that he would make inquiries but the collection of revenue was not stopped. On account of these representations, there was however some relief granted, *i. e.*, a suspension to the extent of Rs. 1,75,000 when they had asked for Rs. 23,00,000 suspension. A deputation consisting of the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh and the Hon'ble Mr. Patel waited on the Governor, who decided that the estimate of the outturn of the village servants was correct and refused therefore any further relief. An enquiry was undertaken by three members of the Servant of India Society, who found that the excessive rains during the monsoons had "rendered the poor people helpless, quite without an adequate supply

of the staple food for 4 or 5 months", and that they were reduced to great destitution. They found the ryots complaint was well-founded and brought matters to the notice of the Collector, the Commissioner, the Member of Council in charge, and of the Governor, on whose advice they met in conference—the Commissioner and the Collector with Mr. Gandhi. The Commissioner and the Collector promised some relief. Mr. Gandhi requested the Collector to make an enquiry which he might be allowed to attend. This was refused. Mr. Gandhi, however, finding that the evidence collected so far was not adequate to meet the official test, himself went about the district inquiring into the matter and collecting evidence. He also found that the complaint was well-founded. He made representations to the Collector and to the Governor, who replied to him on the 17th and 20th of March, respectively, declining to interfere as they were satisfied that justice had been done. Questions which were submitted to the Government to be put into the Legislative Council for the purpose of eliciting all information about agrarian distress in Kaira were disallowed. On the 23rd of March a resolution was moved in the Legislative Council asking the Government to appoint the Agricultural Department of Government to value the outturn of the crops, or to have the outturn of crop valued by some other agency other than the Revenue officials. On the opposition of Government the resolution was defeated. There was nothing left to be done by way of ordinary constitutional agitation. A no-rent manifesto was then issued and the ryots went on strike on the 28th of March, taking a vow not to pay revenue. The Government rent or revenue was not paid. Properties including household utensils, milch cows, were attached, orders of forfeiture of lands were issued by the Government and all possible steps were taken by the Revenue officials to enforce payment of revenue. On about the 12th or 13th of April the Commissioner himself called a meeting of all the ryots and tried to impress upon them the necessity of complying with the Government orders, threatening them with dire consequences in default, and telling them not to heed their advisers, the Home Rulers, who themselves will not suffer in person the consequences of non-payment of revenue. But the ryots persisted in their attempt. Meetings were held in various parts of India expressing their sympathy with the movement. The Government regarded it as a contest between themselves and the Home Rulers. Every form of pressure was applied but the resistance of the people stiffened. The village headmen also turned against the Government. Their reply to Government pressure was :—

“Whenever we feel that Government's orders conflict with what we regard as our duty to the people, we believe it to be our religious obligation to disobey Government orders..... Before taking this extreme step we have



left no stone unturned in politely reasoning with Government, and even now we entreat them to spare us all the suffering, to respect the ryot's vow, and to consider popular opinion to be not in any way less worthy of respect than its own."

On the 25th of April the Government suspended the collection of revenue by ordering that only those who were in a position to pay the revenue need do so, and the rest might do it next year. The decision as to who were able and unable to pay the revenue was left to the ryots. But curiously enough, this order was not promulgated till the 3rd of June. Till then the attachment of property and various other proceedings continued. The accused in all the prosecutions never made any defence; they made no appeal against their convictions, and one of them declared on his release after the order of the Collector, that he was a real Home Ruler, he understood the principles thereof, and that he would for ever refuse to recognise laws that did not 'consist' with his conscience.

Under a revenue system where this is possible, progress in material prosperity is, according to Indian politicians, impossible to the ryots. The other conclusions are obvious.

If this was the case under Lord Willingdon we can imagine what might be the situation under less sympathetic rulers.

Delhi, 5th March 1919.

C. SANKARAN NAIR.

#### Mr. Gandhi's Manifesto

On the termination of the passive resistance movement a manifesto in the vernacular was issued over the signatures of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his co-worker Mr. Vallabhai Patel. The manifesto, after describing the circumstances leading up to the struggle which began on March 22nd last, expresses satisfaction at its termination, and the Collector is thanked for the concession granted to the ryots. The manifesto declares that the orders passed by the Government "lack grace and generosity, and had the appearance of being passed with the greatest reluctance. The Collector in a letter said that orders were issued to all Mamlatdars on the 25th of April, that no pressure should be put on those unable to pay. If the ryots had known this on the 25th of April much suffering would have been saved. Although the official attitude was unsatisfactory the people's prayer having all been granted, it was their duty to accept the concessions with thankfulness. Now there was only eight per cent of the assessment remaining unpaid, and it was a point of honour with the people of Kaira till now to refuse payment. The manifesto praises the courage, unity and determination of the men and women of Kaira "for the sake of conscience and truth," and concludes that they had truly served their own cause as well as the cause of "Swaraj" and Empire.

# German Menace to India.

## The Call to Arms.

While the affairs of the Home Rule League and the Kaira Ryots were helping to keep alive the political life in India, both in European and Indian Circles, the whole country was about this time suddenly roused from its monotony to an intense excitement over the alleged impending German menace to India. The Premier (Mr. Lloyd George) cabled to the Viceroy on April 2nd to the effect :

"At this time when the intention of Germany's ruler to establish tyranny not only throughout Europe but in Asia has become transparently clear I ask the Government and the people of India to redouble their efforts. Thanks to the heroism of the British armies and their Allies the enemy's attempt in the west is being checked, but to prevent the menace from spreading eastward every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels which it has already won and equip itself on even a greater scale than now as the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the enemy's object to achieve."

*The Viceroy* replied on April 5th.—"Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom and by the stern unalterable resolution which those sacrifices evince. India, anxious yet confident, realizes to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict, and your trumpet call at this crisis will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the Princes and the Peoples' leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands."

It was well known that all was not well with the Allies on the Western front; the German pressure was great; the British were slowly retiring; at one time it looked as if the Allies would break. The American help had not yet arrived; eyes scanned the horizon at sea for the American transports; all hopes were on America and the situation was suspected to be getting desperate. So much was known in India but nothing more, and people did not quite

know what they could do. At such a juncture came the Premier's trumpet call.

It took the whole country by storm. All sections combined in their eagerness to do something for the defence of the country. Enthusiasm ran high for the opportunity given to India to take a larger share in the world-war, to defend her own home, to be called to help the Empire at a grave crisis. Meetings were held all over the country in support of the Viceroy's message to the Prime Minister. Resolutions and communications went forth from every district strongly supporting the Viceroy; and Prince and peasant, European and Indian, Moderate and Extremist, all combined to call upon the Viceroy to formulate his demands for whatever sacrifice that may be needed. At a huge public meeting at Calcutta in the Dalhousie Institute on the 10th April Mr. B. Chakravarty cried amidst an enthusiastic audience: *Au Camp Cityoens, To the Camp, Citizens, to the Camp.*

Circumstances demanded a united India voicing forth its feelings and the Viceroy, as the only leader for such an occasion, called a special War conference of Princes and Peoples at Delhi in April, 1918. This conference sat for 3 days, 27th to 29th April, and was attended by the Ruling Chiefs, the members of Viceroy's Council, and delegates representing all shades of political opinion sent by the Provincial Governments.

Face to face with danger, Government urged suspension of political controversy for the time being and concentration of public activity on measures necessary for the prosecution of the War, and urged on the people full co-operation with Government. The conventional diplomacy of the Big man and the Poor Neighbour went on as usual, and behind all that high talk of co-operation and support and service there was not discernable the slightest union of hearts. While the man in the street little understood the why and wherefore of the Delhi Conference, except as a big tamasha showing the strength and resources of the British Govt., the implacable Home Rulers hummed on a busy tune of Self-Government and Bargain and succeeded in drawing the harassed Government into topical controversy of home politics.

### Exclusion of Home Rulers.

Public meetings were held at almost every important town protesting against the exclusion of prominent Home Rulers, such as Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant, leaders who had great influence over the mass, from the Delhi conference. Mr. Gandhi protested strongly against this by refusing to attend the Saturday's meeting (27th). It subsequently appeared, however, as explained by Sir Charles Munro, the Commander-in-Chief, to be due to the action of the local Govts. The Govt. of India included them in the list of persons to be invited but the

Govts. of Madras and Bombay made selections of their own, and said Sir Charles "under the circumstances what could they do?" On this the *A.B. Patrika* of Calcutta commented as follows :—

Yes, "what could they do under the circumstances." The real situation is this. The Indian Secretary of State in Council is quite helpless in the hands of the Government of India and the Governor-General in Council in his turn is quite helpless in the hands of the Local Governments, while the Local Governments are quite helpless in the hands of their subordinate executive officials. So even when a constable does an unworthy act and thereby comes into collision with the people, the ruling authorities, generally speaking from the Secretary of State downwards, will range themselves on his side.

And people had the Sindhubala Affair still in their minds !

However, protest meetings were of little avail. Prominent Home Rulers remained outside, and on April 22nd. a manifesto signed by Besant, Tilak, Subramania, Kasturianga Ayengar, Rangaswami Iyengar, Patel, Jinnah, Bomanjy, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Horniman, Morarji, Wadia, Motilal Ghose, C. R. Das, Hassan Imam, Muzarul Huq, Khaparde and other Home Rulers was sent to the Governments of India and England :—

#### **The Home Ruler's Manifesto.**

"This is a time for grave and weighty decisions that affect the future not only of Great Britain, India and the Empire, but of the world. The war has reached a critical stage and plain speech is necessary alike on the part of Great Britain and of India if the Empire is to triumph over her enemies, if liberty is to triumph over force, law over autocracy, in the working of Providence who guides the destinies of nations. Great Britain and India have been brought together and have lived side by side for 190 years. Union has brought both gain and loss to both—gain to India by being brought into contact with the liberty loving and progressive western nations—gain to England by an immense increase of wealth and impetus to commerce; loss to India by the destruction of her power of self-defence and by her becoming a dependency instead of a member of warlike, wealthy and independent States, loss to England by the clouding of her principles in the adoption of autocracy and by the consequent lowering of her status in the world's eyes. The Act of 1878 completed India's abject helplessness and in the moment of the Empire's need she finds herself in danger of invasion from Central Asia as in old days—Central Asia dominated by Germany, and herself without her old power of self-defence. Yet the old martial spirit is not dead as is shown by her soldiers in the present war. Bengal has shown the capacity of its young men for quickly becoming soldiers and the spirit Bengal has shown exists all over India even outside the so-called martial races. It is too late to evoke the spirit that sprang up in 1914 (of enlistment in the Army and was rejected. We believe it is not even

too late but that which Mr. Lloyd George said of Ireland is true of India. We cannot ask young men to fight for principles the application of which is denied to their own country. A subject race cannot fight for others with heart and energy, with which a free race can fight for the freedom of itself and others. If India is to make great sacrifices in the Empire it must be as a partner in the Empire and not a dependency. Let her feel she is fighting for her own freedom as well as for the freedom of others ; that she will have her place as a free nation under the British Crown and then she will strain every nerve to stand by England to the last for then there must be mutual trust. His Majesty's Government has already promised responsible government to India. Let full responsible Government be established in India within a definite period to be fixed with the Congress League scheme as the first stage and a bill to that effect be introduced into Parliament at once. Let India's leaders be taken into the confidence now and treated as recognised sharers in the perils and triumphs of the struggle. Let the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India say to the leaders of the people what they want. Let us all feel that we are one in heart and aim. that we are not servants fighting for our masters, but free men fighting besides free men for the common heritage of freedom. We do not want to break our tie with England. We do not want to see it broken by the war into which she entered in the defence of liberty. We detest German tyranny and German method. The policy of Great Britain has made it impossible for us alone to defend our own frontiers and our own coasts. We do not want to change our master, but to share their freedom and to live in the happy union of equals for our mutual advantage. We are ready to make sacrifices. We are ready to fight and work in India as Englishmen and Englishwomen are fighting and working in England. But it must be for a similar reason. We must work and fight to win liberty as the prize of victory as they work and fight to keep liberty won in the past generations. Responsible government is promised but the promise is indefinite, and hang floating in the air. Let England pledge herself definitely to redeem that promise by accepting here as in Ireland that which our leaders have asked in the Congress and the League assembled and we will work heart and soul to save British India and the Empire. We will triumph with her or go down with her in a world ruin. Do not misunderstand us.—We shall try to help Britain in any case, for we cannot forget the ties of many years and we believe that in the immediate future liberty stands or falls with the British Empire. But if Great Britain refuses us our place in the Empire we shall try as leading a forlorn hope. Whereas if Great Britain welcomes us as a nation whose freedom depends upon the issue of the struggle we are sure that we shall win. Only the hope of freedom

can arouse popular enthusiasm to the fighting point. Let not reactionary British politicians prevail at this moment and we will not fail you. Be true to us and we will be true to you. Do not ask us to give everything while you give nothing to trust you, while you distrust us and try to use us for your own advantage. Only drill us, arm us, officer us with our own countrymen, make us a huge citizen army, and take if you will the flower of our troops to fight abroad but let us fight under the banner of liberty for nothing less than hope of that will nerve our men to fight and our women to sacrifice."

Mrs. Besant in a note under the manifesto wrote:—The above was written and sent out before the receipt of the unfortunate message from the War Cabinet. (This refers to the stoppage of the Home Rule Deputation, see pp. 65.) There are some of the signatories who in view of the tone of the War Cabinet's communique and proposal to stop political discussion are inclined to stand entirely aside from any co-operation with the Government. There has not been time to reach the United Provinces, the Punjab and Sind, and some additional signatures may reach us from the Members of Council and officials of public bodies."

## The Delhi War Conference.

### The Khaparde Resolution.

The day before the Conference, on the 26th April, in a private meeting of leaders Mr. Gandhi decisively declared that he could take no part in the conference where such prominent People's leaders as Tilak and Besant were not invited. Then came the historic Durbar or Conference at Delhi, on April 27th, opened by the Viceroy in a lengthy speech (For the proceedings of the Conference see the Register, Part I, India and War, pp. 113—127). Mr. Gandhi was not present. The Man-power Sub-committee held its sittings immediately after under the Commander-in-Chief. The Viceroy interviewed Mr. Gandhi and requested him to be present in that committee which he did. In this meeting the Hon. Mr. Khaparde read his Self-Government resolution passed at a mass meeting of Delhi Citizens a few days before, and wanted it to be recorded in the minutes of the Committee. Nothing came out of the discussion till the next meeting on Sunday (April,

28th) when the President, Sir Charles Munro, declared it out of order. Defeated at the Sub-Committee the Indian Leaders met in conference immediately after the work of the Sub-Committees was over, and began to discuss how to bring the popular view before the Conference. A draft of the Self-Government resolution was drawn up and Mr. Khaparde and 15 members signed it. Mr. Gandhi however was strongly of opinion that it would not be gracious to press the matter so openly before the Conference and counselled that a "fuller, stronger and more influentially signed note" should be presented to the Viceroy. Immediately all the signatories backed out leaving Mr. Khaparde alone. Udaunted by this exhibition of weakness on the part of his Colleagues, Mr. Khaparde alone sent notice of the resolution to the Viceroy to be moved the next day (Monday, the 29th April) at the second sitting of the Conference. This bold step of the Hon. Mr. Khaparde led to much discussion and the opposition finally decided that Mr. Gandhi in consultation with the Hon. Pandit Malaviya would draw up a note to be presented to the Viceroy the next morning and if it was found satisfactory, Mr Khaparde was to get up before the proceedings commenced and say: "My Lord, in view of the action we have taken I beg to withdraw my resolution." This however proved abortive, as the Pandit would not sign the note. The result was Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy reproduced below.

#### Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy.

SIR,

As you are aware, after careful consideration I felt constrained to convey to Your Excellency that I could not attend the Conference for reasons stated in my letter of the 26th instant, but after the interview you were good enough to grant me I persuaded myself to join it, if for no other cause, then certainly out of my great regard for yourself. One of my reasons for abstention, and perhaps the strongest, was that Mr. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and the Brothers Ali whom I regard as among the most powerful leaders of public opinion were not invited to the Conference. I still feel that it was a grave blunder not to have asked them, and I respectfully suggest that the blunder might be possibly repaired if those leaders were invited to assist the Government by giving it the benefit of their advice at the Provincial Conferences which I understand are to follow. I venture to submit that no Government can afford to disregard leaders who represent large masses of the people, as these do, even though they hold views fundamentally different. At the same time it gives me pleasure to be able to say that the views of all parties were permitted to be freely expressed at the committees of the Conference. For my part I purposely refrained from stating my views either at the committee on which I had the honour of serving or at the Conference itself.

I felt that I could best serve the objects of the Conference by simply tendering my support to the resolutions submitted to it, and this I have done without any reservation. I hope to translate the spoken word into action as early as the Government can see its way to accept my offer, which I am submitting simultaneously herewith in a separate letter.

I recognise that in the hour of its danger we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we desire in the near-future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas. But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily on that account, even as the performance of duty automatically confers a corresponding right. The people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the general principles of the Congress-League scheme, and I am sure that it is this faith which has enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation. If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper Home Rule or responsible Government during the pendency of the war. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment, and I know that India by this very act would become a most favoured partner in the Empire and that racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. But practically the whole of educated India has decided to take the less effective course, and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses. I have been coming into most intimate touch with the ryots ever since my return from South Africa to India, and I wish to assure you that the desire for Home Rule has widely penetrated them. I was present at the sessions of the last Congress, and I was a party to the resolution that full responsible government should be granted to British India within a period to be fixed definitely by Parliamentary statute. I admit that it is a bold step to take, but I feel sure that nothing less than the definite promise of Home Rule, to be realised in the shortest possible time, will satisfy the Indian people. I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifices too great in order to achieve the end, and they are wakeful enough to realise that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire in which they hope and desire to reach their final status. It follows, then, that we can but accelerate our journey to the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves heart and soul to the work of delivering the Empire from the threatening danger. It will be national suicide not to recognise this elementary truth.

We must perceive that if we serve to save the Empire we have in



that very act secured Home Rule. Whilst, therefore, it is clear to us that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the ryots convinces me that India has already contributed to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity. I know that in making this statement I am voicing the opinion of the majority of my countrymen. The Conference means for me, and I believe for many of us, a definite step in the consecration, of our lives to the common cause. But ours is a peculiar position. We are to-day outside the partnership. Ours is a consecration based on hope of a better future. I should be untrue to you and to my country if I did not clearly and unequivocally tell you what that hope is. I do not bargain for its fulfilment, but you should know it. Disappointment of hope means disillusion.

There is one thing I may not omit. You have appealed to us to sink domestic differences. If the appeal involves toleration of tyranny and wrong-doing on the part of officials I am powerless to respond. I shall resist organised tyranny to the uttermost. The appeal must be to officials that they do not ill treat a single soul, and that they consult and respect popular opinion as never before. In Champaran, by resisting, I have shown the ultimate sovereignty of British justice. In Kaira a population that was cursing the Government now feels that it and not the Government is the power when it is prepared to suffer for the truth it represents. It is, therefore, losing its bitterness, and is saying to itself that the Government is for the people, for it tolerates orderly and respectful disobedience where injustice is felt. Thus the Champaran and Kaira affairs are my direct, definite and special contribution to the war. Ask me to suspend my activities in that direction and you ask me to suspend my life. If I could popularise the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force, in place of brute force, I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst. In season and out of season, therefore, I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering, and present it for acceptance to those who care, and if I take part in any other activity the motive is to show the superiority of that law. Lastly, I would like you to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give a definite assurance about Mahomedan States. I am sure you know that every mahomedan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of these States and for Muslim sentiment as to places of worship, and in your just and timely treatment of the Indian claim to Home Rule, lies the safety of the Empire. I write this because I love the English nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of Englishman. I remain your Excellency's faithful servant.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

The Viceroy informed Mr. Khaparde that in regard to his self-Government resolution he had decided to reject it as out of order and that he would give his reasons for this decision at the Conference. On Monday morning, the day of the Conference, Mr. Khaparde saw the Viceroy to ascertain if he would say anything in the Conference criticising the Home Rule party, and intimated the Private Secretary that in that case he would have to reply. He was assured however that the Viceroy had no such intention.

The Conference met again on Monday, the 29th April. The Viceroy in opening the proceedings referred to Mr. Khaparde's resolution in the following words :—

"Your Highnesses and Gentlemen, before proceeding with the agenda on the paper I wish to inform this Conference that I have received notice of a resolution from the Hon. Mr. Khaparde. The resolution is :—

"That this Conference recommends that in order to invoke wholehearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilize the manpower and material and money the Government in England should without delay introduce a bill into Parliament meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the Statute. We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their Motherland and for freedom in the defence of their own rights in an Empire in which they possess same status as other members thereof. And we are further sure that if the imagination of our country is captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged it can easily equip itself to be in the language of the Premier, the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This Conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

The Viceroy ruled this out of order and gave his reasons in a long speech, which were firstly that that was a conference to discuss how best India could help the war in Man-power and Resources, and secondly that that was a Conference of Princes and people of India in which constitutional questions regarding the people of British India could not be discussed as the Princes were there to vote on resolutions.

### **Effect of the War Conference.**

Thus ended the great War Conference after passing Resolutions (see Part I, p. 120). People expected much from its deliberations ; they came back little wiser. "Tell us all ; tell us how you stand, and tell us what sacrifices you demand" : that was in the popular mind. The late Mr. W. Ironside of the Bengal Chamber—a man of sterling worth and rare qualities—pressed for the formulation

of demands in a business-like way. But Olympus kept his height and smiled patronisingly on those below and chilled the warmth of popular feeling by stern Augustine rhetoric and distant platitudes. While the occasion was just the time for an exemplary *sursum corda*, Authority evinced the degree of morbidity to which it had been reduced by "the huckstering spirit" and "the spirit of bargain" then current in the country. Even the reference to German move in the speech of the Viceroy "that the Germans have made no military move in this direction" served but to increase the general perplexity, for the statement was made at a time when the Premier was calling for help and Mr. Mc. Callum Scott was telling an alarmed House of Commons about the road through which the Germans were moving to the East (for this speech see the Register, Part II, India in Par. p 28). Even the London Times, then in the full confidence of the British War Cabinet, expressed the doubt: "we are not sure that there is no military move."

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## The Provincial War Conferences.

The Delhi Conference was followed by Provincial War Conferences ( see the Register Part I, pp. 125—40) conducted much in the same line as the parent organisation. Most of them passed off as smoothly and without any hiatus as the political sensitiveness or otherwise of the province concerned permitted, but in Bengal and Bombay the proceedings were more lively. In Bengal the Governor Lord Ronaldshay in opening the Conference made in the course of his speech a naive reference to what would happen "if the Kaiser came to Calcutta." No body knew better than he how far the German Emperor was in the mood and prepared for that sojourn, but perhaps His Excellency had in mind the Bengali couplets memorising in folklore the dreaded Marhatta invasions of Bengal two centuries back and wanted to touch the alarm-chord in the heart of Bengal by drawing a picture of what would happen "if the Kaiser came to Calcutta !" To rouse the people to a full sense of the danger by conjuring up visions of the Kaiser proved however a too-obsolete method, and the words ran agog, a by word in merry circles of Calcutta. In keeping with the mentality which those words displayed was a reference made in his speech of the "qualities" of Englishmen which, it was felt by others, was not the precise business of the war conference to deliberate upon. Said his Excellency :

The British people have a temper of their own. Some people call them a stubborn and a stiff-necked race. They are I believe a fair and a just people. You can without difficulty reason with them, you can without difficulty excite their interest, excite their sympathy, and above all you can excite their gratitude. But they are a people, believe me, who resent perhaps more deeply than any other people on this earth, any suspicion that anybody is bent upon making any attempt to take advantage of them, when their backs are against the wall. I don't say for one moment that the people of this country have any such intention and any such desire but I do suggest that it would be unwise by any thoughtless word at the present time to give grounds to the people of Great Britain for harbouring any suspicion of that kind.

His Excellency, however, had the good sense to tell the Conference that it was idle to expect, and he did not expect, nor did he press for, a total cessation of political agitation in the country or of demands made upon the Government. The Hon. Mr. Banerji and Mr. B. Chakravarty—representatives of two extreme political

parties—both strongly repudiated the idea of suspending political activities, for the simple reason that they are the very salt of public life. A note of popular accord was struck when Mr. Ironside delineated another aspect of British character which did not occur to His Excellency, that of first finding faults at home before going outside. He suggested that the huge waste of materials in Government offices, particularly of paper and stationery, might be stopped at once. The proceedings, however, were conducted very tactfully by the Governor, and after a few exchange of suggestions and passing resolutions the conference came to an end.

The strain caused by the war seemed to have very substantially unnerved the official mind in India about this time. Danger instead of calling forth latent human resources of quickened adaptability seemed to have bred a sort of irritability which saw in every ventilation of grievance an exploitation of the Government's troubles. So said the Viceroy, so said the Bengal Governor. But the climax was reached in Bombay where on the 10th June, '18, the Governor Lord Willingdon convened the War Conference, invited the Home Rule Leaders, and in opening it straightway went to the length of abusing and insulting the Propaganda of the Home Rule party, (for the Bom. War Conference, see the Register, Part I, pp. 134—40). What his object was it is difficult to surmise. It is difficult to conceive how it was thought worth while to abuse and sermonise to an obstacle when it was avowedly your aim to surmount that obstacle and gain your object speedily. Mr. Tilak and other Home-rulers whose *amour propre* did not quite fit with the expostulatory demeanour of the Governor left the meeting and forthwith issued a manifesto.

### STATEMENT BY MR. TILAK AND OTHERS.

In defence of their action they said that the only course left open to members invited to the conference to ventilate their views was to speak in a general way on the resolution prepared at the secretariat without moving amendments. The first resolution was more than an expression of loyalty to the King Emperor, as it contained an expression of the determination of the presidency to continue to do her duty to the utmost capacity. As to the first part of the resolution expressing loyalty to the King Emperor, the statement says, both Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelker emphatically expressed on behalf of themselves and the Home Rulers generally their firm adherence to the sentiment. But they desired to point out why the presidency could not possibly do her duty "to its utmost capacity" so long as certain existing conditions were not altered. "We are at a loss to understand how such speeches could be impugned on the ground of their being irrelevant or out of order." There was no intention of moving any

amendment, in deference to the ruling of the chair, though such a course would have been justified under Parliamentary procedure for it is well-known that amendments to loyal addresses to the Throne are regularly moved in the Commons. We had to be content merely with speeches but even that was denied to us. The main ground of objection on His Excellency's part was that of political discussion. His Excellency's speech was distinguished by political discussion of the most controversial character. We were entitled to an opportunity of replying to his gratuitous and provocative attack on Home Rulers and that opportunity should have been afforded to us on the first resolution which stated in general terms the objects of the conference. Before the Conference some of us were informed on behalf of the Governor in response to enquiries that "open discussion" on resolution would be allowed and that "any criticisms or suggestions which speakers may make in course of the discussion will receive careful consideration from the Government."

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## The Home Rule Protest Meeting.

A week later, on the 17th June 1918, a meeting of all Home Rulers was called to protest against the action of Lord Willingdon and the alleged insult which he offered to the Home Rule Party. The meeting was enthusiastically attended by the people of Bombay. The President, Mr. Gandhi, addressed it as follows :—

### Mr. Gandhi's Speech.

We have met in order to respectfully protest against his Excellency Lord Willingdon's conduct in the chair at the War Conference that met in the Town Hall on the 10th instant. I entertain high regard for Lord Willingdon. Of all the Governors in India probably Lord Willingdon is the most popular. He is known to hold liberal views regarding our aspirations. It is, therefore, difficult for me to contemplate the proceedings of this meeting without sorrow, but I feel that I may not allow personal regard to interfere with the performance of an obvious duty, no-matter how painful it may be. The duty is plain. Lord Willingdon convened the Conference, deliberately invited the prominent and leading members of the Home Rule

Leagues. They, not wishing to court insult on the one hand and on the other desiring to give ample previous notice to H. E. of their intention to plead their views before the Conference, asked for information about the programme of the Conference. Lord Willingdon had before him the experience of the Delhi Conference. He knew that the Home Rule League members had the first scope given them for discussion during the sitting of the Committees that were then formed. He knew that many members of that Conference had delivered political speeches at its first sitting. With all this knowledge in his possession now mark what happened at the Conference. In his opening remarks he delivered a deliberate attack upon Home Rule Leagues. He accused them of constant obstruction. He was not sure of the sincerity of their support. The Conference platform was hardly the platform for such remarks. If he did not want their co-operation he ought not to have invited the members of the Home Rule Leagues. If he desired their co-operation it was hardly the way to tell them beforehand that he did not trust them. He ought to have remembered that Home Rule Leagues gave material assistance in one way. Their organ, the "Chronicle" has always urged upon the people to give all the help they can.

#### H. E's Tactical Blunder.

I venture to suggest to His Excellency that his aspersions upon the League was at the very least a tactical blunder. But this was not enough. In my humble opinion H. E. in giving the ruling that he did, committed a grave blunder and did a disservice to the cause which he had come to espouse. He offered a gratuitous insult to Messrs. Tilak and thereby to a great and powerful organisation in the country. It is impossible to ignore or insult Mr. Tilak and his followers. Mr. Tilak is an idol of the people. He wields over thousands of men an unrivalled influence, his word is law to them. I have great differences of opinion with him, but I would be untrue to myself if I failed to acknowledge that his burning love of his country, his immense sacrifices and his resolute advocacy of the popular cause have earned for him a place in the politics of India which no other leader has. The insult offered to him and through him to the Home Rule Leagues, is therefore an insult to the nation at large. Whether, therefore, we differ from him in politics or not, it is the duty of us all who feel that Lord Willingdon's treatment of Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar was wrong to protest against it. I am prepared to admit that it would have been better if Mr. Tilak had risen to speak to the said resolution. It is my special and personal opinion not shared perhaps by anybody else that it would have been better still if he had preserved dignified silence; but in my opinion he had a right to speak to the loyal resolution

and offer criticism. I must dissent from the view that a loyalty resolution debars a free expression of one's sentiments. That loyalty must indeed be skin-deep which requires a wall of protection against criticism. I hold it to be perfectly consistent with my loyalty to the King to tell him that things are done in his name which ought not to be done. My declaration of loyalty will sound all the truer for the warning and I think that among the many services rendered by the Home Rule Leagues, special mention deserves to be made of their having emboldened the people to speak out their minds ; and I doubt not that if they but do their duty to the fullest extent they would place India's loyalty above suspicion. For, with a true Home Ruler it must be an article of faith that the Empire must be saved ; for in its safety lies the fruition of his fondest hopes. Not to help the Empire is to commit national suicide. How can we wish harm to our would-be-partner without hurting ourselves. So, whilst I fully share the opinion of the members of the Home Rule League that we must protect national honour by asking for an expression of regret for H. E.'s fauxpas, we must at the same time redouble our efforts to help the authorities in the prosecution of the war. We must not be angered by Lord Willingdon's mistake into taking a single false step ourselves. We have too much at stake ; we want Home Rule and we want it in the quickest time possible, and I wish I could still persuade the country to accept my view that absolutely unconditional and whole-hearted co-operation with the Government on the part of educated India will bring us within sight of our goal as nothing else will. I do not for a single minute share the distrust of my countrymen that like so many other hopes of ours this one of Sawaraj is also doomed to disappointment. Not that the Government here as also the Imperial Government have done nothing to shake our trust, only my trust rests not in their change of policy but it rests upon the solid foundation of our own struggle.

#### H. E. To Apologise.

I hope that H. E. will see his way to concede to the wishes of this great meeting ; but if he fails to-day, if the Viceroy also fails, I for one shall not despair of H. E. voluntarily apologising to the Home Rule Leagues in the near future. For I know they mean to co-operate in the prosecution of the war. And when he sees this, he will realise his mistake and like a gentleman that he is will offer apology. Difficulties there are, many of them of the Government's creation. Thus indifference to popular opinion, their rejection of our advice tendered for the attainment of the common end, namely gaining of recruits, have made our task well nigh impossible of fulfilment, but our duty is clear. Undaunted by these and many other diffi-



culties we should press forward and bear down their indifference to our opinion by demonstrating in practice the harm that they do to the Empire by their persistent defiance of popular will. I therefore regard the second resolution that will be placed before you not in any sense as so many conditions of our co-operation, but as a statement of the difficulties lying in our path. There are only two ways whereby we can attain our goal, co-operation or obstruction. Under the British constitution obstruction is a perfectly legitimate and well-known method for securing rights ; but obstruction at a crisis like the one facing the Empire can only end in enraging the Government who are responsible for the conduct of the war ; whereas co-operation will not disarm their opposition but it will give us a strength and a confidence, which cannot but take us to our goal. The occasion for which we have met is an unique one ; we are asking a popular Governor to put himself right with us by repenting of his mistakes ; we are also providing that if we fail to get redress we pledge ourselves not to attend any public meeting over whose deliberations Lord Willingdon may preside in future. This is a serious step, but I think warranted by events that have taken place. The justice of our step will be proved by our future conduct, i.e. by disproving H. E's charges by a determined effort at co-operation.

#### Mr. B. G. Horniman.

Mr. B. G. Horniman in protesting strongly against the public insult levelled by H. E. the Governor of Bombay against the members of the Home Rule League concluded his speech by saying that he would repeat that when they were called to that Conference practically they were invited to walk into a trap. It was the old story of "Will you walk into my parlour ? said the spider to the fly !" The Home Rulers were to be the flies. But on this occasion they were to fly for the spider. Five of them walked out as safe and sound as when they went in but, if anything, rather stronger in their determination to stand to their guns. (Loud cheers). And one big fly remained behind, (Jinnah ?) and instead of being eaten up by the spider he taught the spider a lesson which it would take him a long time to forget. He did not think it was necessary for them to justify their attitude further. He would only refer to one single incident in conclusion. He was sorry to say that there was on that occasion one of their Home Rulers, one they had numbered among their leaders, who did not think fit to join them on that occasion, or to join them in the present occasion. After having been insulted by Lord Willingdon, for the insult was on him as much as on anybody else, he went to the War Loan Meeting under Lord Willingdon's presidency and he there made a speech and used words which were very appropriate. Mr. Bhulabhar

Desai said that that was no time for shirking. He would say to Mr. Desai and to all those who had not strength and consideration to stand by the Home Rule League that that indeed was not a time for "shirking" but a time for standing by their cause which was the cause of the Empire as well as the cause of India (Loud cheers).

**The Hon. Mr. A. Jinnah said :—**

Lord Willingdon had said that the support of the Home Rule party was halfhearted. My answer is this ; that your policy is more than half-hearted to get the fullest man-power of India ! You are playing with the people, and you are not in earnest. Your methods and policy are all wrong. I cannot believe that even a bureaucrat is so blind as not to see it. Such policy, such conduct, had been pursued for the last four years, and the conclusion that I come to is this : That they do not trust us and therefore are not prepared to allow us to take up arms for the defence of our own motherland and of the Empire. They want us to continue an organisation, which they call an army, which is a sepoy army and nothing else, and they then turn round and tell us that we are not helping them. I say what Mr. Montagu in his speech on the Mesopotamia Report has said. Mr. Montagu put forward the very case that I am going to put forward. He described the Government of India in the following words : he said that the Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too ante-diluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view.

**Mr. B. G. Tilak.**

Mr. B. G. Tilak who was given a prolonged ovation said that he doubted the honesty and sincerity of the Bureaucracy and he had sufficient proofs of that. He asked the officials how they were going to get a response to their appeals when they (the people) were treated as aliens in their own land. The chains round the legs of the country and its sons should be removed at once and immediately that is done they would be ready to fight to a man. If the only question was to take away the money and money without thinking of removing the chains, there was nobody who would think of fighting only to get the bureaucratic rule perpetuated. They were invited to the Conference, not to flatter the Governor or the Government—the princes and ruling chiefs and the sycophants assembled there were sufficient for that—but they were distinctly told that they would be allowed criticism and discussion. They were treated to an insult first and after-wards were asked not to talk on the loyalty resolution. It was not possible for him to assure the Government of the people's support to the schemes which were accepted by the Government. They would inform the Government

frankly that as soon as a declaration was made to the effect that Self-Government would be granted to India they would get a response to the call of man-power to the extent of five to ten millions. Sepoys, such as the Government expected to enlist, could not be secured in this way. Their sincerity had been doubted, and his reply was that he had doubts himself about the sincerity of the bureaucracy ; he had more proof to prove their insincerity than the Government had to prove Indians' insincerity. The Secretary of State had stated that the Government were considering sympathetically the question of granting commission to Indians, and to that the speaker's reply was this : With regard to the question of supplying men, they were also considering it sympathetically.

#### **A Challenge to Lord Willingdon.**

Let the Government give the Indians responsible positions in the Army and treat them fairly and then they would get the requisite number of men. Should Government treat the Indians fairly and equitably, he could promise them at least five thousand men from Maharashtra alone, although he was sanguine that he could get at least 25,000 men. He had come to the meeting to say it solemnly that if the Government could grant them their demands as set forth in the resolutions, he was prepared to give 5,000 men to them. Should he fail in keeping to his promise he was quite prepared to give Rs. 100 as a fine for every man less than the number, and he was ready to give his cheque for Rs. 500,000 in case of his non-fulfilment of his promise. The Home Rulers were a poor people, but they were going to subscribe five lakhs of Rupees to the War Loan. That sum was, of course, not to be included in the general subscription. He would, therefore, say to the Government that they should either withdraw their words, or give the people what they wanted. That talk about insincerity was the bureaucracy's favourite game. He would challenge Lord Willingdon that if the Government were sincere, they should grant the requests of the people. Sincerity did not consist in surrounding themselves with their own partisans and let them clap their hands when the Govt. nod their head.

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## The Subramania Affair.

About this time the Nationalist papers published an account of how "America was convulsed" with the news that India offered a million men to fight for the Allies against the Germans. The foundation of this 'convulsion' was a letter written by Sir Subramania Aiyar, K.C.I.E., retired Chief Justice of Madras and president of the Home Rule League, to President Wilson of the United States. The text of this letter as also the parliamentary proceedings and Sir Subramania's Press communique explaining and defending his position is published elsewhere (see India in Parliament, pp 36 to 51). In that letter the venerable ex-judge bitterly complained of the bureaucratic government of this country and appealed to President Wilson that he will "so completely convert England to your ideals of world liberation ("the liberation of peoples, the rights of Nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their ways of life and of obedience"—Pres. Wilson's Speech) that together you will make it possible for India's millions to lend assistance in this war." It should be remembered that though America had lately joined the Allies the British War Cabinet were making earnest efforts to maintain their bona fides with the American people. For, that great democracy was strongly suspicious of the tall talk of Britain as to the objects of the War being to set the world free from German oppression and domination, and pointed to Ireland with an enquiring wink. They scented also something uncanny behind the pious protestations of the British Premier and Cabinet Ministers as to their War aims and solicitation of American help when the great Empire had untold resources, human and material, in India, Egypt and Ireland yet untapped. The Subramania letter appeared in the American press in the usual American style of hysteric hyperbolism and the news was flashed over the continent that India was offering millions of fighting men! The ball was set rolling in India by the Besant Press in Madras and soon the matter became a topic of popular gossip. The attention of Parliament was drawn to the letter by Mr. Joynson Hicks, M. P., and General Croft, M.P., who put questions in the Commons on June 3rd. The point was again raised in the Lords a fortnight later by Lord Harris and there was an animated debate over the question what Government was going to do. Some suggested that the writer of the letter should be punished, his rank and title taken away, and his pension stopped. This Government declined

to do as the writer had been already reprimanded by the Government of India and had been told that "in view of his great age, failing health and past judicial services, they did not propose to take any further notice of his actions." Some of the Noble Lords of the House were of opinion that the action of Sir Subramania, however regrettable, was, if not common, not altogether unknown as legitimate tactics in the field of politics, in their own politics, for instance, and that there was nowhere a breach of any criminal law in his behaviour which could justify any punishment being meted out to him.

Immediately after these debates in Parliament Sir Subramania, who had so long kept a scrupulous silence, issued a press communique fully disclosing the whole affair and explaining his own position. (For this letter, see *India in Parliament*, pp. 46-51). He at once renounced his titles and returned the insignia thereof. This action sent a thrill through the whole country. The Nationalist party and the Home Rulers acquired a new stimulus galvanizing their line of thought and action. Dr. Subramania, henceforth free from the shackles of Knighthood and Dewan Bahadurship, became the hero of the hour. Young India, hemmed in on all sides by hostile and discouraging barriers, of society, of tradition, in private and public life, saw in the old bones of the venerable doctor the strength of a hercules rending the walls of their prison house, and hailed him as an apostle pointing to the new life which gleamed beyond. Thus came fresh air, fresh light and a fresh lease of life to the struggling Home Rule League of India. Nationalist meetings were held here and there, passing popular votes of confidence on Dr. Subramania, eulogising his conduct and congratulating him on his escape from perpetual 'benightment'! At Calcutta a proposal was made, consummated in verbosity, of erecting a statue to the venerable ex-judge, now resplendent in popular esteem, a *Bhisma* rehabilitated in a Brahmin!

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## Madras Provincial Conference.

The month of May was almost uneventful save for the non-controversial war conferences held under the auspices of the provincial Governments. On May 9th was held the Madras Provincial Conference at Conjeeveram with Rao Sahib Cunnan Chetty as Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as president. The Rao Sahib in his welcome speech referred to the Delhi War Conference and expressed disappointment that the Viceroy did not see his way to take advantage of the great occasion in making an announcement regarding early self-Government in India, but he emphasised also that whatever their regret, every one of them would to the best of his ability strive to carry out the substance of the Delhi recommendations. "It must be our endeavour", he said, "to give our best to win the war, while it must be the endeavour of the Government to do their best to bring forth from the people the fullest man power and material needed to secure victory."

**Mrs Sarojini Naidu** delivered an extempore presidential address. She appealed to the people first to stand as one man and rise to fight the enemy. She condemned sectarian differences of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin lately growing so acute in the Southern presidency. If they were to get back their freedom, she said, they must submerge their illusions of differences and whole-heartedly respond to the call of Government for men and money. They were very ready to respond no doubt and were really very ready to fight for freedom and all that they asked Government to do was to give a pledge that the people would get back all that they had once possessed but have since lost. They must have some measure of Self-Government ; they were bound to, get it, and she said : let India for the sake of her liberty raise an army which will defy her invasion by any other foreign power.

There was a hot debate on Mrs. Besant's resolution on recruitment to which Mr. Satya Murti moved an amendment. There was a passage at arms, attacks and counter attacks, descending more often than not on the personal level and supported by an uproarious house. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar tried to patch up a peace by asking Mrs. Besant to substitute for her resolution the one passed at the Delhi War Conference. The majority of the delegates

however was on the side of Mr. Satya Murti and decidedly against Mrs. Besant's proposal to support Government whole-heartedly in the matter of raising the war recruits and war loan. But the President gave her casting vote against the amendment of Mr. Satya-murti which was lost. Mrs. Besant in a flush of temper exclaimed that she would call meetings all over the country and get the amendment cancelled. The original resolution of Mrs. Besant was passed *nem con* on Mr. Satya Murti's declaring that the meeting having shown its temper, his purpose had been served, and he withdraw his amendment.

The conference showed for the first time how public opinion in Madras was recoiling from old tracks. Mrs. Besant, be it noted, had up till now held a unique position and authority in the eyes of the Madras public. She was loved and honoured and trusted in Madras as no other personage in India, except Lok. Tilak in Bombay, was honoured and trusted by the people. But the Conjeeveram conference showed the spirit of the times—a spirit of revolt even against the most loved and constituted authority when it was autocratic in its methods and not subservient to the wishes of the people. The day of despotic benevolence was fast running out; and benevolent or not, despotism in any shape was being offered a resolute opposition even in the limited field of Indian politics.

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## Home Rule League Lecture.

Under the joint auspices of the Home Rule Leagues, a series of lectures was delivered at the Morarji Goculdas Hall, Bombay, during the month of June. Mrs. Annie Besant delivered a lecture on "Standing by the Congress Resolution" on June 10.

Mrs. Besant said the present position as regards India and the Empire was very much confused because they could not deal either with the war or with the political reforms separately. The reforms were intertwined with the war and the success of the war very largely depended upon the reforms. The reforms were essential at this time, and as the "Times" called them, they were a war measure. And when they found the "Times" saying that anything connected with India was a pressing matter to the Empire, was in fact in the position of a war-measure, they might surely then be certain that the matter was of the most immediate importance and that the two things, the war and the reforms, were so closely interwoven that they could not be separated. In fact, if they were asked to concentrate on the war they found themselves obliged to concentrate on the reforms. If they began talking about the reforms, they found themselves drifting into the discussion as to how far they were affected by the war. And that was inevitable at the present time. Nothing that could be said to Indians would persuade them that India was in so unique a position that she was outside the world. And as they were told that the war was for the preservation of the world's liberty, they could not help feeling that India's liberty formed a part of the world's liberty. If she was not in the world, but outside it, of course the liberty of India was outside. Day after day when on taking up the newspapers they found the statements of President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, where they found day after day that if Germany succeeded it would establish a terrible autocracy, were they to understand that what was good for Poland, good for Belgium, good for Servia, for Montenegro, must be no good for India? Hence while the title of her lecture represented only standing by the reforms, she could not help looking also at the conditions of the war. It was the war which was quickening their political life. It was the result of the war which would bring about the reconstruction of the British Empire and of the whole world. It was distinctly the outcome of the war, and that was recognised when in the Congress at



Lucknow they declared that in the reconstruction of the Empire, India must be lifted from the position of a dependency and must be placed in the position of a self-governing unit of the Empire. Two points seemed to be standing out in this world full of confusion—on one side, the question of the war, and, on the other side, the question of the unwisdom of the British Government in its dealing with India. Those were the things that were present to the mind of every thoughtful man in India and the Empire. They could not help thinking that the Government of India and of Great Britain in delaying the reforms were full of unwisdom and making the task of allowing India to help the Empire more difficult than it ought to be. So, in asking them to consider those problems and their duty of standing by the reforms which the Congress and the Moslem League had asked for, they would find her running back into the war problems and then into those of politics.

#### **Problems of India were those of the Empire.**

The problems of India to-day were the problems of the Empire, and they could not distinguish between the two when dealing with the whole future fabric. She was not going to dwell on the details of the reform which were only too familiar to them during the last two years, but she would only refer to the salient features of it to know what they stood by. When the detailed discussion would begin, when the reforms were before them, they would have to test them by the Congress-League Scheme and by the resolutions passed in Calcutta, and if they found that in the test the proposals proved not to be gold but tinsel, then they could not accept them, no matter how plausible they were. They had first of all the resolutions passed in Bombay, when the Congress directed in consultation with the Indian Moslem League to formulate a scheme of political reforms. The whole of 1916 was occupied in that formulation. It was not done in a hurry. On it were brought to bear the best brains in the whole country and then they met to discuss the resolutions. That was done in 1916. In the Congress of 1916 the reforms of the Congress and the League were accepted in full. They talked over them in the Congress and the Moslem League and both of them accepted the scheme. Now during the whole of that year after the Congress of 1916 they were going up and down through the country, popularizing the scheme. In town after town, in village after village, speakers went all over the land, speaking in English in the towns and in vernaculars in all the mofussil districts, until practically the whole country became acquainted with the details of the scheme. They carried on an educative propaganda until all who took interest in politics knew the details of that scheme. Then having done that, there came the duty of preparing for the next Congress. Now during

the time of the propaganda work certain changes took place very much helped by their friendly Madras Government (laughter) ! She need not go into the details of the Home Rule propaganda so sedulously carried on by Lord Pentland and his Councillors. Their own leaders were entirely thrown into the shade by Lord Pentland in his advocacy for Home Rule. They knew the result of his advocacy was a change of policy on the part of the Government—a declaration that responsible Government was the goal of the British policy, and the sending out of the Secretary of State for India that he might put that declaration into form after full discussion with all parties in India, which could be brought back to the English Government with the seal on it of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and then in due course passed into law. He came, he saw a large number of people, and went away. A very large part of his time was spent in conferences with the Viceroy and the Viceroy's Councillors, and some of them thought too much time had been so spent, with the result that they were afraid that a large amount of bureaucratic influence might have somewhat overlaid the result of his conferences with those who represented Indian aspirations. At the end of all the conferences, however, the Congress scheme was the one scheme that held the ground, though a number of other schemes were put forward, suddenly finding the light of day, which had never been submitted to the country, nor discussed, nor accepted by the country,—schemes which were formulated for the purpose of conveying to Mr. Montagu the carefully thought-out mind and will of India. Certainly a man in his position, a man of the world, could never have been deceived by those sudden and up-start associations face to face with the two great representative bodies of the country which, since 1915, had been concerned in finding out the country's will, formulating the country's aspirations and endorsed by the two great representative bodies. Well, he came, discussed and went. Then they found themselves in a very peculiar position.

Now what were the points in the Congress League Scheme which were of importance to them? First, a substantial elected majority—they said four-fifths. They must not take a smaller majority than that but they need not object if the whole body was elected (laughter), and she (the speaker) would be quite prepared to waive her adherence to the Congress League scheme so far as to accept a completely elected Legislative Council ! She would not be doing any dishonour to what they had said in the past by accepting a little more (laughter), but the thing was not to accept less. The special points of the scheme were a substantial majority, the power of the purse, and the widening of the franchise. These

were the vital principles which were worked into details in the scheme.

They could not fairly say that the Congress-League scheme was intended to give them responsible Government. It was intended, to use the ordinary cant of the politician, to give them representative government but not responsible government directly. It aimed at responsible government indirectly by giving them the power of the purse, not directly, for they had an unremovable executive. In responsible government the executive would be removable by the censure of the legislature. So the power of the purse or the power to control supplies tended to make an unremoveable executive responsible. The presence of an unremovable executive was at once the weakness and strength of the Congress-League scheme : weakness, because the executive was not responsible, as it was not removable ; strength, because an unremovable and hence irresponsible executive was made responsible by the power of the purse. This was where the superiority of the legislature to the executive came in. An irremovable executive was absurd if it was placed equally with the Legislative assembly representing the people. But historically, that (to have an irremovable executive) was the way in which the Colonies had gained their responsible government and therefore it had been selected for the Congress-League scheme. While it did not give responsible government directly it forced indirectly power of the purse being the one compelling power between the Government and the nation, the power of withholding supplies. Now there was no way to responsible government except by either directly establishing it at once or beginning a scheme that would inevitably lead to it. The power of the purse alone could force any Government into yielding to the will of the people. That was why they had made it the first stage of advance towards self-government and if they were foolish enough to give up the power of the purse, then it would show that they were so utterly blinded as not to be capable of taking a sane view of the matter. They wanted a goal which would be won at the end of the war and that responsible government should come to them when all the other countries were busy in formulating their constitutions and winning their liberty. Therefore, when they formulated their scheme in 1917, they went a step beyond the Congress of 1916 and the resolution of 1917 laid down a new basis.

### **Wanted a Statute.**

First, they asked for a statute definitely laying down the successive stages of the realisation of self-government. No orders, no ordinances, nothing except an early statute would be accepted by them. One of the English papers had expressed the view that

that might be done by an Order in Council. They did not want it. They wanted a statute that should not be changed, an irrevocable statute, and the honour of England pledged to the self-government of India. In that statute they had asked in their resolution responsible government at an early date. They did not lay down the year but things had been going faster since the Congress took place. Since then President Wilson had spoken, Mr. Lloyd George had spoken, and the Allies had pledged themselves to self-determination after the war. She knew it was so laid down for the sake of the German Colonies (laughter), but it did not matter what the motives were—America was there for complete liberty for every nation, but she perfectly sympathised with the anxiety that there should not be a German Empire and German Colonies because she regarded Germany as the incarnation of oppression.

#### **Liberty to India.**

As the Rajah of Mahmudabad said the other day, if England were to go into the Conference of Peace with clean hands she must give liberty to India. If she did not she would be shamed in the face of the whole world. When they (the English people) were discussing the constitution of Germany, when they were discussing the independence of Poland, when they were discussing the independence of Belgium and the Slav, they should not forget that there was a nation here, to represent which they had only to add one letter to the "Slavs" and put an "E" in between "V" and "S", there would be the subject nation of India demanding the same liberty that they were scattering broadcast over the whole world. They did not want to be told that they should have self-government five years hence, and after those five years that "the time had not come," or should wait for ten years and then "not yet," or after fifteen years and "wait and see !"

#### **An Unacceptable Scheme.**

It was vital that whatever reform scheme Mr. Montagu brought forward the supreme Government and the local Governments should be carried on side by side and not on what they called provincial autonomy basis, while the supreme Government remained as it was at the present time with the power of the purse and with the power of the excise and all the big resources of revenue in their hands and no power to the people to control it. Such a scheme would be only a mere deception, merely a play with power. That was why she urged them to cling to the Congress-League scheme as the first step towards complete responsible Government. There was a certain danger of their being dazzled by all those question of provincial autonomy and all the rest of them so as not to see the autocracy behind it. They should realise that no subordinate power was worth having if the power behind it remained autocratic.

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# Home-Rule Anniversary Meeting.

*Calcutta, 16th June '18.*

In Calcutta the Home Rule League Anniversary was celebrated by a procession and a meeting at Beadon Square where the Calcutta Nationalists met under the presidency of Mr. B. Chuckerburty. The President after referring to the Delhi War Conference said that his message was:—"Arm ! Arm ! it is the cannons opening roar." India, he said, was menaced on two sides : at the North Western gates of India there was the menace of German invasion, and on the other hand, there was the menace to the grant of responsible Government against which they should arm with constitutional weapons. There was a widespread misconception, he said, of the motives and objects of Home Rulers. But he repudiated the charge of bargain and huckstering made against them. "It is one thing to say 'I wont do a certain thing unless you give me something in exchange'. This is a bargain between an individual and individual. But leading men speaking not for themselves but on behalf of a population of millions cannot be accused of bargain when they point out 'we can't move the millions, we can't touch their heart and imagination, we can't create in them that enthusiasm for self-sacrifice and devotion until and unless certain measures are taken to create the necessary atmosphere for that spirit of sacrifice and devotion to come into existence". Mr. Chuckerbuty then referred to the repeated declaration of the Home rulers and to their attitude and demands, and then proceeded to show how the Delhi recommendations were being gradually shelved. The two main recommendations, viz, (1) increase of pay of Indian Soldiers and (2) grant of King's commissions made in the Delhi resolution had not even after two months been given effect to. "At the conference it was stated by the Authority in charge that the regulations under the Arms Act were to be modified but on account of pressure on time he had not been able to issue the necessary modifications. We are still wating for these modifications".

Referring to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report then about to be published, Mr. Chuckerburty said that there was a bitter controversy ahead and that they should arm themselves for that controversy. "Our demands", he said, are "the right to regulate our own affairs, the right of citizenship within the empire, a change

in the system of her government which has grown, in the words of Mr. Montagu himself, 'too wooden, too iron, too inelastic.' Our Anglo Indian friends and our Bureaucracy say : freedom, Self-determination, equal citizenship are good for the rest of the world, but it is not good for you ! And I regret very much to say that there are slaves amongst us so enamoured of slavery that they cry 'aye' with our Anglo Indian friends and our ruling Bureaucracy.

He next deplored the action of the War Cabinet in stopping the Home Rule deputations, referred to the grant of passport to Dr. Nair of Madras an anti Home-Ruler. "All is fair in love and war," he said, "Home Rulers are kept back because of the war : Dr. Nair was allowed to proceed because of love"

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### **The Grant of Army Commissions to Indians.**

In this connection Mr. B. Chuckerburty's attack of the Government referred to above happened, as is usual with political free-lancers, to be premature and hasty. For only a few days after, on June 21st, the Government of India issued the following communique.

"The Government of India have had under consideration for some time past proposals for the grant of commissions to Indians. Expression was given to their views by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the War Conference at Delhi and these views were at once communicated to His Majesty's Government, but the latter's preoccupation with other matters has delayed their reply. This reply has now been received, and it is to the effect that His Majesty the King Emperor has decided to grant :—

(1) A certain number of substantive King's Commissions in the army to selected Indian officers who have specially distinguished themselves in the present war.

(2) A certain number of King's Commissions conferring Honorary Rank in the Indian army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service not necessarily during the present war and who owing to age or lack of educational qualifications are not eligible for substantive King's Commissions. Such Honorary Commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension.

## GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE ON

(3) A certain number of temporary but substantive King's Commissions in the Indian army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the army. Those selected from civil life will be nominated by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Local Governments and political administrations concerned. They must be between the ages of 19 and 25 and will be drawn from families which have rendered good service to Government and more especially those which have actively assisted in recruiting during the present war. Those selected from the army must also be between the age of 19 and 25 and will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander in-Chief and the general officers in whose commands they are serving. In making selections preference will be shown to officers or non-commissioned officers who have displayed special aptitude as leaders and instructors. No candidate will be eligible for nomination unless he is medically fit and has passed a qualifying examination as a test of his general education. The standard required of civil candidates will be that prescribed for the diploma of one of the colleges, a school-leaving certificate recognised by a local government, the matriculation examination of an incorporated university, or any higher examination. Holders of such certificates will be exempted from the qualifying examination referred to above. The standard of the qualifying examination demanded of military candidates will be prescribed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

"Candidates selected for nomination will be required to join a school of instruction. Their status while under military training will be that of cadets. The length of the course will depend upon the attainments of the cadets. It will usually be not less than a year after which a cadet will be granted a commission unless reported fit in all respects for employment as an officer on active service. On completion of the school course candidates who qualify for commissions will be posted to Indian regiments as temporary second lieutenants and will be subject to the same regulations and enjoy the same status as British officers of the same rank. On the termination of the war, temporary officers appointed under this scheme who have proved themselves efficient in every respect and who desire to make the army their profession will be considered for permanent commissions. The remainder will be retired on a gratuity with permission to wear the uniform of the rank held at the time of retirement.

"The Government of India have also decided with the approval of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India to nominate

ten Indian gentlemen annually during the war for cadetship at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Candidates will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief and the local governments or political administrations concerned. No candidate will be eligible for nomination unless he is medically fit and has passed a qualifying examination which will be held in Simla. This examination will include an oral examination similar to that required by the Admiralty in the case of candidates for the Naval College at Osborne designed as a test of general intelligence. Candidates for nomination must be between the ages of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  and 20 on the 1st July 1919. A syllabus of the qualifying examination referred to above will be published at an early date. The general standard required will be that prescribed for candidates for temporary commission. The payment of fees for the education of cadets at Sandhurst is in abeyance during the war. Parents and guardians are required however to contribute £35 towards the cost of uniform, books, recreation, etc., and a pocket money allowance not exceeding £50 a year to be paid through the college authorities is also usually necessary while at Sandhurst. Indian cadets will be treated in precisely the same way as British cadets and after passing the qualifying examination on the termination of the course will, if found suitable in all respects, be granted permanent King's commissions in the Indian Army."

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# The Reform Proposals.

At last came the long expected Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms published early in July. At once began the forward move of the different sections of political thought in India, examining, analysing, criticising the proposals, some with chagrin, some with fondness, some with anger, some with fawning, and public life was thrown into a vortex of controversy the like of which was never witnessed in India for some decades past. From sometime before lines of cleavage in the huge political organisations of the country were becoming more and more apparent, and if Mr. Montagu's mission had one undeniable and proximate effect it was to create divisions where none existed and to unchain a babel in a realm where there was quiet. The solid old political blocks steadily broke down into smaller fragments, and new leagues and parties began to bandy manifestoes from here and from there and pelt each other with missiles of political pugilism, falsifying the bond which so long held them together. In Bengal the extreme Moderates formed themselves into a party, the National Liberal League, and issued a manifesto, a few days before the Report was published, declaring that "if the scheme (proposed) will take us a long way forward towards the goal of responsible Government, we should give it our approval and support so far as it is satisfactory. If it falls short of our expectations it will be our duty to express our disappointment and to record our protest." Against this the Home Rulers said, "We need hardly point out that no scheme of Reforms which does not confer real political powers upon the people can possibly meet the requirements of the present situation.....Any attempt at half measures will not help but seriously hurt both the people and the Government."

In the following pages are given some of the manifestoes and the proceedings of the Provincial Conferences met in special sessions for considering the Reform proposals.

## **BOMBAY MODERATES' MANIFESTO.**

Nine Moderate leaders, including Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Narayan Chândavarkar, issued a lengthy manifesto supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. They said that the proposed scheme formed a complicated structure capable of improvement in some particulars, especially at the top, but was nevertheless a progressive measure of reform.

calculated to make the Provinces of British India reach the goal of complete responsible Government. They think the criticisms so far expressed ignore the qualifying phrases in the declaration of the 20th August. They say also that the Congress-League Scheme entirely lacked elements or beginnings of responsible Government. Many of the demands which the leaders of the Congress pressed on the attention of the Government are, however, embodied in the proposals, and that constitutes a distinct advance on the present condition. A good deal will depend upon the recommendations of the two Committees now being appointed in England and the signatories trust that those recommendations will be carried out in a liberal spirit. The list of transferred subjects appended to the Report was a large one and comprised many important subjects and constituted a substantial instalment at the start. Within the short period of six years, from the time the reformed councils come into existence, it would be possible for them to obtain full responsible government in regard to the transferred subjects. Complete autonomy in any province will depend upon the capacity, public spirit, political judgment, and sense of duty of the elected representatives. There are a series of safeguards which they think well devised to prevent extravagant allotments for reserved subjects. Periodic enquiry with its potentialities and terrors will act as a check both on the Governor in Council and on the Legislative Council. They think that those who criticise the financial provision of the scheme fail to realize that their countrymen stand to gain by provincial taxation being in the hands of their own ministers. Even during the transitional period there will be an effective control by the legislature of provincial finance. Grand Committees will serve also as a constitutional safeguard against arbitrary exercise of authority of the Governor in Council. The whole scheme is a carefully and sympathetically devised plan to enable the elect of the people by their capacity and wisdom to secure responsible Government within as short a period after the first ten years of the reformed Councils as their record of work on these bodies may justify.

### **Government of India.**

Referring to the change proposed in the Government of India, however, the signatories are unable to speak in terms of approbation. They think the Indian element in the Imperial Executive Council should be one half. They object to the Council of State in principle but they acknowledge that the elected element therein is an improvement over the present Legislative Council. Yet if the Council of State is to remain, they hold that half its total strength should be elected, but they hope the idea of planting this thorny tree in India will be

given up. There will be in other matters an advance in some respects but in all other respects of great importance the matters remain "in status quo."

They propose an advisory board of elected and nominated members to confer with the finance member regarding the submission of the budget. Non-official voice must be heard before the preparation of the budget. No bill reconstituting the Government of India can be satisfactory if it contains no provision for India being granted fiscal freedom on terms of equality with the Colonies.

The proposals regarding the Government of India are excessively cautious and illiberal ; they are based on a formula the soundness of which is questioned. The Government of India is apparently to remain without responsibility introduced in its system. This will lead to rigidity and unprogressiveness at the centre. The Legislative Assembly of India would then be very uninviting. The scheme retains the characteristics of the Morley-Minto model, viz : criticism unchecked by responsibility. The introduction of a Second Chamber is highly undesirable. It is a discredited device which will lead to irritation and bad blood, imperilling the constitution itself. They would suggest instead an adoption of the plan of Grand Committees as proposed for the provinces. If the principal alterations are adopted the scheme would be more symmetrical and more acceptable. On the whole the proposals, says the manifesto, are evolved with great forethought and conceived in a spirit of genuine sympathy with India's political aspirations.

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# Home Rulers' Manifesto.

*Madras, July 8, 1918.*

We have read the report with intense disappointment. The main proposals contained in it embody the principles of the scheme of Mr. Lionel Curtis, a scheme which has been universally condemned by Indians, and from their own points of view by Anglo-Indians. The scheme is based on an unqualified distrust of the people of India and is so radically wrong alike in principle and in detail that in our opinion it is impossible to modify and improve it. Nor do we think it possible to devise any system of safeguards against the mischievous working of the whole complex scheme. It cannot consequently form the basis of discussion or compromise by the people or their representatives.

The scheme consists of three portions: (A) Construction of the political machinery of the Government of India and Provincial Governments; (B) The Indianisation of the services; (C) The relations of the Secretary of State for India with Parliament. As regards (C) we note with satisfaction the proposal to place the salary of the Secretary of State on the British estimates. With regard to the other provisions, we adhere to the national demand for the abolition of the Indian Council and consider that a Commission, therefore, is unnecessary. As regards (B), we propose to leave it alone here as it is no part of the scheme for the constitution of the political Government of the country.

We now proceed to consider the main part of the Scheme confining ourselves to its more important features.

## **(A) Government of India.**

The Sovereign Princes of India, in our opinion, ought not to be called to assist in any manner in the Government of India, especially in their own interests, as the process is calculated gradually to reduce their position to that of mere Nobles.

As to the Council of State, we are altogether against the institution of a second Chamber, the more so as constituted in the manner and with the powers proposed. Absolutely no valid reason has been given for creating a second chamber at all in this country. The proposal is a continuation of the present Legislative Council with the official majority under a different name. We are not aware of any parallel for such a second Chamber.

The threefold object of the reformed legislature should be: to satisfy the aspirations of the people, to meet the requirements of the country and of the Empire, and to carry out the pledges embodied in the declaration of the 20th of August, 1917. The scheme of the proposed Legislative Assembly does not satisfy any of these requirements. The Legislature for the country should be wholly elective in constitution and should possess powers suitable to a system of Parliamentary Cabinet Government. The power of dissolution of the Legislature proposed to be given to the Governor General is a surprise on the people of this country, when not a shadow of responsible Government is conceded to them. Such power exists nowhere else except in Germany.

The division of the powers and functions of Government on the formula of "peace, order and good Government including financial administration" is not only impracticable but also wholly inconsistent with representative, and much more with responsible Government. This would reduce the Legislative Assembly to impotence. The whole scheme is a retrograde step and is much worse than the existing system. It is hardly necessary for us to add that the Indian Legislature should have complete sovereign powers of legislation, taxation and appropriation.

### (B) Provincial Government.

We are wholly opposed to the novel and startling idea of the powers of the Provincial Governments being split up into two divisions in the way in which it has been done. We are decidedly of opinion that this part of the scheme, however altered and modified, is absolutely unworkable, and that it is not calculated to evolve at any time, the more so with the limitations and under conditions prescribed, either representative or responsible Government. Any reform of the Provincial Governments should be effected as a whole and not by compartments. The proposed changes in the Provincial Governments are not calculated any wise to remove the cardinal defects and infirmities in the existing administration but would, on the contrary, induce friction in the complex machinery of the whole system of Government and make the administration more costly and unpopular.

The creation of the Grand Committee, the germ of a future Provincial Second Chamber, analogous to the one proposed for the Government of India, the power of dissolution of the Legislature vested in the Governor, other such powers vested in him, such as the powers of excluding important measures of Legislation on the ground of peace, order, and good Government, or that they affect his responsibility for the reserved departments of administration, the very extraordinary power given to any member of the Executive Council to challenge and block all the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly at any stage, are very disquieting and constitute grave retrograde steps in essentials. It must be recognised that any real reform of the Provincial Governments towards responsible Government is impossible of achievement without reform of the Government of India on the lines already indicated above.

In conclusion, we submit, that the scheme is altogether calculated to create general alarm throughout the country. We have read the preamble of the document with mingled feelings of an intense kind. We are thankful to note that a conclusive answer is given to those who would maintain that the present is inopportune for the political reconstruction of the country. But we are wholly unable to reconcile ourselves to the scheme which is virtually a negation of the universal principle of the self-determination of people in the recognition and maintenance of which blood and treasure are so phenomenally expended. We are satisfied that unless the present scheme is altogether abandoned as to the political reform of the government of the country, and a new one substituted embodying principles and plans in consonance with the inalienable rights of the people of this country to achieve responsible Government which is different in nature and magnitude from a vaguely recognised right of co-operation, a deep, widespread and enduring national discontent would be the consequence.

- (1) C. Vijayaraghavachariar and 15 others.
- (2) S. Kosturi Ranga Aiyangar.
- (3) A. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

# Bengal Provincial Conference

*Special sessions—14 July 1918.*

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS!

In the course of his address the President, the Hon. Mr. K. K. Chanda, said :—

You have to consider the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme which has now been published. I am aware that the time has been short for the delegates, specially the mofussil delegates, to consider the scheme in all its details and bearings. But the Conference has to form an opinion to prevent a mischief which has already begun. There is on the one hand an attempt on the part of some people to hail the scheme with grateful delight and welcome it as a concession of the first instalment of responsible Government. There is on the other hand a clear pronouncement which adheres to the Congress League Scheme as the minimum instalment of responsible Government acceptable to the people. There is this to be said with regard to this class of people that they are certainly logical in their attitude. The Congress League Scheme is the most authoritative formulation of what is acceptable to the country at the present stage and naturally it is insisted on that in order to be self-respecting and serious in our pronouncements we must abide by it and cannot set it aside simply because something which has a fascinating name but falls far short of that scheme has been offered. Then there is a third class of people who have taken up an attitude which is midway between the two. They say that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme as it is now does not meet with their approval but that they are prepared to try it if certain alterations and modifications are made with regard to the details of that Scheme.

With your leave I desire to point out shortly what each of these 3 classes of people have so far said in support of their respective views. I have noticed that the first group who hail the present Scheme with acclamation not only do not seem to apply their mind to the details of the scheme but appear to resent any criticism of the details which might reflect upon the entire acceptance of the proposals contained in the scheme. The inference seems irresistible, although I hope I am not doing them injustice, that they had made up their

minds to accept the scheme what it was without any thought of its merits or demerits. However, what may be said in favour of the view of this group may be summarised thus. Beginning with the highest functionary in the Government of India i.e. the Secretary of State and the Government in England:—

(1) First, the salary of the Secretary of State is to be placed on the British Estimates which means that his control of the Government in this country is to be opened to discussion in British Parliament, thus providing a check by the British people in Parliament assembled.

(2) There is to be a Standing Parliamentary Committee to inquire periodically into the affairs relating to the Government in this country, thus providing a machinery for watchfulness and periodic correction of the methods of Government pursued in India. It may be first noted that the Indian National Congress has for years past asked for these and there is thus a reasonable ground of satisfaction with these proposals.

(3) There is to be a periodical Royal Commission, the first after 10 years, and the subsequent ones after 12 years, to watch the working of the Scheme now propounded and revise the conditions then existing and the aptitude shown by the people for responsible Government, and if thought advisable, to broaden the power of responsible Government until the final goal of complete responsible Government is secured to the people. But this has further to be said with regard to these Royal Commissions that they may, although it is hoped otherwise, interfere and, instead of accelerating, retard the progress of Self-Government on account of inaptitude in the exercise of the powers conceded.

(4) There is a promise made of the grant of 33 per cent of the appointments in the Indian Civil Service with a proportionate increase of  $1\frac{1}{3}$  per cent every year.

(5) There is the promise of grant of King's Commissions in the Army.

Then as to the Government of India :—

(1) Increase in the number of elected members to about 100 with elected majority to the extent of  $\frac{2}{3}$  and as regard the remaining  $\frac{1}{3}$  which is to be nominated not more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of it can be officials.

(2) A second chamber called the Council of State to consist of 50 members—21 to be elected, 4 to be nominated non-officials and 25 officials. The Viceroy to be the President and may appoint a Vice-President making the official number 27.

(3) Provision for a joint session of the Legislative Assembly and the Council, and it is suggested that in such a Session there will be an elected majority and under normal conditions the popular voice

will have its wishes carried out except where the Governor-General chooses to certify a Government bill necessary for peace, order, and good Government, including "sound financial administration."

(4) Fixity of the financial contribution of the Provincial Governments:

(5) Withdrawal of the authority of the Indian Government as also of the Secretary of State from interference with transferred subjects.

(6) Institution of a Privy-Council consisting of about 50 members.

(7) Institution of a Council of the Indian Princes.

(8) One more Indian Member of the Executive Council.

(9) Appointment of permanent Secretaries of the nature of the parliamentary Under-Secretaries.

Then as to the Provincial Governments:—

(1) Substantial elected majority in the Legislative Council; the members to be elected on the basis of direct representation and on a broad franchise.

(2) Complete control—Legislative, Administrative, and financial—over the transferred subjects.

(3) A minister or ministers to be chosen from amongst the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

(4) Withdrawal of one of the European members of the Executive Council with the result that the Executive Council will consist of 2 members, one being an Indian, with provision for appointment of additional members, to assist in the deliberations but having no power of vote.

(5) The Minister or Ministers and the Governor to decide all questions affecting transferred subjects while the Governor and the Executive Council to decide all questions regarding reserved subjects.

(6) Allocation of the provincial finances for the administration of reserved subjects the balance to be entirely at the disposal of the provincial Legislative Council.

(7) Limited powers of taxation and borrowing.

(8) Standing committee of the Legislative Council to be attached to the permanent departments and groups of departments.

(9) The formation of a Grand committee with a bare Government majority.

(10) Provision for application to the Government of India after 5 years for the transfer of any reserved subject or vice versa and to have the right of putting the salary of the minister on the estimates to be voted yearly with the result that if the salary is disallowed the minister will have to resign.

Local Self-Government i.e. complete popular control in local bodies to be at once instituted as far as possible.



### The Extremist View.

I have enumerated as shortly as I can the merits which the scheme possesses according to the first group of individuals. Now let us similarly enumerate the views which have been put forward by the second group of individuals who are for total rejection of the present proposals. They say that the Government of India instead of becoming amenable to greater popular control, in fact becomes not only more autocratic, but will be independent in certain directions of whatever control the existing constitution allows to the Legislative Council for, they say, the Government of India is to "preserve indisputable authority on matters adjudged by it to be essential in the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good Government." They further point out that the question of "sound financial administration" is included in this category of "peace, order and good Government." They say, the discretion in forming the opinion as to what matters are to be adjudged as essential or not is entirely vested in the Government of India; it is to be the sole judge. They further say, that the action of the Government of India is only subject to the control of the Secretary of State for India who again is responsible to the British Parliament which responsibility, however, has been found to be practically illusory in the past and will probably be so in future. It is further pointed out by this group that although there is to be an elected majority in the Legislative Assembly, the Assembly will be powerless to interfere with the Government of India as it will have no control over the budget: it will practically have no effective voice in even the case of private bills seeing that if non-official member's bill emerged from the Assembly, whether originally introduced there or not, in a form which the Government thought prejudicial to peace, order, and good Government, and on the Governor-General in council giving a certificate to this effect, the Bill would go, or go back to the Council of State and could only become law in the form finally given to it. Further they say that the plenary power vested in the Governor General to certify legislative measures and pass ordinances ignore resolutions arrived at by the Legislative Assembly as mere recommendations. So the apparently alternative feature of substantial elective majority appears on analysis to be illusory. The promise of an additional seat in the Executive Council, although at first sight appears to be a concession in favour of popular right, on examination appears to be of no value as the Governor-General is given power to increase the total number of members of his Executive Council and the existing statutory restrictions with regard to the number and qualifications of such members are being withdrawn. The result, they therefore say, as regards the Government of India, is that there is no concession

of responsible Government; on the contrary it becomes irresponsible in a more pronounced degree.

As regards the Provincial Government, they say, the scheme is cumbrous and unworkable and the suggestion that it takes a real step towards responsible Government is found on examination to be absolutely imaginary. They point out, the minister or ministers although nominated from amongst the elected members are not immediately made responsible to the Legislative Council. The appointment is held for the life of the Council and for a period of five years the minister is subject to the control only of the Governor. It is further pointed out, suppose the minister proposes a particular measure regarding some transferred subject which measure is in accord with the wishes of the Council; the Governor is given the power to override the wishes of the Council and as the minister does not hold office subject to the control of the elected majority he cannot be compelled to resign and no vote of censure can be passed. Suppose, on the other hand, that the minister proposes a measure in direct opposition to the wishes of the Council and gets the sanction of the Governor. The measure may be carried out and the Popular Assembly is powerless to have its voice felt. The Popular Assembly is to wait for five years and then to make an application to the Government of India to get its sanction to place the salary of the minister on the Estimates to be voted for yearly. If the Government of India does not entertain the application the Council must wait for another five years when there is to be the first periodic revision by a Statutory Commission. They further cogently point out that assuming that they are right in thinking that the Scheme provide that the resolution of the Legislative Council on the Budget, so far as it affects any of the transferred subjects, is final and conclusive, if the Legislative Council should refuse to vote supplies for these subjects to mark their sense of disapprobation of the conduct of an offending minister with regard to any measure opposed to their wishes, there will be deadlock, the very deadlock which has been found to be sufficient for rejecting the Congress-League Scheme. They further point out that the cumbrous machinery provided for administration which apparently seems to avoid the vice of Government by compartment in reality perpetuates that vice in a more pronounced manner. They say that the appeal to mutual goodwill, mutual forbearance, is really a pious wish and may appear to be a council of perfection but will not bear a practical working which will give rise to endless friction. They emphasise therefore that this is not a commencement of responsible Government, not an opportunity of a real trial of autonomy in the provinces, but at best a promise of a beginning at some indefinite time.

We now come to the third group of individuals for review.

These people say we will accept provided you amend and alter the scheme with regard to its details. I have been unable to find out what are the amendments and alterations they are seeking, because they say unless alterations and amendments are made the scheme does not meet the exigencies of the situation. I suppose therefore they still wish to adhere to the Congress League Scheme and if they do, their views are not essentially at variance with the second group of individuals.

One other point I wish to mention. So far as I understand the views of all three groups are at one on this point that there are no materials for discussing the important questions of franchise of electorate and other matters which are not provided by the scheme but which are to be determined by certain committees hereafter.

I have surveyed now the whole situation and it is for you to express your views. The practical way to discuss the various questions will probably be by going into a Committee of the whole House and at the Committee stage to discuss privately amongst the members, then meet again in open conference with the Resolutions arrived at at the Committee stage. I am only making the suggestion it is for you to decide the procedure.

Having presented for your consideration the three main points of view from which the Scheme can be judged as to the comparative merits of which you yourself will be able to decide better than I can do, I shall, with your permission, place before you my own views as I have been able to form them after a general survey of the Scheme for what they may be worth.

In the first place, I was one of the signatories to the Memorandum submitted by nineteen elected members of the Viceroy's Council in 1916. The proposals enumerated there were, as a matter of fact, adopted in the joint scheme of the Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow. I gave my support to it at the Lucknow Congress which I attended for the first time after the unfortunate Surat split, and the one thing that tempted me to Lucknow was this one question of Self-Government which was proposed to be the chief item of consideration at that session of the Congress. This scheme was ratified last year in Calcutta by both the Congress and the Muslim League and I lent my humble support to its ratification. You are all aware that there was a desire in certain quarters to amend that scheme in the light of the Announcement of 20th August. But while favouring such amendment in certain directions I felt it my duty along with my other friends to stand by the Congress League Scheme as representing our minimum demand and which we prayed should be accepted as the first stage in our progress towards responsible Government. This was specially pressed upon the attention of the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu in

the joint address of the Congress and Muslim League as well as in the address of the Home Rule League, to both of which I was a party, and the essential features of which I also pressed in private interviews I was granted. I adhere to those views. I find nothing either in the report or in the general situation in the country to lead me to alter or amend them.

It is impossible therefore for me to support the present scheme which is frankly and admittedly built upon the assumption of the latent incapacity of our people for any measure of real responsible Government without being dishonest to myself, without stultifying my considered opinion, and being false to the best interest of my country and the Empire as I understand them. The scheme in brief is simply unacceptable as it stands without such radical modifications as will be bound to change both its form and spirit and bring it in conformity with our scheme. It would be the merest affectation to deny that having entered into the present war with the avowed object of protecting and securing the freedom of small nationalities and advancing the principle of self-determination to all international relations and having invited the great American democracy to join this war for these objects, Great Britain could not help doing something to justify her present position in India. If India acclaims the present Scheme as it is she will enable British statesmen to proclaim to all the world that they have done for their own possessions what they are wanting the world to do. It would remove the only moral pressure to which British statesmanship would be amenable for the early introduction of full responsible government in India.

I don't approve of the methods by which Mr. Montagu's compromise has been reached. We want the bureaucracy to be eventually abolished. That is the meaning of responsible Government and the objective of British Policy. And it is ridiculous that the bureaucracy's view should be given the great importance that has been given to it in the final solution of the question. When slavery was abolished no one thought of consulting the masters of the slaves. If the masters had any prescriptive rights they were bought over. So, if the bureaucracy have any rights, they should be purchased over, as suggested by Sir W. Wedderburn some time ago.

So far as I can judge, three views, as I have already indicated, may be taken of the duty before us. First, this scheme should be summarily rejected as "unworthy for England to offer, and disgraceful for India to accept". Second, we may accept it with thanks, respectfully requesting in the meantime the consideration of our humble suggestion for its amendment; and thirdly, declare that the scheme, as it is, is wholly unacceptable, but may be made acceptable if certain fundamental changes are made in it on the lines of the Congress-League Scheme. The first is the counsel of courageous statesman-

ship ; the second of timid expediency ; and the third seeks to work up a compromise between the two. But whether we accept the first or the third of these views, we shall have in either case to take the matter up before the British democracy, and the one absolute condition of it is that we must by no means create any impression that the scheme, as it is, has either been accepted by or is likely to be acceptable to us. Whatever decisions we may arrive at, these fundamental considerations should always be clearly kept in view. There must be no hesitation or equivocations, no half-hearted assertions in your resolutions on this point.

One word before I resume my seat. As a matter of imperative necessity, I think we should demand the removal of all restrictions in the way of our representations going to England without further delay to place our demands before the British democracy with your mandate. I therefore suggest that before you dissolve you should nominate to the Special sessions of the Congress representatives from Bengal on the Congress deputation and also adopt necessary measures for giving effect to these Resolutions.

#### Proceedings.

On the motion of Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjea the whole House then went into Committee. There was a very heated debate on Mr. B. C. Pal's resolution :—"That the proposals as a whole are disappointing and unacceptable and do not meet the exigencies of the situation." Various amendments were moved by the members of the moderate party which were all rejected. The resolution was supported by Messrs B. Chakravarti, B. K. Lahiri, H. N. Dutt, C. R. Das and other leaders of the extreme party, while opposed by Messrs J. Choudhuri, J. N. Roy, B. C. Chatterje and others. The final resolution as amended by Mr. Abul Kasem whose motion was accepted by Mr. Pal stood as follows :—"That this Conference is of opinion that the scheme of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State is disappointing and unsatisfactory and does not present any real steps towards responsible Government. This was carried by almost the whole House only 10 voting against it.

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# The Madura Ramnad Conference,

27 July—1918.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

In the course of his address the President, **Mr. C. P. Rama Swami Aiyer** said:—

We are face to face with tremendous issues. The first and most predominant affecting the well-being and future of the whole Empire, is the long drawn out agony of the battle-fields of France. It is a matter of gratification and hope that the strong tide has now begun to turn, and that the offensive of the Allies has now replaced the wild rush of German attack. Whilst expressing our satisfaction at this posture of affairs is it not nevertheless felt and felt deeply, by every thinking Indian that the resources of this country were not husbanded and utilised as they easily might have been, and its man-power availed of in the interest of the Empire and of this land? It is impossible also to refrain from an expression of disappointment that in spite of the labours of the Delhi Conference and its recommendations, only a half-hearted and grudging response has been made to the demand that Indians should be placed in the matter of army recruitment, pay and promotion on the same level with every other British Subject. Even now it is not too late, by arousing properly the self-respect of Indian manhood, to enlist the material that lies to hand. If the artificial distinctions between martial and non-martial races are swept away, and the insatiable demands of red-tape are discarded for a moment and a well-thought out scheme of army reorganisation and enlistment with non-official help is inaugurated, I feel confident that the War will not and cannot last long. In this as in other topics franker co-operation can still be invited and with signal success. It is gratifying to notice that such a cautious statesman as Sir S. P. Sinha has stated that if India had been and industrially advanced and self-contained country, on a par with other great wealth-producing countries, she would have been the chief emporium of military stores and ammunition and ordnance, sufficient not only for her own requirements, but for export to the Far East and the Dominions.

### The Reform Scheme.

Equal in importance with this subject—and I say this deliberately—is the one on which the thoughts of this Conference will mostly converge. The War has been proclaimed to be a fight between the forces making for liberty and those making for despotism ; and it is true that it has given a great stimulus to Indian political hopes and aspirations. It is a task of supererogation to justify the concentration of attention on the matter of the constitutional reforms, when the framers of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report themselves admit that in spite and perhaps because of the War, there are strong reasons for not postponing the considerations of necessary political changes in this country. We are met to-day primarily to deliberate upon and express an opinion on the Report which has now been published by the Government, embodying the proposals for the reconstruction of the Government of India and of Provincial administrations. It is conceded that a new policy is inevitable and essential ; it is freely admitted, to go no further back, that the Minto-Morley Scheme was essentially at fault, based as it was on a very narrow franchise and indirect elections, and on a wrong and obsolete theory of administration. It is common ground that not only was the Executive not responsible to the Legislature, but that all powers were intended to remain and did remain with the Government. All legislation was really officialised, and the sphere of action of the Councils was circumscribed, and the Provincial settlements rendered it narrower in scope. In practice and certainly in theory, the local Governments were subject to no influence excepting that of the Government of India, and the Government of India in turn under no obligation save to the Secretary of State. It is impossible so better the language of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report when it summarises the old conditions in the following manner : "Parliamentary usages were initiated and adopted in the Councils up to the point where they caused the maximum of friction, but they stopped short at the point where by having a real sanction behind them, they begin to do good. Responsibility is the savour of popular government and that savour the present Councils wholly lack." The Report very wisely recognises that the Councils must have real and tangible work to do, and that there must further be a number of people entitled to call, and interested in calling, into account their representatives. Moreover, after the introduction of the Morley-Minto constitution, there was no large and comprehensive programme even of Local Self-Government undertaken, and there was no liberalising of financial administration. Both as to legislation and finance the Local and Imperial Governments were sometimes helpless and more often obstructive. In this state of things it is no wonder that throughout the country there arose a continuous

and gradually increasing demand for a thorough change in the foundation and structure of government ; but throughout, it occurred neither to the constituted authorities in England nor in India to recognise the new factors in the situation and to provide for them ; and the result, therefore, was that instead of the Government making and placing before the country a definite scheme for discussion and criticism, it became the duty of representative institutions in the land to meet together and evolve a scheme of their own. It has been said, and will be said to the end of time, that neither the Indian National Congress nor the Muslim League is representative of the people, and that the number of men who really ask for free institutions is very small. But if one service has been done by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, it is this, namely, that it has definitely and unequivocally recognised the status and position of these great political organisations, and the true meaning of the demands of the educated classes and the really popular and representative character of their creed. It has further pointed out that the only possible policy for India is to work towards the formation of a Self-Governing India, and that "the placid pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which Indian Nationhood will grow." At the risk of repeating what has often been stated, let me again emphasise the circumstance that when the momentous experiment was made of the grant of Self-Government to the Phillipines, the number of persons entitled to take part in the elections was painfully small in comparison with the total population. But the trial was nevertheless made and with undoubted efficacy, as indeed was the case with similar political experiments both in France and in England. Thus then it must be conceded on all hands that a departure must be made without reference to the trite arguments regarding the imperfect education, general and political, of the people of this country. This granted, the next problem to be faced is one of method and of means. The means adopted by the Congress-League Scheme were firstly to insist upon the effectiveness of popular representatives in the Indian and Provincial Legislative Council elected on a broad franchise, such effectiveness being secured by their being in a substantial majority, and by their being given freedom of legislation, subject to certain vetoes exercisable by the head of the Province, the Governor-General and the Crown. The next means adopted to secure the end in view was to confer on these Councils control over the finances of the country so as to utilise and develop the resources of the land. The Councils were, however, not given the power of turning the Executive out of office. The anticipated results of the Congress-League Scheme were : first, the maintenance, by a series of carefully framed provisions, of British suzerainty and military control ; and secondly, subject to this paramount considera-



tion, the application of the same liberalising ideas to the Government of India as to the Provincial Governments.

### **The Congress League Scheme.**

The great source of controversy in relation to the Congress-League Scheme was the technical non-responsibility of the Ministry or the Executive, to the Legislature. I am not going to reiterate the provisions tending in favour of the Legislature, so as to maintain its position against the Executive and the provisions tending in favour of the Executive itself; but the scheme was evolved in full consciousness of the fact that there were more solutions than one to the problem of Self-Government, and that Self-Government was neither synonymous with nor inseparable from responsible Government as understood in Great Britain. It was felt in fact that very often the complete and absolute responsibility of the Ministry to the Legislature tends to the production of crude measures, and it has often been pointed out that both in the United States and Switzerland, the plan suggested by the Congress has been worked with success. As I have often stated recently, the scheme was evolved with an eye to those who wanted to build on existing foundations, and there are many who are firmly convinced that the establishment of a permanent body, which carries on the administration of public affairs subject to the periodical and effective impinging on it of the Legislative will, is a system on the whole better adapted to the conditions of the country than what is called Responsible Government in the narrower sense. However this may be, in framing the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, those responsible for it have, as I have said elsewhere, recognised and conceded the following points made by the exponents of the Congress-League demands, namely :

1. Provincial autonomy and the exercising of it by popularly elected Legislative Councils.
2. Government by Executive Councils with a large Indian non-official element.
3. The unsatisfactory nature in many cases of nominations to such Executive Councils by the Governor.
4. The need for increasing the number of members in the Legislative Councils and the broadening of the franchise.
5. The representation of important minorities.
6. The separation of Provincial and Imperial finance, involving the provincialisation of judicial revenue, excise and land revenue and the consequent segregation of the Provincial from Imperial finances.

There is also no doubt that the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee and the transference of the Secretary of State's salary to the British Estimates are great political gains, as is the abolition of the racial bar in public services and their Indianisation,

however hedged round with restrictions in practical application as are these long over-due reforms. It must be remembered in this discussion that according to the new plan the Imperial Legislative Assembly has a two-thirds majority of elected members, which is undoubtedly an advance, though in the circumstances of the case and with a Second Chamber, one is entitled to ask that it should be predominantly elected. The enlargement of the powers of interpellation; the provision that rules of business may be amended by the Council itself, the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and the Parliamentary Commission contemplated by the proposals are all notable steps forward.

### **Dissent from Congress League Scheme,**

The Report dissents from the Congress-League Scheme on the following points : It insists on removing the bar to the appointment of members of the Indian Civil Service to Governorships and Memberships of Councils. It does not favour the view that the Indian members should be chosen by election, in spite of the circumstance that it is conceded that nominations in the past have not always given satisfaction. The Report would do away with the safeguards in relation to communal legislation. It insists that the Executive must be in a position to secure the money necessary for its essential purposes, irrespective of the Legislature, and it denies validity to resolutions, holding the view that the veto is an illusory safeguard. Summarising the position, the framers of the Report think that the essence of our project is "an Executive theoretically responsible to the Secretary of State but practically divided ; a Legislature responsible to the electorate, and a distribution of power which enables the Legislature to paralyse the Executive without having power to remove it". This criticism involves three objections. The answer to the first would be that the responsibility of the Executive is not necessarily dependent upon the method of recruitment. The answer to the second and to the third would be that the plan has been tried elsewhere and with comparative success, and that the irresponsibility of the Executive would, under the scheme, be limited as to time, and by the powers of the Legislature to ask questions, to raise debates, and carry resolutions. The power of the Executive is secured by the ultimate financial control vested in the Government in the introduction of money bills, and by other safeguards including veto and dissolution.

There is for the first time found in a State document the confession that European theories as to limits of State activity are inapplicable to the nascent resources and industries of this land. There is further the recognition of the position that the Government

must realise its responsibility for fostering industrial progress and technical development, though, unfortunately, the importance of deciding the Indian tariff policy with sole regard to India's requirements and future has been minimised. To review the position it might be said : in the main, the Report is, in spite of the injustice done by it to Indian political instincts as manifested in the past, a sympathetic summary of the present necessities and an adequate *résumé* of the inadequacy to acknowledge that those who have signed the Report have been obviously and distinctly actuated by a real desire to achieve Responsible Government by stages. But whilst the Report is entitled to this tribute, it at the same time, as I have said elsewhere, proceeds on the fundamental position that careful mentorship and periodical stock-taking ought to be the essential future programme. The Report affirms that political capacity can only come through the exercise of political responsibility. But the bestowal of such responsibility has not proceeded on the footing of creating initiative, political vigour and practical energy. Respect for what is supposed to be instantly practicable has in the proposals, outweighed most other considerations. In this state of things, I conceive it to be our duty and indeed the proposals themselves have invited the exercise of it, to point out how and in what respects the Scheme as framed fails to give effect to the principles which underlie the Congress-League Scheme, and which are, as a matter of fact, practically conceded to be valid in the Report under consideration. I incline very strongly to the view that the imaginary fears and threats of imminent catastrophes, held out by some of our political antagonists, must have been responsible for the present shape of the proposals. I also venture to doubt whether the declaration of August 20th involves necessarily the introduction in a truncated form of a Ministry responsible in the British sense to the Legislature. The net result of the proposals is that the Government of India is practically left untouched, and the introduction of the Council of State and the powers vested in it of independent action and the certifying powers of the Governor-General make of the popular Legislative Assembly a body whose powers in theory are non-existent, though in practice it may exercise some influence or persuasion. Moreover, there are no stages fixed for the liberalising of the Government of India, and the Commission of Enquiry is given no specific mandate. There is a total absence of any indication of any automatic change in this sphere.

So far as regards the Government of India, the Legislative Assembly has, no doubt, a majority of elected members ; but even assuming for argument's sake that the Council of State has a liberal constitution for a Second Chamber, yet it must not be forgotten that

the powers exercisable by the Council of State are such that the Popular Assembly may easily be reduced to a cipher. The consciousness of power is often the best means of securing its proper exercise, and in fact, as has been rightly pointed out by the Honourable Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, whilst the authors of the Report condemn the Morley-Minto reforms for the attitude of irresponsible criticism introduced by them, the same Report insists on the authority of the Government of India remaining indisputable, while the Legislative Councils are to be given merely greater opportunities of "influencing" the Government. The large powers vested in the Governor-General in Council by reason of the certificate procedure are such that whatever the opinion of public representatives may be, the Supreme Government can carry out any measures. I agree with those who believe and advocate the view that the import of the announcement of His Majesty's Government must be that an advance should be made simultaneously in the Provincial and in the Supreme Governments.

#### **Fiscal Autonomy.**

Above all, it must be remembered that the industrial and economic conditions of the world in the immediate future are likely to be such that this land has no chance in the struggle for existence, unless allowed to regulate her fiscal policy with exclusive advertance to her own interests. Fiscal independence is a matter of vital moment and of all-absorbing interest to us, and it would be impossible with a sense of equanimity to commit our future to the tender mercies of forthcoming Imperial Tariff Conferences. Fiscal autonomy is not only an advantage but, to the minds of most thinkers on the subject, is a condition precedent to the economic existence of our people. The proposals therefore have been deeply disappointing in so far as they do not concede this all-important right to India.

#### **What is our Duty ?**

This being so, what is our duty ? There are those who say, and with considerable logic, that a scheme not based nor developed on the lines of the demands formulated by ourselves and proclaimed as our irreducible minimum must be rejected *in toto*. On the other hand, there are others who would somewhat facilely accept the assurance that periodical Commissions would remedy any evils that may be found at present, and that as a first step towards the fulfilment of the promise contained in the announcement, the present Scheme may be accepted. In coming to a decision on the point, confronted as we are with these two views, it seems to me that on the one hand, we must bear in mind that the Report itself in its present form has

obtained the support of tried public workers and sympathetic students of Indian conditions and is put forward with the assent and approval of the Viceroy's Council (including in it that unflinching patriot, Sir Sankaran Nair), of the members of the Secretary of State's Council, and of the members of the Montagu deputation. It has secured the benediction of the British Congress Committee, and is being advocated here and in England and by men of weight and position, though not always in a spirit of conciliation and good temper. The ignorance of the British Democracy as to Indian conditions, and the attitude of the British Press and of men like Commander Wedgwood, are also matters to be earnestly reflected upon, especially as we are now unable to influence English opinion. On the other hand, it would be folly to forget that the Scheme itself is put forward only tentatively, and that suggestions and criticisms are invited, and also that nothing has happened to modify or weaken our sense of the imminent and urgent necessity for a reorganisation of our political institutions, and for an insistence, subject no doubt to safeguards, on the great and vital principles of the adequate representation of the people at large in Legislative Councils to which the Executive must be fairly and directly subordinate in legislation and in the control of finance. In this state of things and if we are to act as practical men, it seems to me to be clear that the courses open to us would be threefold. (1) To insist on the Congress-League Scheme, adding to it such features as may to us appear desirable, and modifying it in such respects as may appear to us expedient, on the basis of the criticisms levelled against it from the time of its inception. (2) The evolution of a new Scheme altogether. (3) The agitation for the modification of the proposals now presented for criticism, so as to embody in them those ideals which are to us essential, and also so as to eliminate from these proposals features which seem calculated to produce friction or retard political growth. The second proposal, can, for various considerations, be dismissed *in limine*, as not being within the range of practical politics; and as between the first and the third, I feel that the difference is in reality more verbal than practical, and I myself incline, in all humility, to the view that in order to enlist all available forces in our favour and to ensure success, we should take as the frame-work the proposals now presented to us, and work into them provisions which will inevitably secure the ends that we all have at heart, bearing in mind that the development of our political institutions and the realisation of our hopes must be placed beyond the control, and not made subject to the good opinion or sympathy, of the permanent officials. In this view therefore I would urge with all respect that we should focus our energy on an agitation to secure the vital changes that are needed. So to proceed would, we hope, make it impossible for any one

to brush aside our efforts as dictated by merely idealistic insistence on the virtues of our own programme, and would also not divert attention to matters of detail and frame-work. If such a line of action is taken, I feel fairly confident that the unfortunate cleavages of opinion, which have a tendency to be manifested at all critical moments of our history, will tend to disappear, and all parties in the country will sink small differences and unite in a demand which will be insistent and urgent that the constitution of this land may be so altered as to make a beginning in the direction of Self-Government and self-determination. Tentatively, and more as the basis of discussion than as any final verdict upon a question beset with innumerable difficulties, I have ventured to suggest certain modification in the Government proposals which, if granted, would secure in the main the objects we have in view. The final decision will, of necessity, rest on the Special Congress and the Session of the Muslim League, on whose labours the political and economic future of the land will greatly depend, and whose unanimity and harmony are therefore matters of the greatest moment. The task of this and like Conferences will be to prepare the ground for the work to be done by the Congress and League, and make all possible contributions in the shape of fresh points of view and solutions. Our attitude, I would say, will be that we are not satisfied with the proposals now before us, and that as they stand they will not achieve their avowed object, and the least that can be done to compass the ends suggested by the announcement in Parliament is to modify them on the lines suggested by us.

#### **The Time Limit.**

I would in the first place, ask that a time limit should be fixed within which full Responsible Government should be realised in India, and would endeavour to shorten the intermediate period between the successive stages. I would next plead that the scheme wrongly perpetuates the present unequal treatment of the various Provinces, and the unfair adjustment regarding them with respect to revenue and expenditure, both between the Imperial and Provincial Governments on the one hand and the various Provinces on the other. No revision is possible under the proposals until the next Committee meets after ten years. We in this Presidency, are very hard hit by the arrangement in this matter, and we must press the view that an equitable re-adjustment should be effected.

I would, next restrict the certificate of the Governor-General solely to those cases where the interests of peace and tranquility require it. This means that the certificate of the Governor-General in Council should have no application excepting as to measures which directly bear upon the peace and order of the country, and all

other departments would be within the plenary jurisdiction of the popular Legislature. If this is granted, the Council of State would cease to be the final arbiter in legislative matters. I would next advocate that the Indian Legislative Assembly should have control over Customs and Tariffs, thus making the fiscal autonomy of India a *fait accompli*. I will also plead for the voting on the budget by the legislature itself, excepting as to the heads relating to army and navy. In the Executive Council of the Viceroy, I would insist on at least three members being Indians. With regard to Provinces, I would plead that if the system of reserved and transferred subjects should be introduced at all, the former should be confined to those departments on which the safety of the country and its peace depend, and that it should be provided that complete provincial autonomy should be created, and the reserved subjects should be transferred, in five years.

He then referred to a memorandum which he has prepared on the Montford Report, and strongly objected to the Grand Committee procedure which, he said, is sure to produce deadlocks. He would also strongly deprecate the appointment of Ministers without portfolio. As regards the view often advanced that the Congress League Scheme was the irreducible minimum, he said that in matters of of this kind compromises are not only allowable, but are expedient.

As has been often pointed out, the main defect in the new proposals is their disinclination to vest real responsibility and power in the representatives of the people. Let us strive to bring about a change in this attitude, and let us so define and formulate our demands that they may be accepted as practical and constructive suggestions. But these suggestions are all made only and frankly as a *pis aller* and as a basis for compromise and concerted National action. If our opponents will not admit our principles, of course there will be no need for any adjustment in our view point. It may be, as Sir N. G. Chandavarkar states, that the history of constitutions is a bundle of seeming inconsistencies, but this is no reason why an inconsistent or contradictory position should be accepted without a corresponding advantage.

If, in the spirit sought to be indicated above, all public men in this country discuss and seek to modify these proposals, we shall perhaps hear less of the formation of new Leagues and abstention from the Congress, and the casting of undignified reproaches upon weighty organisations and the bandying of uncomplimentary remarks. Surely the time has gone by when personal equations ought to count, and in the face of the organised opposition of our relentless enemies in England, the tremendous resources and influence at the disposal of bodies like the Indo-British Association, and the croakings of the reactionaries amongst us, official and non-official, is there a task-

more urgent than the closing of our ranks, and the practical consciousness of that solidarity of thought and feeling which really underlies our political work in spite of superficial and, I may add, temperamental differences?

He then referred to the Resolutions of the Govt. of India on Local Self-Govt which, he deplored, are either too late or premature. Large and comprehensive plans on these matters he urged, should not be inaugurated while new schemes of constitutional reforms are on the anvil.

The same remarks more or less apply to the policy indicated in the proposals in regard to education, as to which it is stated that it is part of the political advance that educational policy should be transferred into Indian hands. In spite of this statement, no practical suggestions have been made for handing over the control of education to us, and such pious aspirations are often an excuse for stagnation unless they crystallise into definite legislative programmes.

### **The Rowlatt Report.**

Before concluding, it will be my duty to advert briefly to the Report of the Rowlatt Committee. The Committee, no doubt, finds that the revolutionary movement has been confined to certain particular areas; but as to its recommendations of measures, punitive and preventive, there will be unanimity of opinion that it goes far beyond the necessities of the situation, even as presented by the Report itself, and that the changes of substantive law suggested by it are drastic and uncalled-for, and that the so-called preventive emergency measures and the powers to be assumed by the Government there under are such as will in the present condition of things tend to complicate instead of easing the situation. The inauguration of special legislation will only, in the opinion of many competent to speak on the matter, drive sedition underground. I purposely resist the temptation of refuting the inaccurate history and class hatred that underlie a portion of the Report.

There is one argument which is inevitably and perennially utilised in answer to all demands for a progressive policy, namely, that catastrophic changes are to be deprecated; but the truth must not be lost sight of that though familiarity is a great help, yet, in the language of Mill: "There are abundant instances in which the whole people have been eager for untried things. To kindle a desire for them is a necessary part of the preparation for political growth. To recommend and advocate a particular institution or a form of government and set its advantages in the strongest light is one of the modes, often the only mode, of bringing about the fitness for it."

And when all is said and done, is it not true that only the affirmation and courageous pursuit of a great ideal can help us in the search of a new life.



The Democracy of the future will involve association instead of hatred, and will be based on a fresh philosophy of existence, which to many appears to be the only means of regeneration vouchsafed to us. Mere opposition, mere criticism, kills but does not give life, and in the words of Mazzini when "opposition declares a principle to be dead it takes its seat upon the dead body and stirs no further. Only a new ideal can thrust the corpse aside, and move forward in its quest for the *vita nuova*."

So let those who have pledged themselves to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government remember, in the language of John Morley, when he was the philosopher and before he became a cabinet minister, that the time has always come, and the season is never unripe, not only for the announcement of the fruitful idea but for its realisation. Truth, to quote Bacon, is the daughter of time. To compromise with principle and act as if the truth were not evident is to extinguish beginnings. On our part let us remember that in political as in other matters the question is often not relevant whether we can make others agree with us. We can only get them to do so, if it be possible on any terms, by persistency in our principles; history that chronicles success often embody the history of strenuous minorities.

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# Madras Provincial Conference.

*Special Session—3 Aug. 1918.*

## Mrs. Besant's Speech.

Mrs Besant, chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates referred to the Reforms in the following words.—

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are a slow eighteenth century coach, lumbering along the highroad suitable enough, perhaps, if they had then been introduced, for the slow days of a bye-gone century; but we are in a century of swift mail trains and aeroplanes, and we must travel swiftly if we are not to be left hopelessly in the rear. The war, we may hope, is not going to last even to the end of the first of the proposed twelve year's stage; yet we are told that the Reforms are not to "be taken as implying that there can be established by that time complete Responsible Government in the Provinces" (para 263 Report). As to the Government of India, "the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go" continues "the use of the special machinery of Autocracy", confining it "to essential cases" of which the Autocracy is to be the judge; leaves to that Autocracy the power to carry measures against the will of the Legislative Assembly "in the discharge of its *continuing responsibility* for the good Government of the land"; does "not offer responsibility to elected members of the Legislative Assembly"; defines "the sphere in which the Government will defer to the wishes of the elected members not by specific directions in a schedule, as we have done in the Provinces, but by a general prescription *which we leave the Government to interpret*" (para 289 Report). That is to say, the sphere is not defined; it would have been simpler and franker to have said so; but the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme prefers to drape Autocracy with decent and ample garment of words, which will, it hopes, delude the people into blindness to the hideous object beneath the drapery. Put into a sentence, this Scheme sees India, in the distant future, as a group of separate autonomous States, under the yoke of a foreign Autocracy, which is the sole judge of its own powers. Over against that sad vision of a conglomerate of separate and therefore powerless States, under a central foreign Autocracy—the only really free thing in the future India—we, the Nationalists, set up the splendid vision of a Free Nation, self-ruling, one and indivisible, with Provin-

ces as administrative units, which no more destroy her unity than districts destroy the unity of the Province, standing out as one Indian Nation among the other Nations of the world, shaping her own destiny, living her own life, our Bharatavarsha, our Bharatamata, our glorious Motherland.

It will be seen that the two visions are incompatible. Let India choose which she will. The choice must be made now, for we stand at the parting of the ways. Accept the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme as it is, and you enter on the road which you cannot escape from, which leads to the line beyond which its authors cannot go, a perpetual slavery which can only be broken by Revolution. Introduce into it the essential features of the Congress League Scheme, as a first short step, which will give you the power to take your other steps as swiftly as you please to Self-Government, accepting the time limit rendered necessary by the war, and you enter on the road which leads to the Nationalist vision.

I endorse fully the truth pointed out by my friend and co-worker Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, of the need of the clear cold light of the Intellect, that we may see our way ; and I add, what he, I am sure, would also endorse fully, that the Intellect must be illuminated by the high Emotion of Patriotism, which impels to Action along the road chosen by the Intellect—for Intellect, Emotion, Action, are the inseparable constituents of human Consciousness. I say to each one of you, therefore, Sons and Daughters of India, in the words of Goethe,

### Choose Well.

You will decide, in your deliberations, which are the features of the Congress-League Scheme that you deem it essential to insist on as part of the Bill now drafting, which is to be laid before Parliament. It is better to concentrate on a few salient points, which, if carried, will in themselves eliminate the remaining most objectionable features, than to scatter our forces over a number of minor details. From my own standpoint, the following are the essentials of the Congress League Scheme which must be included in the Bill ; I care little for the wording if we secure the facts.

1. Enlarged Legislative Councils, on broad franchise, with 4-5 (or substantial) majority of elected members. Muhammedan proportion as detailed in the Joint Scheme.

2. Control over budget, entailing subordination of Executive to Legislature, and giving fiscal autonomy.

Our Scheme reserved to the Indian Government sole control over Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Political Relations, the making of War and Peace, and the entering into Treaties, thus admitting the principle of reserved subjects ; but the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme has extended it most unreasonably.

The first demand is given in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, except as regards the proportion of Muhammadans to be elected, and the granting of special electorates in all Provinces. On these points we must stand by our Muhammadan brethren as agreed. It is vital to the Muhammadans to support the Congress in this, as the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme gives them less than was agreed to in the Congress League Scheme.

The second gives fiscal autonomy a "sine qua non." Without this the Executive is supreme, with it the Legislature. As a concession we might agree that in the Provinces a fixed sum, calculated on the average expenditure of five years before the War on police, law and justice, should be at the disposal of the Executive and out-side the control of the Legislature for the lifetime of the first Legislative Council, and that these should be reserved to the Executive. It is also arranged in both Schemes, that a fixed amount from provincial revenues shall be allocated to the Government of India, and that the Local and Indian Legislative Councils and Assembly shall control respectively Provincial and Indian revenues and expenditure, there being no divided heads of revenue.

Thus, in the Provinces, all the Departments, except law, police and justice, should be placed in the hands of Ministers who should be chosen by the Governor-in-Council from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and they should be irremovable, as in the Congress-League Scheme, for the lifetime of the Council. The Legislature would control the whole Budget except the two fixed allocations, and under these circumstances the Grand Committees would have nothing to do and would disappear. The Governor might advise with his Ministers, but not control them.

The third is granted in the Provincial Councils, but the demand that the Indian half should be elected is refused. I think we might let that go, if all subjects except law, police and justice are in the hands of elected members of the Council, in whom control of the budget is vested, and if these also come into the hands of the Legislature automatically, at the end of five years, making Provincial Autonomy complete.

In the Indian Government, half the Executive should be Indian, and if the work be heavy, one or more Ministers might be added from the elected members of the Assembly. Here also a fixed sum, calculated as before, should be allocated for the subjects reserved in the Congress-League Scheme; in addition we may grant to the Executive Council, half Indian, the care of peace, tranquillity and the safety of the country, seeing that the Army is concerned with these. I say "safety of the country" instead of "good government," because the latter phrase, like the "public interests," may be stretched to include anything.

ces as a district Indian Budget must be under the control of the Assembly, and Indian Negards the fixed sum granted, and Customs, Tariff and Excise must be specially retained in its hands, lest any attempt should be made to bring these within peace, tranquillity and safety, in view of the resistance of the non-official European community to the necessary re-arranging of Indian finance with a view to Indian interests.

One point of great importance must be remembered, that no power must be transferred from Parliament and the Secretary of State for India to the Indian Government, nor to the Provincial Governments, until the latter are responsible to the electorates.

With the powers thus secured, we might leave to the Councils aided by strenuous outside agitation and the inevitable hurrying of events, the gaining of complete Self-Government in the Reconstruction of the Commonwealth after the War. But for this, we must distinctly declare that we do not accept the Bill as it stands, and that even with the changes proposed we regard it as unsatisfactory, since it deals only with the first short step, absolutely negates the National Autonomy we claim, and states, in so many words, that the "machinery of Autocracy" is not to be abolished but merely to be restricted in its area. We declare once more that we will not sell our birthright of National freedom for this mess of autocratic pottage, with its crumbs of partial local liberty floating in it. The world is tired of Autocracy, and is to be made fit, in India as elsewhere, "for free men to live in." Great Britain alone cannot be allowed to perpetuate it within her Empire and until it is abolished here, as elsewhere, India will remain in a state of unrest.

I conclude by asking you to survey as a whole the policy of Great Britain in regard to the Reforms.

On August 20th, 1917, she proclaimed, as the goal of her policy, the establishment of "Responsible Government in India." The Report establishes the continuance of the "machinery of Autocracy" in India, with shreds and patches of local freedom, liable indefinitely at Great Britain's choice, to extension, retraction, and uncertainty of attainment without any limit of time. The Reforms were to be published for discussion in Great Britain and India. To make discussion one-sided in Great Britain the Government permits unbridled license of misrepresentation to Lord Sydenham and his anti-British Association, but stops Indian Deputations, over-riding the Viceroy: it then circulates the Report, with a mass of non-historical matter giving the bureaucratic view of India when the British came to it, making no reference to the success of indigenous systems in building up the wealth and prosperity, trade and commerce, which invited European adventurers to overrun the country, divert huge portions of its wealth to Great Britain, giving an impulse to the trade of the

latter and most remunerative markets for its products and the investment of its capital. The 'Report, thus ensures the creation of an entirely unhistorical view of India in the minds of the British public preparing it to accept utterly inadequate reforms as generous boons to a child-people, requiring education and training at the hands of responsible and benevolent British officials, who yet, even after a hundred and seventy years, have only brought it to the condition of a promising child, who would fall and kill itself if released from its nurses' leading-strings. This charge, entrusted to Britain by Providence—which apparently left India to itself for more than five thousand years of not unsuccessful self-management, judging by its results—entails a perpetual tutelage within the lines of the principles of the authors of the "Report." The British Press, thus tutored, bursts out into a chorus of approval of Reforms that might be good for the child-people so cleverly described, but are absolutely absurd when offered to an ancient and highly civilised Nation. To prevent any correction of the distorted picture, not only are Indian deputations stopped, but prominent Indians going on urgent private affairs are forbidden to speak on politics; Indian papers are confiscated on their way to England; Indian articles to the English papers share the same fate—only, of course, if patriotic; Anglo-Indian papers circulate freely. Cables to England are stopped or long delayed. Reuter suppresses the news about the Indian meetings and protests, but cables the anti-Indian. Meanwhile in India, despite all the encouragement it will give to the enemy, a Report of a Sedition Commission is published, showing wide-spread conspiracies, and proposing increased and permanent coercive measures in order to crush them, forgetful that Britain has regarded such conspiracies in other countries as proofs of tyranny, and has counselled those countries to destroy conspiracy by freedom, not by increased coercion, since there was only one end to the latter course.

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## The Presidential Address.

(By Mr. C. Vijayraghavachariar)

England was entitled to the eternal gratitude of India for recognition of India's right to responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire, but he protested against the claim that the British Government and the Government here in India should be sole judges of the time and measure of necessary steps to be taken in view to reach a complete system of responsible government, which he regarded as the root cause of the very unsatisfactory and disquieting nature of the reform proposals. The placing of the Secretary of State's salary on English estimates was not a matter for over-jubilation. As a constitutional measure it would depend upon circumstances whether this reform would be for our benefit.

As regards the Government of India he feared that the attempt to introduce Indian princes to assist the Government of India would be viewed almost universally as tending gradually to reduce them to the level of nobles of the court. He considered the placing of improved Indian states in direct political relation with the Government of India as a desirable change not on the ground assigned viz., to release them from future provincial democratised Governments but on the ground that it indicated grant of greater freedom and prestige to the Princes. The institution of the Council of State is an adroit contrivance to keep the present power of the bureaucracy in lawmaking under a mask and he thought the power of the Viceroy and the Governor to dissolve the legislative assembly as a departure from all constitutional laws and conventions applicable to every responsible Government. To keep the Government of India as absolute as ever and to arm the Governor General with this extraordinary power to control the legislature smacks of Germanism and is the most disquieting feature of the new proposals.

As regards changes in the provincial Governments he criticised the proposal making ministers responsible to the electorate and not to the legislature as a vital departure from constitutional principles and conventions pertaining to responsible Government. The financial power given to provincial councils is delusive and calculated to bring them into conflict with the people. The system is unworkable. It would injure our interest and postpone the realisation of our national aims to the Greek calends. The presumed incapacity of

the peasantry and workmen of India was greatly exaggerated and the reflection that masses needed protection from the officials against the educated Indians was groundless and unmerited. The achievement of responsible Government by India would also enable India to create one of the most efficient and splendid armies in the world.

Referring to the Rowlatt report he said : No deep study of the material of the report is necessary to record our emphatic opinion that the recommendations made to more effectively deal with sedition and conspiracy are drastic and more calculated to add to the difficulties of Government than to lessen them. He affirmed that the proposed reforms gave them absolutely no power nor increase of influence to get rid of existing laws which were retrogressive and discriminatory, nor to prevent enactment of similar laws.

In conclusion he said : "you would ask me what exactly should be our attitude at this juncture. To my mind it is easy to make up our minds. We need part of the scheme and we shall not reject the whole of it. It will stand in the important matters : (1) Reform of the Government of India in England. (2) Indianisation of Services, and (3) further advance of local self-government. But on three essential points we should absolutely refuse to accept the proposals adumbrated in the scheme before us : (1) Compartmental administration by way of preparation in view to start responsible Government at the end of unknown and far off cycles ; (2) Modification in view in entire responsible government or something like it in the provinces, without at the same time liberalising the machinery of the Central Government and finally, (3) Prohibition of our legislatures to have effective voice in the making of laws within the highly elastic formulas of "peace, order, good Government and sound financial administration." He then suggested that the recognition and guarantee of our natural and fundamental rights should find place in the instrument of coming constitution, whatever its nature and scope might be. Indians, he said, had been tried in the performance of various government functions and nowhere found wanting. He asked if Indians in the performance of their great and glorious functions have not been found to rise fully equal to the task demanded of them ? Where is the incongruity in justice and validity of our demand that we should be tried, notwithstanding previous ill preparation, in the art of true government of our own country ?

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# U. P. Provincial Conference.

*Special Session—11 Aug. 1918.*

The President, Mr. Preonath Banerjee, in the course of a lengthy address, said the steps advocated in the report towards responsible Government were extremely few and halting, hedged in by checks and counterchecks at each and every step. One failed to find in the report any promise that the Government of India would ever be responsible to the people in the provinces. The question of responsible Government was vague and casual. In this land of examinations they were burdened with further examinations. Upon their legislative bodies and ministers passing examinations successfully five years after would depend whether their ministers in provincial Governments would be allowed to retain even transferred subjects or not, or whether any reserved subjects were to be transferred to them. Then another examination would take place ten years after of four Commissioners to report if it would be possible to establish complete responsible government in any province or provinces, or how far it would be possible to approximate it to others, to advise on continued reservation of any departments for transfer of which to popular control it had been proved to their satisfaction that time had not yet come to recommend it and to make any recommendations for working of responsible government or improvement of constitutional machinery which experience of the system in operations might show to be desirable. Even that was not assured. No explanations were to be accepted, on the contrary there was the nemesis always staring them of being plucked examinees and deprived of such powers as had been given.

He then reviewed the reform proposals at some length and said no control over the Government of India was given to the people and there was no prospect of anything like it being given in the near future. The proposed creation of the Council of State as an annexe to the Second Chamber was highly undesirable if not mischievous. It was really meant to be a sort of a mere machine of the Government of India to control and supersede the legislature containing elected majority, and then the proposed creation of the Privy Council in India would be a superfluity unless it was meant to be a human Pinjrapole ! In provincial Governments there was no doubt whatever that some advance was proposed towards some form of responsible government but unless checks and counterchecks and threat

of dissolution by the Governor be removed popular control would not be real but only a delusion.

Deploring the lack of the fiscal reform and any proposal regarding industrial education, the president concluded his remarks by appealing to his countrymen not to quarrel among themselves at this critical time but to close their ranks and with one voice ask what they thought was necessary for full and proper development of their motherland, and said no power would then be able to resist their united demands.

## Behar Provincial Conference.

### *Special Session.—Bankipore, Aug. 5, 1918.*

The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Huq in his presidential address observed that the authors of the scheme had made a genuine and honest effort to understand the huge problem of Indian reforms from all possible points of view and honestly tried to solve them. He dissented from those who thought the scheme should be rejected *in toto* because they had not got what they had asked for, and after comparing the Congress League and the Montagu scheme he declared that a good working scheme could be evolved if the essential features of the former were engrafted on the latter.

He welcomed the proposed select committee of the House of Commons and demanded that the Under Secretary of State for India should be an Indian. Referring to the reforms in the Government of India, he strongly expressed himself against the duality in the Central Government and for half the number of members of the executive council to be Indians and did not consider bicameral system of Government to be sound. On an analysis of the proposals of reform in the provincial Government he thought it obvious that it can not be said that a substantial step towards responsible Government had been taken though arrangements had been made to prepare the Indians for responsible Government. He welcomed the commission of enquiry after five years, and said that it would be a wholesome check on the extravagance of the Government in India and their maladministration, if any.

# Moderate Conference.

*Calcutta, August 30, 1919.*

At the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, there was a large gathering of the Bengal Moderates who met to consider the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Proposals. Almost all the noblemen of Bengal, besides rich merchants and professional men, were present. **Raja Peary Mohan Mukherji** who presided said in the course of his address :—

To those who have studied the history of British Indian administration, the attitude of England in regard to Indian aspirations and demands has always appeared to be one of sympathy and a desire to help future developments. The sentence "We are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing" occurs in several places in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which we have met to consider. There is ample evidence of the conviction of the framers of the Report that popular rule is a greater thing than rule by officials, and of their inclination to help the aspirations of a politically awakened people. Instead, therefore, of encountering anything like hostility we can count upon the whole-hearted sympathy and sincere co-operation of the English people and of the Government in regard to the measures foreshadowed in the Report. Those measures have already received the approval of the British House of Commons. A great endeavour has been made towards giving India a large measure of self-government and towards leading her safely on the path to democracy and representative government. We could do no better than confide in the wisdom of the two eminent statesmen who have framed the Report. They have taken care not to grant political institutions to the people of India at so rapid a pace as England has forced political ideas upon them. The difficulties in the way of giving the people of India a full measure of responsible government are not inconsiderable. There are in India eighty races, speaking as many different languages and following more than a hundred different forms of religion. Among them there is no unity and hardly any solidarity. Many of the peoples are as much alien to one another as the English are to them. India is not now what it was a century ago. Even dumb people have begun to speak, and even the Namasudra classes are vigorously asserting their rights. The unifying power of the English language is a delusion. Even in the West the English language is being

ousted by local vernaculars. Thoughtful men naturally dread the disasters which follow a period of transition from official to popular rule, and welcome the scheme embodied in the Report as a substantial advance towards self-government full of future promise and hope. We should bear in mind that the real reform of the Government of a country and the welfare of her people depend not so much upon the form of the administration as on the gradual increase of self-governing functions. It has been rightly observed in the Report that "the successful working of popular Government rests not so much on statutes and written constitutions as on the gradual building up of conventions, customs and traditions". Now that a large measure of administrative power will be placed in our hands, let us, in the exercise of those powers, so conduct ourselves as to make the vast unutilised natural resources of India, her inexhaustible resource of cheap labour, and the skilled industry of some of her races, a means for adding to the happiness and prosperity of our countrymen.

#### Mr. Banerjea on the Proposals.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee moved the following resolution :—

"This meeting expresses its grateful thanks to H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the proposals formulated by them regarding Indian Constitutional Reforms in terms of the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament on the 20th of August, 1917. This meeting recognises them as a distinct advance upon the existing state of affairs and a substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government, and welcomes the scheme in its general principles and outlines, subject to modifications in the light of such suggestions and criticisms as may be received from public bodies."

Mr. Banerjea said that the resolution consisted of two parts. Firstly they had been asked to record their expression of thanks and gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for the Reform Proposals formulated by them, and secondly they had been asked to state their reasons for this expression of gratitude. They were grateful because the scheme recommended a distinct advance upon the existing state of things, and constituted a substantial step towards the progressive realisation of self-government. They had also introduced an important proviso in the resolution when they said that they welcomed the scheme subject to modifications in the light of such criticisms and suggestions as might be received from public bodies. The framers of the scheme themselves wanted public suggestions. Let not the

impression go forth that they were assembled there as representatives of Bengal only to sing the praise of the Government. They were there to point out the good points in the scheme and also to suggest improvements.

Mr. Banerjea then said that he would point out one by one those good points in the scheme which enabled him to say that it was a distinct advance upon the existing state of affairs. The scheme recommended that every province in India should have a Governor and a Council. At present such Governments existed only in the three major provinces, Bengal, Bombay and Madras and in Behar there was a compromise between a Lieutenant-Governor and an Executive Council. The Report said that every province must have a Governor, which meant that Government by one civilian would disappear. Then the Scheme recommended that Indians should be associated in the highest Executive Councils of the Governor. That was a demand which the Congress and also the Muslim League had been putting forward. Next there was to be a complete division between Imperial and Provincial Finance. That demand they had been putting forward since 1890. In that year the late Mr. Ranade put forward the demand. In 1897 four Indians, including the speaker himself, gave evidence before the Welby Commission and all of them put forward that reform as an urgent one. Their voice was not heeded then, but now that reform had been recommended by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Was it not a matter of great advantage that there should be such a division? That meant that every province could receive an annual accession of large amounts of money. That boon would not only bring to Indians greater independence and power but would add pounds, shilling and pence to the provincial income. Then take the case of the Legislative Councils. The Report said that in all the provinces there should be substantial majority of elected members in the Legislative Council. The speaker could not say what would be the exact proportion of the majority, but he could guess. Considering that in the Imperial Council they would have a majority of two-thirds of elected members, in the Provincial Councils also they should have at least two-thirds of elected members, though the speaker expected that the number would be four-fifths. In the matter of law-making affecting education, sanitation, agriculture, etc. the Legislative Councils would have a supreme voice. In the Executive Council, too, there would be a predominance of Indians, It would consist of a Governor and some popular members. In Bengal they would have five Executive Council members, and the speaker thought he was not exaggerating when he said that in Bengal they would have three Indians in the Executive Council. So there too they would have a

*CONTINUED IN THE  
SUPPLEMENT*

**PART V**  
**CONGRESS & MUSLIM LEAGUE**  
**(PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS)**

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE  
**Indian National Congress**

*Bombay, Aug. 29 —1918.*

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**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.**

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

With history looking on us, our labors to-day may well strike sympathy in the hearts of those who have the refinement to feel the agony of a race that, conscious of its rights is struggling to realize them. The struggle is arduous, every step of it is laborious but our purpose is firm and our courage is enduring. We are earnest and we mean to achieve our object, and it is at such a moment that you have called me to a duty that is most responsible, most onerous..... This Special Session of the Congress is of exceptional importance and therefore of exceptional difficulty. Our task is burdensome for we have to discuss the proposed constitutional reforms as emanating from a Secretary of State and a Viceroy who, at least in their declarations, have not been wanting in a spirit of sympathy towards Indian demands. Their frank acknowledgement of the justice of our claim to equal civil rights with the rest of the British Empire lend to their proposals a sincerity which it is difficult to question. But in a matter so grave as the laying of the foundation of our constitutional structure the duty of analysing and sifting the proposals outweighs all considerations of mere courtliness or thanksgiving. While acknowledging the high purpose of the British Cabinet in directing an investigation into the present Indian situation and in desiring to find a solution thereof and while rendering the fullest tribute of praise to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for the single-mindedness with which they have collaborated in formulating their proposals, we yet, as the persons most affected, have to examine the proposals on their merits. Reading their joint Report it will strike any observer that in the first portion of it—which I regard as a historical survey of events leading to the present situation—the illustrious authors have by their declarations, furnished strength to our demand for that charter of liberty for which we have been fighting for the third of a century through the Congress, in spite of much discouragement, at times attended with unseemly and indecent ridicule. When we read in the Report a passage such as this :



"We must remember too that the educated Indian has come to the front by hard work ; he has seized the education which we offered him because he first saw its advantages ; and it is he who has advocated and worked for political progress. All this stands to his credit. For the last thirty years he has developed in his Congress and latterly in the Muslim League, free-popular convocation which express his ideals. We owe him sympathy because he has conceived and pursued the idea of managing his affairs, an aim which no Englishman can fail to respect."

Our memory naturally goes back to the contemptuous phrase of Lord Dufferin's "microscopic minority", used in reference to the Congress when that noble Marquis was not in a mood to accord educated Indians a recognition. Time has justified us and to-day we stand on the principles of our demand where we did thirty-three years back.

The announcement of the 20th August 1917 declaring the policy of His Majesty's Government certifies to the correctness of our demand, and that our claim was not prematurely conceived is indirectly acknowledged in the Report in the following noteworthy passage :

"It is no longer sufficient to administer India ; it is necessary also to satisfy her political aspirations ; and because we were all too slow in taking cognizance of the changes that were occurring the task is all the heavier because there is lee-way to make up."

The Report is full of generous acknowledgments of our claim, and if acknowledgments alone could not merely gratify but satisfy us, the need for us to meet in this Congress would not exist. It is when we come to the proposals themselves that disappointment meets us. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy, it has to be admitted, have made their proposals with a genuine desire to ultimately secure for us the right of governing ourselves and determining our own future, but the proposals in themselves seem to be afraid of themselves and do not comprise any such real measure of reform as we had a right to expect. We realize the difficulty of their delicate task, placed as they have been between conflicting bureaucratic and Indian interests. The deficiencies of the proposals appear to me to be due not to any intentional omission of the essentials of what we should have, but to a spirit of compromise to secure the support of the bureaucrats. It, therefore, behoves us to consider the proposals in a spirit of sympathy and not of mere carping criticism. Now our criterion is the Congress-League Scheme and, if the proposals lack the essentials of that, we should with all the emphasis that we can command, make our protest ; but we must guard against a hasty rejection of the proposals. Opinion in the country is more or less divided on the subject of the acceptance or the rejection of the proposals. There is a small section of political thinkers that advocates a rejection of the proposal. I treat their views with respect, for their attitude of mind is based upon the political sagacity of not allowing a consent-

decree to be passed against them and upon the political philosophy that national rights have to be won and not merely to be received as gifts. Underlying their principle of rejection is the desire to continue the struggle for freedom and every one will admit that the severer the struggle the greater the vigor of the race. On the other hand there is another class of our political thinkers that stands for the acceptance of the proposals with the proviso, that the proposals, as they stand, certainly do not embody the essentials of our demand and are not calculated to satisfy our just aspirations. There seems to me, however, no material difference between those that advise rejection and those that advise acceptance, for the common feature of both is to continue the struggle till our rights are won. In politics as in war, no combat but victory is the object to be pursued and where ground is yielded, not to take it would be to abandon what you have won.

#### **The Proposals a disappointment.**

The proposals have placed us under a great disappointment, for though the essentials of our demand are acknowledged in theory, they have not been conceded in substance. Under disappointment our mind would naturally be prone to be occupied with the evil that disquiets it, but true wisdom lies in calmly finding out the means to remove the evil. The history of our Congress is a history of patient constitutional struggle. The traditions that we of the present generation have inherited from those that founded and established this great national organisation are of perseverance in the face of even tremendous opposition and to-day it stands acknowledged as the champion of the rights of the Indian people. Those traditions are dear to us and we cherish them. We know no extremists and we know no moderates, names that have been devised by our enemies to divide us. We know only one cause and we have only one purpose in view. Our demand is the demand of a United India and so long as our rights are denied to us we shall continue the struggle,

“Unchained in soul—though manacled in limb—

“Unwarped by prejudice—unawed by wrong,

“Friends to the weak and fearless of the strong”.

Coming now to a discussion of the details of the reforms our attention must be first directed to the terms of the declaration of policy as announced on the 20th August last year. That declaration lays down the policy to be:—

(1) “The increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration,”

(2) “The gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.”

Towards the fulfilment of the above policy the decision is stated

in the announcement, "that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible." The Secretary of State in making the announcement stated that "progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages". He further explained that "the British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance". The policy as enunciated is a pledge to the Indian people that they shall be raised from their present abject position to one of dignity and honour as a nation, and it is worthy of the freedom loving British race. But it is when we examine the cautious qualifying phrases of the Secretary of State that we came to suspect the length of time that we may have to wait before there is fruition of that policy. The successive stages may be distant stages as the Reform proposals clearly demonstrate, and "the time and measure of each advance" may prove illusory, dependent as it is declared to be on the "extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their (Indian people's) sense of responsibility". The decision that substantial steps in the direction of the policy should be taken as soon as possible brought the Secretary of State to us, but where do we find the "substantial steps" in the proposals? I shall now venture to place before you, as briefly as I can, my estimate of the proposed reforms.

#### **The Government of India.**

The Imperial Legislative Council is to be replaced by (1) a Legislative Assembly of India consisting of about hundred members and (2) by a Council of State consisting of about fifty members. The Legislative Assembly is to have an elected majority of two-thirds of its total strength, but the Assembly is to have no power and must remain content with exercising that shadowy stuff, "Influence". To render that ineffectual a Council of State has been designed. It is to have a large majority of official and nominated members and it will be the supreme legislative authority for India on all crucial questions and the revising authority upon all Indian legislation. It will have the right to over-rule all the work of the Legislative Assembly in the matter of legislation, budget allotment and financial proposals, and even pass them at the bidding of the Governor-General over the head of the Legislative Assembly. There is no element of popular will in this, nor is the pretence made that there is any. Apart from the objection that the people's representatives in the Legislative Assembly will be overridden by a body of men not representative of the people the mischief of the proposal is accentuated by according to the members of the Council of State the status of a class by themselves. I see in that the danger of a division of our people, the formation of a new caste. This will no doubt further strengthen the already existing arbitrary powers of the

Government of India and considering that it is proposed that British control over the Government of India should be relaxed, the danger of reckless irresponsibility in the Central Government will be enhanced. Our demand is for the amenability of Provincial and Central Governments alike to the people's wishes, but instead we are being given a Central Government more autocratic than ever. The joint Report admits that the bureaucratic system that has prevailed hitherto is no more suited to our needs, but the second Chamber that is proposed and which is to have the decisive voice is to consist of bureaucrats and their nominees with a powerless minority of elected members. It would be, to my mind, the perpetuation of the bureaucratic rule that we have been striving to remove. We cannot give our willing assent to a packed second Chamber created to render inoperative what the people's representatives decide. The proposal is reactionary in its character and by no manner of means can it be described as a reform intended to increase popular control. The creation of such a Second Chamber is a confession of the distrust of the people—a distrust that is visible in the proposals as a whole.

Describing the legislative procedure the nervousness of the authors of the Report is made manifest. I quote from the Report.—

"A Government Bill will ordinarily be introduced and carried through all the usual stages in the Legislative Assembly. It will then go in the ordinary course to the Council of State and if there amended in any way which the Assembly is not willing to accept it will be submitted to a joint session of both the Houses by whose decision its ultimate fate will be decided. This will be the ordinary course of legislation. But it might well happen that amendments made by the Council of State were such as to be essential in the view of the Government if the purpose with which the Bill was originally introduced was to be achieved, and in this case the Governor-General-in-Council would certify that the amendments were essential to the interests of peace, order or good government. The Assembly would then not have power to reject or modify these amendments nor would they be open to revision in a joint session."

Not content with this the Report proceeds :—

"Further there may be cases when the consideration of a measure by both chambers would take too long if the emergency which called for the measure is to be met. Such a contingency should rarely arise; but we advise that in cases of emergency so certified by the Governor-General-in-Council, it should be open to the Government to introduce a Bill in the Council of State and upon its being passed there merely report it to the Assembly.

Similar but even more cautious safeguards are provided for on Official member's bills. These extraordinary provisions to protect the Government against the people's representatives are particularly noteworthy when we find provided for the Government of India the power of making Ordinances for emergent purposes. Reading the proposals contained in Chapter IX of the Report dealing with the so called reforms in the Government of India, the impression is

left on the mind of the reader, that the Central Government had been in the past the object of much tyranny and oppression by the people and special measures were needed to protect that Government. It is difficult to estimate the political reasons that have induced the illustrious authors of the Report to treat the Government of India and the people of India as two combatants constantly pulling in opposite directions—the Government of India being always right and the people of India always wrong. The ideal that we have always set before us is that the Government of India should be so constituted that Government should be the Government of the people. So long as these extraordinary safeguards are devised and exist, it would be but natural for us to feel that those that carry on the Government are removed from us, and as human beings, subject to human failings, will subordinate the people's interest to theirs. No one can conceal the fact that the interests of the bureaucrat, whatever his services may have been, have been widely different from the interests of the people, and if the same bureaucrat is to shape the destinies of India, even at this juncture, the reason for the special safeguards is obvious. The cardinal principle of our demand is that Indian interests are not any more to be subservient to the interests of others and if the proposed reforms are intended to restore to us what we have lost then the reformation of the Government of India should not be and must not be on the lines of the proposals but on those that would secure to the people at least an effective voice in the governance of the country. The Congress-League Scheme has been discarded as unworkable in practice. It may not be artistic in its features, it may have the defects of inexperience of actual administration, it may even appear to be crude in form. But we do not attach ourselves to the externals of the scheme but to the true spirit of it. We insist on the essentials being left untouched, we demand their incorporation in the reforms that may hereafter be ultimately decided on.

The proposal that in the Council of State the Ruling Princes should be associated with the Government of India for the purpose of deliberation on matters of what have been vaguely described as 'common concern,' is neither happy for us nor happy for them. By the very nature of their relations with the Suzerain Power the Princes are in a state of subordination to the Governor-General as representing the King-Emperor. Their task in their own principalities is difficult enough and it will only add to their burden to be invited to take part in the Council of State in British India. Then again there may be complications hereafter if the pledge of full responsible Government to us comes to be fulfilled, as we hope and trust it will be in the near future. The Council of state with its present proposed constitution spells to me the dread that the Government of India will at no time entertain a popular Assembly whose

voice will be listened to, for if that were to be so the introduction of the Princes into the Council of State would be incompatible with their sovereign rights. Supposing that at a future date the Council of State becomes a representative body of British Indians, would it suit the Princes to descend from their high state to seats in a people's assembly, and would it suit us to have them in our midst? What is the special need of the presence of the Princes in the Council of State? Is not that Council, if established, strong enough, even without them, to protect the Government of India against the people?

Dealing with fiscal legislation we are frankly told that the budget will be introduced in the Legislative Assembly but the Assembly will not vote upon it. Resolution upon budget matters, as indeed upon all other questions, will continue to be merely advisory in character and will stand on record as the considered opinion of the Assembly. This clearly is no advance upon the existing system. It no doubt is consistent with the safety of the constitution of the Government of India as proposed, but our protest is against such a constitution and our protest is against a budget that had not received the sanction of the people's representatives.

#### **Distrust of the People.**

The distrust of the people is further made manifest when the introduction of the Indian element into the Executive Council of the Governor-General is limited to but two. Our demand has been that at least half the number of the Executive Councillors should be Indian. In the proposals, while recommending the appointment of a second Indian member, the illustrious authors of the Report say that they do not think it necessary to argue the expediency of enabling the wishes of India to be further represented in the cabinet of the country. The reason of this illiberality is not explained and we are left to judge for ourselves. It is admitted that the presence of an Indian Member in the Executive Council has proved of value in enabling the Government to have first-hand acquaintance with Indian opinion. Lord Morley's policy of appointing an Indian member to the Executive Council created a feeling of assurance amongst the people that at last the Government's attitude was to hear, if not to listen to, the people. Our claim to a larger increase of the Indian element of the Executive Council is based not merely on our just rights but also on the efficient and loyal performance by the Indian Members of their duties. I appreciate that the numerical strength of the Executive Council under the new constitution has not been disclosed and it may be that the existing number may, with changed conditions, be reduced, in which event the two Indian members as proposed, will constitute a much larger proportion of the Indian element in the Executive Council than is the one Indian

member in a Council of eight as at present. Judged by comparison even an illiberal increase of the Indian element in the Executive Council will mark a stage in India's political development. But is that enough? We want a declaration of the proportion and that proportion to be half, as that will give us in some degree an assurance of the intentions of the Government regarding the establishment of responsible Government in this country. We are now no more content with promises. The illustrious authors of the Report themselves remark that "there is a belief abroad that assurances given in public pronouncements of policy are sometimes not fulfilled." I would say, not "sometimes" but "seldom" fulfilled. The Morely-Minto Reforms were hailed by the whole country as ushering in a new era of political progress, but when they were brought into actual operation, the bureaucratic framers of the rules and regulations succeeded in nullifying the liberal policy of Lords Morely and Minto. After our sad experience of the Reforms of 1909 our faith in promises and pledges stand much shaken to-day. Just as we are told to realize that India's political future is not to be won merely by fine phrases, so we ought to make it clear to Government that a whole fifth of the human race cannot be kept loyal to foreign rule by mere promises. The days of fine phrases and hollow promises have equally passed, and if we are to be kept within the great British Empire, our confidence must be won, our affection must be secured. To the Secretary of State and the Viceroy we are grateful for the genuine desire their Report demonstrates for the political progress of our country, but to be perfectly frank, we are not without just apprehensions that in much of their work their good intention will be frustrated by those to whom the carrying out of the policy will be entrusted in this country, and it is for this reason that our demand for the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council must be insistent on being half of the total strength.

### **The Provincial Governments.**

In regard to the Provincial Governments we are more liberally treated than in the Government of India. The proposals start with two postulates :—

(1) Complete responsibility for the Government cannot be given without inviting a break down.

(2) Some responsibility must be given at once if the scheme stated in the proposals is to have any value.

These conditions are to be satisfied by a bifurcation of the functions of the Provincial Government into two branches, viz. one, subject to popular control, and the other in official hands. The subjects of popular control are to be called "Transferred Subjects" and those in the hands of the officials are to be designated "Reserved Subjects." It follows, of course from the above division, that the

Executive Government must also consist of two parts. The proposal is that one part is to comprise the head of the Province, who will be known as Governor and an Executive Council of two Members, and the other is to consist of a Minister or Ministers, according to the number and importance of the Transferred Subjects, chosen by the Governor from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Council. It is gratifying to observe that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have noticed the unreality that characterizes the existing Council, the cause of which they ascribe to the system of indirect elections. They consider that the indirect system should be swept away to give place to direct election on a broad franchise. We welcome this real step towards reform, but it is right to point out that the unreality of the existing Council has not been due so much to the indirect system as to the rules framed under which the members of the Councils were permitted to work. When the Reforms of 1909 were inaugurated the defects of the indirect system were pointed out but we were told then, as we have been told so many times in regard to all progressive demands, that the country was not fit for any better. While the indirect system was deliberately introduced, rules were also so framed as to reduce the usefulness of the members to zero. Now it is proposed that there shall be in each province an enlarged Legislative Council differing in size and composition from province to province, with a substantial elected majority, elected by direct election on a broad franchise with such communal and special representation as may be necessary. The members' right to ask supplementary questions and to move resolution is enlarged and concession is made that the resolutions on the budget, except in so far as they trench on the Reserved subject, may be binding. So long as certain subjects remain reserved the policy of keeping them unaffected by the popular wish is in keeping with the principle on which the Central Government is to be based. It has, therefore, been found necessary in regard to the Reserved Subjects to institute a Grand Committee within the Provincial Legislative Council to serve the purposes for which the Council of State is designed in the Central Government. The illustrious authors of the Report say :—

For the purpose of enabling the Provincial Government to get through its legislation on Reserved Subjects, we propose that the head of the Government should have power to certify that a Bill dealing with a Reserved Subject is a measure essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace and tranquility of the Province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved Subjects."

The effect of such a certificate will be that, if no reference to the Central Government is made for their decision, the certified Bill will be automatically referred to a Grand committee of the council. Similar procedure is proposed for controlling non-official Bills.



amendments and clauses. The Grand Committee is to consist of forty to fifty per cent of the total strength of the council and comprise members partly elected to it by the elected members and partly nominated to it by the Governor, who will have the power to nominate a bare majority, exclusive of himself. Of the members so nominated, two thirds may be officials. The procedure laid down for the passage of a certified Bill is through the Grand Committee and it seems to me that the Legislative Council has but a nominal place in it. Here again is the same spirit of distrust of the people as in the constitution of the Central Government though it has to be acknowledged that it is not so manifest. Talking of the politically minded Indian the Report says :—

“He has made a skilful and on the whole a moderate use of the opportunities which we have given him in the Legislative Councils of influencing Government and affecting the course of public business, and of recent years he has by his speeches and in the press done much to spread the idea of a united and self-respecting India amongst thousands who had no such conception in their minds”.

“ If that is so, then, may we not ask to be a little more trusted in these great reforms? I am alive to this that in the provincial administration a considerable advance upon the existing system is proposed and I believe that if the proposals are carried into effect the journey to self-government in provincial matters will be sure, though long. No one amongst us wishes a breakdown and we would, as the party most interested, be ourselves most anxious to see the success of the reforms that promise us the Pisgah view of the Promised Land. It is not impatience in us, it is not any desire to force the pace, that makes us ask for greater rights and, therefore, greater duties in provincial administration. Our submission is that greater responsibility should be cast on us so that our training towards self-government may be the earlier commenced in that proportion which may correspond to the magnitude of the work before us. No one can question the true objective of the Report. The realization of responsible Government in provincial administration is the anxious care of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, but towards the attainment of that end their proposals are lacking in bold courage.

#### **Danger of a strong Man.**

After all, our past does not justify so many safeguards in the reforms. These same safeguards in the hands of a “strong man” may be turned into effective weapons for the destruction of the reforms themselves. It is true that periodic Commissions are suggested for the purpose of surveying the political situation in India and of re-adjusting the machinery to the new requirements from time to time, and no doubt it would be within the province of the Commissions to investigate into the course of constitutional develop-

ment in the country, and a "strong man" will have the fear of his acts being examined and judgment passed thereon by a Commission that would derive its authority from Parliament itself. But it has to be borne in mind that these Commissions will be at distant intervals, and however much credit one may be disposed to give to them for their anxiety to make a thorough investigation, the lapses of the "strong man" are bound to escape scrutiny when time has dulled the directness of perception. Without referring to any particular "strong man" we naturally get apprehensive when we find an administrator of a province indulging in wholesale denunciation of the politically minded Indians, as men engaged in sowing distrust and in propagating vile propaganda. The latest pronouncement of one such "strong man" (reference to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieut. Govt. of Punjab) is that such of us as ask, why these restrictions, reservations, safeguards, this machinery for saving the authority of the Government, and he explains that it is not the mistrust of the people but the distrust of the sinister influence of those whom he calls the extremists that renders it necessary to include in the new constitution safeguards, restrictions and reservations. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford may well piteously cry: "Save us from our friends". Throughout the Report on the reforms no such suggestion for the distrust has been expressed by its illustrious authors and whatever mistrust that is noticeable could be ascribed to cautious step being warranted by the want of experience of the Indian people in matters administrative; but this commentator on the Report, if his exposition be correct, rouses us to a just resentment. This same "strong man" talks of an unbridled and defamatory press when he of all persons ought to know that the press legislation in India, of all measures, has been the most destructive of legitimate public criticism and has secured for the "strong man", as also even for the milder bureaucrat, an unimpeded passage to the fulfilment of his arbitrary will. It is such "strong-men"—and this unfortunate land has many of this breed—against whom we, the people, require special measures of protection.

In the Reserved Subjects are included the important heads coming under maintenance of law and order, Civil Justice, Land Revenue, Industrial matters, business concerns and the like. The subjects proposed to be transferred to popular control are as numerous as those of the Reserved class. I believe that the transferred subjects will afford to us sufficient opportunities of administrative training in the first few years to enable us to qualify ourselves for the transference of all the subjects to popular control. The objection to the scheme, as a whole, lies, however, in the proposal that at the end of a period of five years the Reserved Subjects are not to come automatically under popular control but it will be open to the Central

Government to hear applications from either the Provincial Government or the Provincial Council for the modification of the Reserved and the Transferred subject lists of the province, and it will be upon the recommendation of the Central Government that the Secretary of State is to approve the transfer of further subjects. While this method of devolution of power has the merit of providing the incentive to the peoples' representatives for earnest and statesman-like discharge of their duties, it has the demerit of withdrawing the stimulus they would have, if they were now assured that at the end of five years the responsibility of the entire provincial administration would devolve upon them. In the language of the report itself, advance can only come through previous failures and an exercise of responsibility calls forth capacity for it.

#### **Finance.**

The financial arrangement provided for effecting the administration of the two branches of the Government appears to me to be exceedingly unsatisfactory. The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Central Government and after that the Reserved Subjects will have priority in the matter of supply; the residue, after meeting the above charges, will be available to the Ministers for the purposes of the Transferred Subjects. The provision is made that if such residue is insufficient for their requirements the Ministers can suggest additional taxation within the schedule of permissible provincial taxation, or outside the schedule by obtaining the sanction of the Government of India. The question of any fresh taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers and the Executive Government as a whole will not bear the responsibility for the proposal. Considering that the Governor is not expected to refuse, ordinarily, assent to the proposals of the Ministers, it is apparent that the responsibility of a fresh taxation will in effect rest upon the Ministers. It is admitted that the new developments which are to be anticipated will necessitate fresh taxation. Thus it comes to this that the odium, which is inseparable from a new levy, is to be borne by the Ministers alone, the sequel to which may be a feeling of repugnance in the mind of the people against popular Government. The responsibility for administering Transferred subjects will be the Minister's, while the power of deciding what part of the revenue shall be allotted for the discharge of that responsibility will be retained in official hands. The Legislative Council under the proposed constitution will be bound to submit to the proposals of the Governor-in-Council with regard to expenditure on Reserved Subjects and it is more than likely that the reaction of their disability in the matter of the Reserved Subjects will operate prejudicially on the Minister's proposals for new taxations for Transferred Subjects. The proposed arrangement, it strikes me, is unfair.

It is giving to the popular side of the Government an unsatisfactory start. The collective responsibility of the Executive Government in matters of fresh taxation is necessary for the success of the reforms. The obvious defects of the system proposed are so many that I think it is our duty to insist upon modifications that may insure to the Transferred Subjects a fairer and more equitable treatment. It is worthy of note here that of the departments proposed to be transferred to popular control several are of vital importance to the progress of the country and they have been the most starved under official regime. The duty of constructing them and developing them will devolve upon the people's representatives but without sufficient provision for them. The subjects of Education and Sanitation, involving as they do the building up of healthy mind and healthy body in the people, are of supreme importance as upon them will rest the creation of healthy electorates. If the franchise, on which responsible Government is to be based, is to be broad and extensive, due provision has to be made from now to secure its expansiveness as time grows, and towards that end it will not do to treat those two subjects with stint.

#### **Appointment of Ministers.**

As regards the appointment of Ministers the Governor is to exercise his choice from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. They are to hold office for the lifetime of the Legislative Council. They will be members of the Executive Government but not of the Executive Council. The portfolios dealing with the Transferred subjects are to be committed to them and in respect of those subjects they with the Governor will form the administration. No provision is made for the Ministers to resign if they lose the confidence of the House. Our proposal that Indian members of the Executive Government should be elected by the Council has been based on our experience that Government have in the past chosen men not because they were sound but because they were, according to bureaucratic view, "safe." This has been noticed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their observation : "We are aware that in the past the nominations made to the executives have not always given satisfaction. There has been a disposition to regard the men appointed as chosen because they are safe and not likely to give Government trouble ; and if legislature and executive are to work smoothly together, it is, we agree, necessary to make appointments which command confidence and insure efficiency and ability." The election of Ministers is disapproved but no injunction is laid that the nominations should be of persons who had the confidence of the Legislative Council. The justification for our proposal of election lay in our apprehension arising out of bureaucratic methods. If we can be assured that really capable men will be chosen for appointment as

colleagues of the Governor our scheme of elected members of the Executive will not require to be pressed, for our demand is for capable men only. Our objection however to the irremovability of Ministers stands. It has been stated that it is not contemplated that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor bound to accept the decisions of his Ministers. That may be so, but in that proposal I do not see any justification to give to the Ministers a place above the will of the representatives of the people. What we have to guard against is a too ready submission on the part of the Ministers to the wishes of the Governor. Under the constitution proposed the Governor will occupy a predominant position, and if at any time he chooses to disapprove of the measure he should be made to take the responsibility of refusing his assent instead of securing by methods of powerful persuasion the acquiescence of Ministers. The scheme if carried into effect will be demoralizing for the Ministers themselves. Some method should be devised whereby the responsibility of the Ministers to the representatives of the people should not be diminished while their harmonious co-operation with the Governor may be maintained. I suggest that it be made incumbent upon every Minister on his appointment to seek re-election failing which his appointment will automatically cease to operate. A further condition of his office should be that he should continue to enjoy the confidence of the House. Should the House, as a body, express its want of confidence in him he must resign his office as a matter of course. This suggestion that I make does not in any way reduce the position of the Governor, nor his power under the proposed constitution.

Dealing with the subject of Ministers I must refer to their exclusion from the Executive Council. While they are permitted a place in the Executive Government they are not wanted in the Executive Council. The reason of such exclusion seem to be their unconcern with the Reserved Subjects. Here again the distrust of the people in the proposed reforms raises its venomous head. Ample safeguards for the protection of the Reserved Subjects have been provided and the hands of the Governor have been more than strengthened by restrictions and reservations. I realize that the inclusion of the Ministers in the Executive Council is not free from danger to popular aspirations, as such inclusion is more likely than not to create a natural bias in the mind of the Governor to choose a safe man as his Minister, but I would sooner take that risk and have that Minister within the Executive Council than out of it. Whatever the underlying policy of two compartments of the Government may be and whatever its justification, I am decidedly of the view that a total unconcern of the Ministers in the Reserved Subjects is not desirable for the objective being the ultimate realization of responsible Govern-

ment ; the association of Ministers in some form or other with the administration of the Reserved Subjects will the better prepare them, for the ultimate devolution of power on the people. If expediency does not permit that they should have an effective voice in the Executive Council they should at least be given a place therein of more or less advisory character, as additional members. The constitution as proposed is open to the very serious objection that until actual transference takes place the people's representatives will have but little touch with subjects of the Reserved class ; while at some future date and let us hope not a distant date, it is they that will be asked to assume charge of the administration of these subjects. Another point in connection with the subjects of Ministers is that of their dignity in the Executive Government. The Report says that the illustrious authors of it do not make any recommendation in regard to Ministers' emoluments. This gives a faint idea that their salary may not be on the same scale as that of members of the Executive Council. I am not one to advocate expensive machinery of administration but when it comes to a distinction arising between Ministers of the people and Ministers not of the people, I would sink all considerations of financial economy and insist on the Ministers enjoying the same salary as Members of the Executive Council. I consider it as affecting their dignity but if economy has to be effected it must be effected by reducing the salary of the Members of the Executive Council to the level of the salary that may be proposed for Ministers. In this connection I may be pardoned for referring to what will appear to be trivial, but my excuse is that the illustrious authors of the Report have concerned themselves with details of the honorific designation of members of the several legislative bodies. At present the advent of a Member of an Executive Council, whether Provincial or Imperial, is attended with a noisy salute of guns that does no one any good. It is merely reminiscent of the age of vanity in which the bureaucrat lived and thrived. The days of catching the imagination of Indians by noise and din are passed and we have now learnt to appraise the value and worth of men by their work and not by their tinselled trappings. Let these salutes be discontinued and powder saved from unmeaning waste.

The proposal to appoint additional members of the Executive Council, if the Governor chooses, does not seem to me to be open to any serious objection as no portfolio is to be assigned to them and their functions will be merely consultative and advisory. So long as the additional members continue to discharge the functions of their substantive appointments and draw merely the pay attached to those appointments, and no burden of additional expenditure is thrown on the Province, the proposal may be regarded as harmless. In respect of the Indian members of the Executive Council he is

not to be elected, nor is the field of choice limited to the Legislative Council. The Governor will be free to recommend whom he wishes and to take into consideration the names of persons who have won distinctions whether in the Legislative Council or in any other field. I admit that if the Governor is sympathetic and broad-minded and works with a view to the ultimate realization of responsible Government, chances are that his Indian nominee for the Executive Council will be a person acceptable to the people but as the satisfactoriness of a nomination becomes conditioned on the tendencies of individual Governors, the search for a safe man may become common. Our proposal for the election of Indian Executive Councillors is no doubt open to certain objections but in the existing state of things if the Indian people are to be assured that the Indian element in the Executive Council will be truly Indian in aspiration there seems to be no other method but that of election whereby such an assurance can be given. It may be said that an Indian Executive Councillor holding his office by election may not work as harmoniously with his colleagues as one who holds his office by nomination. As we have not suggested that the elected Indian member should be removable at the will of the Legislative Council and his appointment being permanent for five years there is no reason to apprehend that he will indulge in unwarranted friction with his colleagues. What we want is that the Indian member in the Provincial Executive Council should be one to possess courage to present the Indian view of a question faithfully. If the nominations, in the past, in the Provincial Executive Councils had been as satisfactory as, happily, the nominations have been in the Governor-General's Executive Council, our apprehension regarding the search for a safe man would never have come to exist.

The Congress League Scheme provided special electorates for Musalmans for their representation in fixed proportions varying according to several provinces while for other minorities we proposed separate electorates. The proportions for Muslim representation were fixed after a discussion between the League and ourselves. This has given occasion to an observation in the Report that the compact shows the pressure under which the agreement was reached. Continuing in the same strain the authors of the Report remark that the provision in our scheme concerning the discussion of measures affecting either community to proceed by leave of its representatives measures the distance that separates the one from the other. The system of divide and rule is an acknowledged method in all alien Governments and it is nothing surprising if for the time being a feeling has existed between the two great communities of India that in some respects each has a special interest of its own, but are not the signs of fusion abundantly present?

While the Report dwells on the difficulty with which the agreement between the two communities was reached it fails to take notice of the lesson the agreement inculcates that those that had been artificially parted have at last come to realise that a common Motherland binds them together and in the unity of action they have commenced to see that ties established by an All-wise Providence cannot be torn asunder in spite of seductive arts. Is there not in the reunion of the Hindu and the Musulman a prophecy of the future? The Musalman has in certain provinces asked for more than his proportionate share and we of the Congress have willingly yielded to his wishes. Yet has not the Musulman in provinces where numerically he has had the preponderant population agreed to a lesser proportion of representation? Does not this show that whatever differences artifice had created have by the union of hearts and the contention of common interest been wiped out? But let us look into the Report. The illustrious authors say that they are bound to reserve their approval of the proportions until they have ascertained what their effect will be upon other interests. While the above observation is made the Report proceeds that it welcomes the assent of the Muslim League that the Musalmans are not to participate in the General electorate and a separate electorate is accorded to them. I believe that the assent of the League was given on the basis of the proportions agreed upon between us and them, and am informed that they take objection to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford interfering in the arrangement made between the two representative bodies of the country. As a criticism on the subject of the representation of minorities I do not desire to do more than quote from the Report itself. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them but if it unnecessarily divide them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or shortsighted. I trust that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are not conscious that the reservations they have made in regard to Musulman representation is liable to be construed into a policy of divide and rule.

#### **Fiscal Policy.**

The fiscal policy concerning India has not been stated in any detail by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. They say that connected intimately with the matter of industries is the question of the Indian tariff. No one can doubt the defect of the existing fiscal policy so far as the interest of India is concerned. The subject is obviously excluded from discussion as it has been thought undesirable at this juncture to raise any question of the modification of the fiscal policy. The illustrious authors of the Report say that they have no immediate proposals to make but they are anxious that any decision which may hereafter be taken should be taken with full



appreciation of educated Indian opinion. We have through our representatives in the Indian Legislative Council, by our speeches from public platforms and by the medium of the press, expressed the Indian desire for protective tariff. With growing expenditure on administration and expanding individual needs we look to protective tariff as a means of bringing relief. We believe that if industries are to be nurtured tariff must be adopted. We are told that our belief is wrong but so long as our error in calculation is not demonstrated our faith in protective tariff will remain. Our desire for fiscal autonomy is not based upon any hostility to British interest. No doubt the extent of Indian gain will mean a corresponding loss to the British merchant but in the larger economy of the Empire a strong and prosperous India is of much greater value than mere commercial gain to Great Britain. The need to strengthen the Empire is demonstrated by the present War and the necessity for the strengthening of every unit of the Empire is now beyond question. I do not think any one will dispute the statement that in the past Indian commercial interest was subordinated to British interest, but with a more spacious view of the Empire we expect greater attention to be paid to what will conduce to the prosperity on the country. Much of the political situation in India is due to economic forces that have been silently but surely working. It has often been said that foreign capital, which means British capital, has done much for the development of Indian resources. That is true if the development of resources as an abstract idea, detached from actual benefit, were regarded as a title of the British capitalist to the gratitude of the Indian people. The question is, has the kind of development that we have had, brought to the Indian the prosperity that he wants? The Indian has merely been the producer of raw materials for the benefit of British manufacturers who have purchased the materials from him at low prices and sold the manufactured articles to him at high prices. Industrially we have been left so utterly untrained that we have not been able to free ourselves from the importation of foreign manufacturers, while the export of raw materials has continued on an ascending scale. Frankly stated our conviction has been that our industrial backwardness has been positively encouraged in the interest of British manufacturers. This conviction is not based upon a mere prejudice that one race may have against another, but it is based upon facts of history dating from the time when the commercial development of the country was fostered by the Company as a matter of business. The traditions of the Company inherited by the Government under the Crown, we believe, have not been departed from and British commercial interests have had the same fostering care as in the days of the Company. The maintenance of the duty on cotton goods manufactured in the country has been unquestiony

ably in the interest of Lancashire. The need for industrial development has been felt by us for a long time and it is at our solicitation that the Government now seems to be cognizant of it. We are glad to note that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are agreed that if the resources of the country are to be developed the Government must take action. We have long urged that the Government ought to be alive to their responsibility for the industrial development of the country. We have been crying for scientific institutes and technical institutions; we have urged upon their attention the examples of Germany and Japan. Have the Government up to now responded to our call with that depth of sympathy that the circumstances demanded? The dearth of technical institutions in the country testifies to the correctness of the charge that the Government, contrary to their duty, are indifferent to our industrial growth. Until the Government come forward as guide and helper the charge will stand and we would be entitled to entertain the belief, as indeed at present we do, that in the policy of the Government the interest of India is but merely secondary. The political consequences of such a belief can be easily imagined for no Government can afford to allow the impression to prevail and to spread that the ruled are being "bled white" for the profit of the rulers. The whole subject has been comprehensively put by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in language impossible to be excelled. They say:—

"After the war the need for industrial development will be all the greater unless India is to become a mere dumping-ground for the manufactures of foreign nations which will then be competing all the more keenly for the markets on which their political strength so perceptibly depends. India will certainly consider herself entitled to claim all the help that her Government can give her to enable her to take her place as a manufacturing country; and unless the claim is admitted it will surely turn into an insistent request for a tariff which will penalize imported articles without respect of origin. On all grounds a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well-poised, up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government service or a few over-stocked professions; in order that money now lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community, and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends, and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay upon them."

### Public Services.

So far I have dealt with the proposals that come under that part of the announcement of the 20th August that relates to the gradual development of self-governing institution. I now take up that part of the announcement that declares the policy of the increasing association of Indians in the administration.

The subject is of sufficient importance to have been accorded the first place in the declaration of policy. Happily the proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford neutralise the effect of the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1912. The report of the Commission was unsatisfactory enough even for the time when it was prepared and it would be much more so now under present changed conditions, when volcanic events have caused an upheaval in our modes of thought. The Report on the Reforms as a whole bears testimony to the liberal and sympathetic inclination of its authors in treating Indian questions, and we welcome their observation, in dealing with the subject of the public services, that an entirely new policy towards the Indian Government has been adopted which must be very largely dependent for success on the extent to which it is found possible to introduce Indians into every branch of the administration. The declaration of policy of His Majesty's Government ushers in a new era in the destiny of India and if that policy is worked out in its entirety, until responsible Government is established within a reasonable period of time, the discontent that stalks the land will not have disappeared. The two great changes that the Secretary of State and the Viceroy propose in respect of the public services are (1) the removal of all racial bars and (2) recruitment in India and England for services for which recruitment in England only is permitted at present. These changes will be a concession to the Indian demand that has been voiced from the Congress ever since its birth.—It will not serve any useful purpose to refer to the past history of the exclusion of Indians from the superior services. The declaration of policy gives us hope for the future and we are now concerned more with what the services are going to be than what they have been. No one minimises the record of the Indian Civil Service. From its inception that Service has comprised earnest and ardent workers of Great Britain, and the Indian Empire of to-day is a product of Great Britain in which they have had a considerable, if not the main part. Judged from our point of view their labours have not been altruistic, but incidentally, while they have worked for their own country, they have helped us to ideas of freedom and liberty, of nationhood and political rights, which I treat as acquisitions of the greatest value for the up-building of that India which is our dream to-day and and we hope will be our realization to-morrow. No question of gratitude arises in this as we have paid heavily for what we have received. It would be unjust to construe our demand for a larger share in the Services as denoting any hostility towards the members of the Services. The changes proposed in respect of the Public Services are merely steps towards the restitution of our rights and it is a gratifying feature of the

changes that in the future there is to be between the official and the non-official more of partnership and less of dictation. The Royal Commission of 1912 had recommended that 25 per cent of the superior posts of the Indian Civil Service should be recruited for in India but Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have raised the proportion to 33 per cent, and this percentage is to be increased by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent annually until the periodic Commission is appointed which will re-examine the whole subject. This means that if the periodic Commission comes at the end of 12 years the proportion of recruitment in India at the time will be a little more than 50 per cent. The method proposed is ascending. Our complaint that we have been shut out from practical experience of the problems of administration is acknowledged and it is towards the remedying of that defect that racial bars are to be removed and recruitment in India is desired. I for my part welcome the proposed changes for they, while assuring to us our purpose, do not carry with them the dangers of abruptness.

#### **The Army**

The policy concerning admission of Indians into Military Service has been enunciated by Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in a spirit of sympathy towards Indian aspirations. The refusal to provide military training to the Indian people justly laid the Government open to the charge that their motive was to keep the Indian down in order to rule them. It is gratifying to note that the angle of view on Indian questions is changed and the policy of keeping India in a state of degrading subjection by emasculating her people is altered. The promise of King's Commissions to Indians is a happy augury of the good time to come.

#### **The Non-Official British Community.**

We have no quarrel with the non-official British community, nor do we desire to have any. Under the changed conditions, if responsible Government is really established in the land, our attitude towards them should be of cordial friendliness, for, whatever conflict there may be between the interests of individuals, it would be in the higher interests of India that the co-operation of all inhabiting the land must be sought and secured. Towards the Anglo-Indian community our attitude must be equally friendly. Their position is peculiar in the economy of India and when a Government resting on the wishes of the people comes to be established the duty of protecting small communities will devolve upon those that are numerically superior. I am looking forward to the day when the Anglo-Indian community will feel that its interests are not different from the interests of the Indians and will drop that aloofness from us which unfortunately at present characterizes its attitude. We are asking for a free India and a necessary condition of such an India is the blending together

of the large and small communities into one united nation. The unification of all interests is the task before us and lovers of the Country no doubt realize that this is not the time, nor the occasion, to quarrel amongst ourselves. Those that are not in the fold must be brought into it. On the subject of social relations Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have given to all parties words of advice that we may all take to heart. It would be useful to quote here the words of the illustrious authors of the report: "If there are Indians who really desire to see India leave the Empire, to get rid of English officers and English commerce, we believe that among their springs of action will be found the bitterness of feeling that has been nurtured out of some manifestation that the Englishman does not think the Indian an equal. Very small seeds casually thrown may result in great harvests of political calamity. We feel that particularly at the present stage of India's progress, it is the plain duty of every Englishman and woman, official and non-official, in India to avoid the offence and the blunder of discourtesy; and none the less is it incumbent on the educated Indian to cultivate patience and a more generous view of what may very likely be no more than heedlessness or difference of custom."

#### **Conditions of the Problem.**

Leaving aside the historical survey of the past, facts have to be faced whether by British statesmen or by us. Macaulay has said: "Of all forms of tyranny I believe that the worst is that of a nation over a nation" and "the heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger." That is as true now as in the days of Macaulay and his observation applies as much to India as to any other country. To deny that India feels the yoke of the stranger is to shut one's eyes to fundamental facts. The apologists of British rule in India have asserted that the presence of the British in this land has been due to humane motives; that British object has been to save the people from themselves, to raise their moral standard, to bring them material prosperity, to confer on them the civilising influences of Europe and so forth and so on. These are hypocrisies common to most apologists. The fact is that the East India Company was not conceived for the benefit of India but to take away her wealth for the benefit of Britain. The greed of wealth that characterized its doings was accompanied by greed for territorial possession and when the transference of rule from the Company to the Crown took place, the greed of wealth and lust of power abated not one jot in the inheritors, the only difference being that tyranny became systematized and plunder became scientific. The people know it, they feel it, and they are asking for reparation for the incidents of the past. If, as in the language of Mr. Asquith, the Empire is to be for us worth living in, as well as worth dying for, that reparation must be made. The plea to resist

our demand is put forward by short-sighted people that India is not yet educationally fit. They ignore the fact that it is not in literacy that knowledge of one's rights lies but in that intuitive capacity which is God's gift to all races. We are told that the educated Indian is removed from the masses and between them there is no bond of sympathy to unite them to a common purpose ; that the educated Indian is not capable of representing his less fortunate brethren ; that the interests of the uneducated classes can be best administered by the British officials. The charges against us are unjust calumnies and the claims of the bureaucrat to represent the masses are arrogant assumptions. After more than a hundred years of uncontrolled sway over India the British administration in this country is not able to show a greater result in the spread of literacy than about six per cent. of the population, and those that have kept the people in the darkness of ignorance are the very people who lay claim to the entrustment of the people's interest to them. It is we who have been crying for more education and it is they that have been trying to retard mass education. It was our representative, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, that introduced the Primary Education Bill and it was the bureaucrat that threw it out. It is we who have been trying to broaden the political basis, and it is they who are trying to narrow it down. The interests of the rulers and the ruled have been not only apart but widely divergent. To the advocates of the patriarchal system of sheltered existence we raise our warning finger to point out the importance of facing. For India to remain within the Empire she must be freed from an unwholesome tutelage and unless she is accorded a place of honor and of dignity alongside the self-governing units of the Empire, what is now a source of profit will assuredly turn into a source of peril. The present war has revealed the importance of cohesion, and unless that cohesion means to India her uplift, it is idle to expect her to work for an Empire in which her position is base and degrading. The sense of the unity of sentiment and consciousness of the identity of interests that now pervade all classes can not now be checked and Indian progress can not any more be resisted, and wise statesmanship dictates that in dealing with India Great Britain should adopt the noble policy of helping India to rise to the full stature and dignity of a Self-Governing member of the British Empire.

Brother delegates, I have in this address to you purposely refrained from indulging in generalities, for I felt that I could more usefully engage your attention with the consideration of the reform proposals than abstract discussion of political philosophy. I have not dealt with every detail of the reforms but I have tried to touch upon, in brief, the important of the proposals. The subject itself is vast, the atmosphere in which it has to be discussed has to be

calm, heat has to be avoided, rhetoric has to give place to sound reasoning. To my countrymen I say. "Press your demands forcefully and insistently and if you are not heard now, your cause being righteous you will prevail in the end." And to the great British Nation I commend the warning words of their great liberal statesman, Lord Morley: "If Imperialism means your own demoralization, if it means lowering your own standard of civilization and humanity, then in the name of all you hold precious, beware of it."

**BANDE MATARAM.**

THIRTY THIRD SESSION OF THE  
**Indian National Congress**

*Delhi, Dec. 26—1918.*

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**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.**

**( The Hon'ble Pundit M. M. Malaviya )**

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :—As has often been said the Presidentship of the Congress is the highest honour which the people of this country can bestow upon any one and it is doubly so when it is conferred a second time. This honour is enhanced in the present instance by the fact that you have been pleased to call upon me to guide the deliberations of our great National Assembly at a time when momentous events which affect India as well as the rest of the civilized world are taking place, and when questions of the most far reaching importance which have a direct and immediate bearing on our future are to be considered by the Congress. I am most deeply grateful to you for this signal mark of your confidence in me. I am also grateful to my esteemed friend Mr. Vijiaraghava Achariar whom I so much miss in the Imperial Legislative Council where his unyielding independence and incisive logic made him a source of great strength to the people's cause, and his partiality for an old friend led him to think that my election would serve that cause better at this particular juncture. I sincerely wish I could feel that I deserved all this honour and confidence. I pray to God that with your generous help I may prove not unworthy of it and that our deliberations may be such as will redound to our credit and to the honour and advancement of our country.

The importance of this session of the Congress does not need to be emphasized. We meet to-day in this ancient capital of the Indian Empire, hoary with all its historic traditions and associations. It irresistibly brings to our minds a crowd of thoughts, happy and the reverse, of the glories and the vicissitudes which our ancient land has known. The impulse to dwell upon them is strong but I will not do so at this place. I will dwell here rather upon the living present.



### India's part in the war.

We are meeting at a time when the civilised world is celebrating the happy end of the greatest and bloodiest war known to history. That end was announced in a memorable utterance by the distinguished Premier of England. When addressing the people of Britain he said :

“ You are entitled to rejoice, the people of Britain, that the Allies and the Dominions and India have won a glorious victory.”

It is the most wonderful victory for liberty in the history of the world. You too, my countrymen, are entitled to rejoice as you have actually been rejoicing, that this great victory has been won. You are also entitled to feel justly proud that our country has played a noble part in this great war and made a magnificent contribution to its glorious end. As His Excellency the Viceroy very well said the other day—

She was early in the field helping to stem the rush of the Tunic hordes and she has been there at the end and her troops largely contributed to the staggering blow in Palestine which first caused our foe to totter to his fall.

India had many grievances against England when the war broke out but she had not lost faith in the Briton's love of justice and liberty. And the moment the message of His Majesty the King of England and the Emperor of India was received announcing that he had been compelled to draw the sword in defence of liberty and of treaty-rights and obligations, India loyally put aside her grievances, buried her differences, and her Princes and People readily identified themselves with the cause which England had taken up, because it was the cause of righteousness and liberty. Both our national traditions and our national aspirations predisposed us to that attitude. In days long past, the memory of which is still cherished, our ancestors had waged the greatest war recorded in our history “the Mahabharat” and sacrificed the entire manhood of the nation to establish the triumph of righteousness. Consequently all classes and communities of our people enthusiastically united in giving an assurance of unswerving loyalty and unflinching support to His Majesty the King-Emperor, in the prosecution of the war to a successful issue, and the Ruling Princes and the people of India made what His Majesty was pleased lovingly to describe in his gracious message of September last as prodigal offers of their lives and treasure in the cause of the realm. Let us thank God that our deeds have been as good as our words. We have helped to the full extent of the demand made upon us and more in men, money, and material. Both our honoured Ruling Princes and our peasants have contributed their quota of personal service to the war and both have made

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## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

money contributions in numerous instances beyond their means. From the day His Majesty's message was received India urged with one voice that her valiant soldiers should be sent to France to be in the forefront of the conflict. Our late Viceroy, Lord Harding who trusted the Indians and who was trusted by them, appreciated our proposal and with the foresight and courage that distinguished him he despatched Indian troops to France. Both India and the Allies owe him gratitude for this act of statesmanship. Our troops saved the situation in France in 1914 and covered themselves with glory. The full value of the contributions of the Princes and People of India in money and resources remains to be calculated. But we know that it amounts to over two hundred millions sterling or three hundred crores of Rupees. As regards our contributions to the war the Secretary of State for India stated the other day in Parliament that 1161789 Indians had been recruited since the war began and 1215338 men had been sent overseas from India and that of those 110439 had become casualties. These are contributions of which we have every reason to be proud. More proud are we of the fact that throughout all these four years of trial and tribulation in the face of the extreme suffering which the war inflicted upon our people and even when the sky seemed to be much overcast, India remained unshaken equally in her loyalty to the King, Emperor, and in her resolve to do her utmost to help the Empire to the end. This is particularly note-worthy in the case of our Muslim brethren. Every one knows how deep are their religious sentiments towards Turkey and how profound their concern in everything that affects her. When therefore unfortunately Turkey was persuaded by the Central Powers to join them against our King Emperor and his Allies, the feelings of our Mahomedan Brethren were put to the test. But it must to-day be a source of the sincerest satisfaction to every Indian Mahomedan who loves his country and community that the community did not at any time allow its religious sentiment to overpower its sense of duty to the King and to the motherland and that it remained firm in its support of the cause of the Empire. This is a fact of great moment in the history of our country. It is a matter for sincere thankfulness and congratulation to all our fellow subjects and ourselves.

### **The Termination of the war.**

Before we proceed further let me ask you, men and women of all faiths, whom it is my privilege at this moment to address and who worship our one common God under different names and in diverse ways, to join in offering Him our humble and profound thanks that the war has come to a happy end and in praying that it may prove to be the precursor of a lasting, just and universal peace. Let me next, on your behalf and on mine, offer our loyal greetings and

dutiful congratulations to His Majesty the King Emperor on the happy termination of the war. It gives us Indians particular satisfaction to think that while the despotic monarchs of other lands have disappeared, our noble King Emperor is exercising his beneficent power in consonance with the constitution of the country and the will of his people. We also offer our cordial congratulations to our fellow subjects of the United Kingdom and their sturdy children in the dominions overseas on the glorious result of their efforts and sacrifices in the cause of liberty and right. If England had not joined the war and thrown her whole strength and resources into the right, like Belgium France would long ago have been compelled to give up the fight and Germany's ambitions would have been realized. Great have been the sacrifices England has made but greater therefore is the glory she has won. I am sure you also wish to offer your cordial congratulations to the noble people of France who have won imperishable glory by sustaining the most splendid fight against tremendous odds in defence of their great land of liberty, equality and fraternity. We watched their struggle with the deepest sympathy and with the sincerest admiration and it is a matter of particular pride and gratification to us to think that our Indian Expeditionary Force was able to reach France in the nick of time to be of help to them and to save the cause both of the Allies and of civilisation in the fearful struggle of 1914—15.

#### Thanks to America.

Lastly we must offer our thanks and congratulations to the great people of America whose unselfish entry into the war, involving all the tremendous sacrifice of men and money it did, was the finest tribute to the righteous character of the war which the Allies had been waging, as well as the greatest contributions to the cause of liberty and justice. Humanity owes a deep debt of gratitude to America for the decisive part which she has played under the wise and firm guidance of its noble President in the overthrow of German militarism. Adopting the words of the President—

We must all thank God with the deepest gratitude that the Americans came in into the lines of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep off the fateful struggle.

It is our privilege and our pride to send our congratulations to the people of these great nations because our soldiers fought on the same side with them on the battle fields of France and Flanders and thereby established between them and us a comradeship in a righteous cause which we fervently hope will be the basis of lasting friendship between us.

**The hand of Providence in the War.**

Ladies and gentlemen, to my mind the hand of Providence is clearly discernible both in the development of this war and its termination. The world, and particularly the European world, needed a correction and a change. It had been too much given up to materialism and had been too much estranged from spiritual considerations. It had flouted the principle that righteousness exalteth a nation. In spite of the vaunted civilization of Europe some of its nations have been living in a state of international anarchy and their relations to one another and to the outer world have turned upon force. They have been dominated by an overpowering passion for wealth and power and in their mad pursuit of it have trampled upon the rights and liberties of weaker states and peoples. Spain, Austria and France each sought the mastery of Europe in the past. Germany attempted it now. England has not since the fifteenth century attacked the independence of any European state but has befriended them. Hence they have been threatened by their more powerful neighbours. But she too has followed a different policy in Asia and Africa. During the last half century only she has waged wars to annex Egypt, the Soudan, the South African Republics and Burma, besides several other minor wars. There have been great quarrels among the nations of Europe about markets and colonial possessions. There have been contentions between France and Germany for the control of Morocco, between Russia and Austria for the control of the Balkans, between Germany and the other powers for the control of Turkey. These great rivalries among them have led them to live in constant fear of war and ever to keep themselves prepared for it. The earth has been groaning under the burden of big battalions and armaments. There have been treaties and alliances but they were entered into to keep up the balance of power among them. The determining factor in international relations has been force. Any nation which wished to attack another could do so with impunity if it made itself superior to that other in brute force.

England had by a long course of events gained the highest position and power among the nations of Europe. She naturally wanted to maintain it at all costs. Her younger sister Germany became jealous of her and was fired with the ambition to outshine her; for decades past she pursued a systematic policy of national development—military, naval, industrial, economic, with the object of striking a blow for world power. She converted a whole nation into a wonderfully well-organised, disciplined and equipped army. It is difficult to imagine how any nation can prepare itself better to carry everything before it by force than did Germany. She wanted only to break the peace of the world when she thought it was most advantageous for her to do so. Her force was strengthened by the forces of her

stubborn allies. On the other side were arrayed the forces of the allies—English, French, Russian, Italian, the people of the dominions and of India. It is difficult to imagine a stronger array of forces on either side than it actually was in this war. If diplomacy had not led Russia to fail the Allies they might probably have succeeded earlier. But the purpose of the war would not have been served in that way. The war therefore went on in its grim horror. A few months before the termination of hostilities it seemed as if the Germans were going to succeed. The hearts of France and England and the rest of the allied world trembled with fear that in spite of all the combined efforts of the Allies and all the sacrifices which they had undergone for four years the Germans were going to succeed in their wicked ambition. But they were in the wrong. Providence had decreed that the Allies would succeed because they were in the right. But Providence did not yet bless their efforts for they had still to learn that the Laws of Karma are inexorable.

That our acts as angels good or ill,

Their fatal shadows that walk by us still.

Many of the Allies also had too often in the past acted on the evil principle that might is right and not all of them perhaps were yet prepared to act in their dealings with all nations and peoples on the principle that right is might. At the special service of penitence and humble prayer held on the third anniversary of the war, the high-souled Lord Bishop of Calcutta dwelt upon the fact that time and again the Allies had been held back from victory by circumstances which were not or could not be expected. And His Lordship asked: what was God saying all this while to our nation and Empire? "you must change, you must change before I can give you victory." "You must change" is addressed to the nation as a whole and to all the individuals of it. The United States of America joined with us and their adhesion made the continuation of the war certain. Thus our nation is granted another chance to change itself. The same divine demand is reiterated: "You must change before I can give you victory." It was the evident purpose of Providence that the powerful Nations of the world should undergo the trials of this war and re-establish the principle that not only is right the might but international anarchy should be ended and the warring nations of the world should agree to establish a moral order and a permanent arrangement among them to ensure just and fair dealings with one another and the rest of the human family in the future. For the accomplishment of this purpose it was necessary that the war should not end until America joined it and until the nations agreed to the peace proposals which were to be the basis of this order. It was therefore only when they had so agreed that Providence enabled America to come in at the critical moment to help the

Allies and to turn the scale against Germany. This is not a matter of mere inference and argument. President Wilson had distinctly said that America did not come into the war merely to win it. As he put it, she came in to be instrumental in establishing a peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and the ambitions of military coteries and make ready for a new order for new foundations of justice and fair dealing. "We are about to give order and organisation", said the great American who has evidently been appointed by God to be the Master mason in building His new temple of international justice—

We are about to give order and organisation to the peace not only for ourselves but for other people of the world as well and as far as they will suffer us to serve them. It is international justice. We seek not domestic safety.

He had outlined the basis of peace. The Allied Governments had accepted his proposals at once. The Central Powers accepted it when they could not help doing it. And he is now at the conference at Paris to help in the settlement of peace. As he recently said "peace settlement which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance to us and to the rest of the world. The gallant men of our forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals of their country. I have sought to express these ideals and they have been accepted by statesmen as the substance of their own thought and purpose. As the Associated Governments have accepted them I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them and no possible efforts omitted to realise them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their lives and blood to obtain".

### **The Ideals of America.**

Now what are the ideals that America has fought for. President Wilson stated them in the clearest terms in his memorable Address to Congress on the 9th of Jany., last. It is necessary to recall them to mind. He said "The way of conquest and aggrandisement and secret understanding is past. We entered the war in consequence of the violations of right which touched us to the quick and made our life impossible unless they were corrected and we would be secure against their recurrence. We therefore demand that the world should be made safe and fit to live in. All peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest." He then enumerated his now famous fourteen points. Briefly these were: (1) Open covenants of peace openly arrived at without any secret diplomacy, (2) freedom of the seas subject to certain international conditions, (3) removal of all economic barriers and equality of trade conditions among all peoples consenting to the peace and associating for its

maintenance, (4) national armaments to be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety, (5) free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based on the strict observance of the principle that in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined, (6) the evacuation of all Russian territory and the securing to her of unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for independent determination of her own political development and national policy, (7) the evacuation of Belgium and the complete restoration of her sovereignty, the evacuation of all occupied French territories and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, (8) the readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along clearly recognizable lines of nationality, (9) securing to Austria Hungary opportunities for autonomous development, (10) the settlement of the disputes of the Balkan States by mutual agreement and international guarantees of their political and economic independence and territorial integrity, (11) securing sovereignty to Turkey over the Ottoman Empire but assuring security of life and autonomous development to other nationalities now under Turkish rule. The creation of an independent Polish State with international guarantees of political and economic independence and territorial integrity and (14) the formation of a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity for great and small states alike. President Wilson concluded his message to Congress with the following summary of the ideals of America—

An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle. They are ready to devote their lives and honour and everything they possess. The moral climax of this culminating war for human liberty has come and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest integrity and devotion, to the test.

These noble sentiments are worthy of the great people of America and I am sure they have filled all lovers of right and liberty with gratitude and the hope of a better world. There have been attempts made before this to solve international disputes by arbitration. There have been organisations made for prevention of wars and preserving peace among nations. But never before in the known history of the world has there been such a great attempt at establishing new foundations of justice and fair dealings among the nations of the earth and at forming a worldwide organisation to carry out the scheme. The great war was needed to bring this about. The fact that three such

liberty-loving nations as Great Britain, France, and America are united in purpose to give effect to those ideals, that Germany, Russia and all the other nations concerned have accepted them, is a matter for the most sincere thanksgiving and congratulation. If the proposals are carried out, as we must all hope and pray they will be, they go far to establish a reign of righteousness among nations and usher in a new era of peace on earth and good will among men. If this comes about the enormous sacrifices of life and treasure which the war has entailed will have been to good purpose. I am sure, my countrymen, that you who are the inheritors of a great spiritual civilisation most heartily and reverently welcome these proposals and that you will be willing to undergo any sacrifice to give them your support. I would suggest that as representatives of one fifth of the human race and of this great ancient land we should send to the gentlemen who are engaged in this holy task at Paris our respectful good wishes and our fervent prayers for the success of their noble undertaking. I venture to suggest that we may also convey to them an humble expression of our willingness to contribute what lies in our power to the success of the scheme. We may assure them that thousands of our young men will gladly and gratefully enrol themselves as soldiers of God in any international organisation that may be formed to support the proposed League of Nations.

#### **India and the Peace Conference.**

You will remember, ladies and gentlemen, that when speaking of our contributions to the war Mr. Lloyd George had promised that India's necessities would not be forgotten when the Peace Conference was reached. We are thankful to him and to the British Cabinet generally for having recognised the justice of India's claim to be represented at the Conference. We are also thankful that the Government appointed an Indian, our distinguished countryman Sir S. P. Sinha, to represent her at the Conference. But he has been appointed by the Government of India without any reference to the public. As he has been so appointed presumably he will represent at the Conference the views which are in consonance with the views of that Government. It may be that those views will be in agreement with the views of the Indian public or it may not be so. We do not know what are the conditions under which Sir S. P. Sinha has been appointed or what instructions the Government of India have given him. Unfortunately the Government of India are not responsible to the Indian public and as matters stand there often is a great divergence of views between them and the public of India. This being so one may be allowed to say, without reflection on my friend Sir S. P. Sinha, that it would have been more in consonance and also in keeping with the proposals of the constitutional reforms which contemplate the appointment of Ministers from among the



electd members of the Councils, if the Government had seen their way to ask the Congress and the Muslim League, which they knew were going to meet here this week, or the elected members of the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils, to recommend an Indian or Indians for appointment by the Government as India's representatives at the Conference. In view of the fact that Canada is going to have as many as six representatives it need not have been apprehended that a request that India should be allowed to have more than one representative would be regarded as unreasonable. There is a widespread opinion in the country that some thing like this should have been done. This view is not urged because of any delusion that the proposals for constitutional reform relating to India will be discussed at the Peace Conference. I suppose every one understands that they will be discussed in the British Parliament. But it is urged because of the belief that the principles and even some of the concrete proposals which will be discussed and settled at the Peace Conference will have a great direct bearing on the interests of our country. This cannot be disputed. If it were not so there would have been little meaning in appointing an Indian to represent India's necessities at the Peace Conference. I am glad that His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner will be there to represent the views of the Indian States and the Ruling Princes whose steadfast loyalty to and support of the King Emperor during this war has been oftentimes of greater value than their liberal contributions in men and money alone. But it will remain a matter for regret that British India will not be represented at this great Conference by a person appointed by the Government on the recommendation of the elected representatives of the people.

#### **India's Position.**

India occupied at present an anomalous and unhappy position. The people of India Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians are the inheritors of great and ancient civilizations. About a hundred and fifty years ago the whole of India was under the rule of Indians. At that time she was passing through one of those periods of decay and internal disorder which are not unknown in the history of other nations. By an extraordinary combination of circumstances which had their origin in the condition then prevailing, India came to be placed under the rule of a people living six thousand miles beyond the seas and strangers to Indians in race, religion and civilization. As has often been said, India was never conquered by the English in the literal sense of the term. The English became the paramount power in India by a series of events carried on by the help of Indian soldiers and Indian Allies. The people supported them and welcomed them because they promoted order and peace and introduced justice and good administration. In the early days

of British Rule English statesmen regarded it as of a temporary character. They clearly said that it was their duty to so administer India as to help her to take up her own Government and to administer it in her own fashion. But as time rolled on and vested interests grew up and became strong a contrary spirit came to dominate the British policy in India. The administration came to be conducted less and less in a manner conducive to the development of the people as a nation and more and more so as to perpetuate their subjection. Indians noted it and protested against it. Many large-hearted Englishmen deplored it. Foreign critics also noted the fact. An eminent Frenchman M. Challey, wrote in his book published a few years ago—

“Had England taken as a motto ‘India for the Indians’, had she continued following the idea of Elphinstone and Malcolm to consider her rule as temporary, she might without inconsistency grant to the national party gradual and increasing concessions which in time would give an entire autonomy to the Indians”.

But that is not now her aim. For half a century and more the Indians and liberal minded Englishmen had been urging England to adopt the policy of India for the Indians, to indianise the administration and to give power and opportunity to the Indians to administer their own affairs. Thirty years before the war the Indian National Congress came in existence and it had ever since its birth urged that a fair measure of self-government should be given to the people. The scheme of reform which the Congress put forward in 1886 was calculated to secure them such power but they have not got it till now. Since 1908 we have specially stated that self-government on colonial lines was our goal. I draw attention to these facts so that it may be remembered that we had been pressing for a recognition of our right to self-government long before the war. It is not the war, its events and its result, that have led us to ask for self-government for the first time. Even if the war did not come, our claim to it should have been granted long ago as a mere matter of right and simple justice. The war no doubt came to help us. The contributions which we were able to make, brought about a happy change in the angle of vision of the British statesmen. In December 15 our two great National institutions, the Congress and the Muslim League, that is to say, the representatives of the thinking India, jointly put forward a well considered moderate scheme of Reform which would have given to the people a substantial measure of self-government. It is an open secret now that the response which the Government of India suggested to this demand was so poor and inadequate that Mr. Austen Chamberlain returned the proposals and suggested the preparation of a more liberal measure which would give some responsibility to the people. In the meantime the agitations in support of the Congress-League scheme was grow-

ing. The Executive Governments in India, Imperial and Provincial, were generally strongly opposed to the proposals. Many of them showed this opposition by trying to suppress the agitation by order of internment under the Defence of India Act and in other ways and created much unnecessary tension in public feeling. On the other hand, besides the Indians there were Englishmen and Englishwomen who urged that the promise of self-government should not be delayed, and a high souled Englishman like the Lord Bishop of Calcutta said, in the course of the Service, to which reference has been made before :

We must now look at our paramount position in the light of our new war ideals. The British Rule in India must aim at giving India opportunities of self-development according to the natural bent of its peoples. With this end in view the first object of its rulers must be to train the Indians in self-government. If we turn away from any such application of our principles to this country it is but hypocrisy to come before God with the plea that our cause is the cause of liberty."

The situation rendered an early announcement of the intentions of Government necessary. It was in this state of affairs that the Secretary of State for India made the now famous declaration of the 20th August 1917 in which he definitely stated that the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire was the policy of His Majesty's Government. It had decided that accepting the Viceroy's invitation the Secretary of State should shortly visit India to consider what those steps are that should be taken and to receive suggestions of representative bodies and others regarding them. It also promised that an ample opportunity would be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which would be submitted in due course to Parliament. We therefore welcomed the announcement and were grateful for it though dissatisfied with its qualifying conditions. In the circumstances then existing we accepted it with hope and gratitude. Mr. Montagu came to India with a deputation of distinguished men taking the announcement of the 20th August as laying down the terms of their reference. He and Lord Chelmsford elaborated proposals as to the first substantial steps which should be taken to give effect to the policy enunciated in it. The limitations of the announcement naturally had their effect in determining the nature and extent of their proposals. These proposals have now been before the public for several months. They have been vigorously criticised by various bodies on the first publication of the proposals. While some of our prominent public men gave them a cordial welcome, others condemned them as unsatisfactory and disappointing. Some urged their total rejection. The Congress League scheme which had been put forward with the unanimous support of the public men of the country was calculated to

transfer control to the representatives of the people both in the provincial Government, and subject to certain reservations, in the Government of India. The official scheme proposed a limited measure of control in the provincial Governments and absolutely none over the Imperial Government. The official proposals thus fell very short of the Congress League scheme. They were therefore generally regarded as inadequate. It was clear that while acknowledging that the proposals constitute an advance on existing conditions in certain directions the bulk of public opinion in India was not satisfied with the scheme as it stood. Almost every body who was any body wanted more or less important modifications and improvements in the scheme. The scheme proposed the introduction of a certain measure of responsible government in the provincial Governments and was in this respect more in conformity with the announcement of the 20th August than the Congress League scheme, and many of us urged that the official proposals should be accepted subject to the necessary modifications and improvements. This view found general acceptance in the country. When the special Congress met at Bombay it was apprehended in some quarters that the opinions of those who were in favour of insisting upon the acceptance of the Congress League scheme and the rejection of the official proposals might prevail at the Congress, but the proceedings of the Congress lent no support to these apprehensions. While the Congress made its acknowledgements to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for their earnest attempt to inaugurate a system of responsible Government in India, it made it clear that it regarded the proposals as they stood as unsatisfactory and disappointing. At the same time it recognized that the official scheme was more in consonance with the announcement of August 20th, and it therefore decided to accept that scheme in its outline and to urge modifications and improvements consistent with the outline, which in its opinion were absolutely necessary to make it a substantial first step towards responsible Government in India, that is, both in the Central and Provincial Governments.

#### **Congress and Moderate Conference.**

Three months after a conference, organised by those of our prominent public men who had more cordially welcomed the proposals of reform than the great bulk of the public, met at Bombay. They too agreed with the Congress and the League in asking for certain essential modifications and improvements in the scheme. It has thus become as clear as noontday light that enlightend Indian public opinion is unanimous in urging that the principle of responsible government should be introduced in the Government of India simultaneously with a similar reform in the provinces and that there should be a division of functions in the Central Govern-

ment into reserved and transferred as a part of the first instalment of reform. It is unanimous in urging fiscal freedom for India. It is perfectly unanimous in urging that half the number of the member of the Council of State should be elected. It is unanimous in urging that the Indians should constitute one half of the executive Government of India. It is unanimous in requiring that the elective majority should be fourfifths, and that the reserved list should be as small and the transferred list as large as possible. It is unanimous in asking that ministers should be placed on a footing of perfect equality with the members of the Executive Council. It is unanimous in asking for a complete separation of judicial from executive functions. It is unanimous in urging that 50 per cent of the posts in the Indian Civil Service, and to start with, 25 per cent of the commissions in the army should be secured to Indians and that adequate provision for training them should be made in the country itself. It is unanimous in urging that the ordinary constitutional rights, such as freedom of the press and public meetings, and open judicial trial should be safeguarded though there is a difference of opinion about the methods suggested to secure the end. I have not attempted an exhaustive enumeration. My object here is to show that there is, notwithstanding differences in unimportant matters and notwithstanding all that we fear of divisions and parties, there is a practical unanimity in the country about the most essential changes and improvements which are needed in the proposals of reform.

I will not anticipate your decisions. It is for you to decide, whether in view of the events which have taken place since the Congress met, you will reconsider any or all of the matters which were considered by the Special Congress, or whether you will let its decisions stand as they are. Considering how grave and momentous are the issues involved I would reconsider them and welcome any suggestions which would improve them. Since the Congress met events have taken place which would obviously justify such a course. As a mere illustration I draw your attention to one. In the resolution relating to the Provincial Government, whilst holding that the people are ripe for the introduction of full provincial autonomy, the Congress said that it was yet prepared with a view to facilitating the passages of reforms to leave the departments of law, police and justice (prisons excepted) in the hands of the Executive Government for a period of six years. Since this resolution was passed the Functions Committee as well as the Franchise Committee have already visited several provinces, and in two of the major provinces it has been urged that full provincial autonomy should be granted there at once, namely the United Provinces and Bombay—in the former by the provincial

Congress Committee and in the latter by the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council among whom are such esteemed gentlemen of known moderate views as the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Parekh. We may assume that Bengal and Madras also will demand full provincial autonomy. In view of these facts the resolutions of the Congress on the subject may well be reconsidered.

### India and the Results of the War

But by far the most important event which has taken place since the Congress met is the happy termination of the war. In concluding their report on Indian Constitutional reforms Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said—

“If anything could enhance the sense of responsibility under which our recommendations are made in a matter fraught with consequences so immense it would be the knowledge that even as we bring our report to an end far greater issues still hang in the balance upon the battle-fields of France. It is there and not in Delhi or Whitehall that the ultimate decision of India's future will be made.

Happily for India and the rest of the civilised world that decision has now been made. It was announced in the memorable utterances of the Premier referred to before in which he said :—

“You are entitled to rejoice, the people of Britain, that the Allies, Dominions and India have won a glorious victory.”

It is the most wonderful victory for liberty in the history of the world. How does this great event affect our position, how far is India going to share the fruits of the glorious history to which it has been her privilege to contribute? It is highly encouraging in this connection to remember how generous has been the appreciation expressed by the distinguished Premier and other statesmen of Great Britain of the services of India to the war. Let me recall a few of their utterances.

(1) Speaking in September 1914 Mr. Asquith, the then Prime Minister of England said :—

We welcome with appreciation and affection India's proffered aid in the cause of the Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the king Emperor, and are joint and equal custodians of her common interests and fortunes. We hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude their association side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the Home and Dominion troops under a flag which is a symbol to all of the unity that the world in arms cannot dis sever or dissolve.”

(2) Mr. Bonar Law said—

I do not think we fully realize how much these Indians who have fought and died by the side of our soldiers have helped us through these long months.”

(3) Speaking on the 9th of September Lord Haldane, the then Lord Chancellor of England, said :—

"Indian soldiers are fighting for the liberty of humanity's great cause. Hence things cannot be left as they are".

(4) Speaking in February 11th in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George said :—

"The contribution of the Dominions and of India has been splendid, the assistance they have given us in the most trying hours of this campaign has been incalculable in its value."

(5) In the introduction to Col. Merewether's "Indian Corps in France" Lord Curzon said :

"The book describes the manner in which the force and the drafts and reinforcements by which it was followed comported themselves in the fearful struggle of 1914-15. That the Indian expeditionary force arrived in the nick of time, that it helped to save the cause both of the Allies and of civilization after the sanguinary tumult of the opening weeks of the war, has been openly acknowledged by the highest in the land from the Sovereign downwards. I recall that it was emphatically stated to me by Lord French himself that the nature and value of that service can never be forgotten."

Speaking again in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George said "and then there is India, how bravely, how loyally she has supported the British armies. The memory of the powerful help which she willingly accorded in the hour of our trouble will not be forgotten after the war is over and when the affairs of India come up for examination and for action."

(7) Speaking on the 8th of November last Mr. Lloyd George said :— "these young nations ( the Dominions ) fought bravely and contributed greatly and won their place at the Council table. What is true of them is equally true of the great empire of India which helped us materially to win these brilliant victories which were the beginning of the distintegration of our foes. India's necessities must not be forgotten when the peace conference meet. We have had four years of great brotherhood. Let it not end there."

I am sure we all feel most deeply grateful to these our English fellow subjects for their generous appreciation of our contribution to the war. The question now is to what extent is India going to be benefited by the principles for which she gave her lives and treasure, namely the principles of justice and liberty, of the right of every nation to live an unmolested life of freedom, and to grow according to its own God-given nature, to manage its own affairs and to mould its own destiny.

The principles for which Great Britain and the allies fought have now been embodied in the peace proposals of President Wilson to which I have referred before. These principles have been adopted with the hearty concurrence and support of Great Britain. Indeed the credit for adopting them is in one sense greater in the case of Britain and France than in that of America. For Britain and France had borne the brunt of the war for four years and by their unconquerable courage and heroic sacrifices

made it possible for themselves and the Allies to achieve the final victory. Besides, their sufferings and sacrifices had also been incomparably greater than those of the American and their feelings far more deeply injured. It was the more praiseworthy of them, therefore, that they readily agreed to the peace proposals which ran counter in some instances to the decisions which they had themselves previously arrived at. Now the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another is clearly embodied in them. Each nation is to be given the freedom to determine its own affairs and to mould its own destinies. Russia is to have an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for independent determination of her own political development and national policy. Austria-Hungary is to be accorded the opportunity of autonomous development. International guarantees of political and economic independence and territorial integrity are to be secured to the Balkan States and to the independent Polish States which are to be created. Nationalities other than Turkish now under the Turkish rule are to be assured security of life and autonomous development in the adjustment of colonial claims. The principle to be followed is that in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the population concerned are to have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. How far those principles of autonomy and self-determination are to be applied to India—that is the question for consideration. We are happy to find that the Governments of Britain and France have already decided to give effect to these proposals in the case of Syria and Mesopotamia. This has strengthened our hope that they will be extended to India also. We, standing in this ancient capital of India, both of the Hindu and the Mohamedan period, it fills me my countrymen and countrywomen, with inexpressible sorrow and shame to think that we, the descendants of Hindus who ruled for four thousand years in this extensive empire, and the descendants of Musalmans who ruled here for several hundred years, should have so far fallen from our ancient state that we should argue our capacity for even a limited measure of autonomy and self-rule. But there is so much ignorance among those who have got a determining voice in the affairs of our country at present that if I but had the time I would tell them something of the capacity of our peoples, Hindus and Musalmans, till the advent of British rule in India. I may refer those who care to know it to the papers published at pages 518 to 624 in Mr. Dadabhoi Naroji's book on Poverty and Un-British rule in India. I will content myself with saying that one third of India comprising a population of nearly 60 millions is still under Indian rule and that the administration of



many of the Indian States compares very favourably with that of British-India. Has the fact of our being under British rule for 150 years rendered us less fit for self rule than our fellow subjects in our Indian States? Are a people who can produce a scientist like Sir J. C. Bose, a poet like Sir Robindra Nath Tagore, lawyers like Sir Bhasham Iyengar and Sir Rash Behari Ghose, administrators like Sir T. Madhava Row and Sir Salar Jung, Judges of the High Court like Syed Mahmood and Telang, patriots and public men like Dadabhoy Naoroji and Ranade and Pherojsha Mehta and Gokhale, industrialists like J. W. Tata and his worthy son Sir Dorab Tata, and a servant of humanity like Mr. Gandhi, and soldiers who have rendered a good account of themselves in all the theatres of the war, unfit for self-government in their domestic affairs? I hope that the insult of such an assumption will no longer be added to the injury that is being done us by being kept out of our birth right to self-government and that the principle of self-determination will be extended to India. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, let us make it clear what we mean when we talk of self-determination. There are two aspects of self-determination, as it has been spoken of. One is that every Nation should have the right to say whether they will live under the suzerainty of one power or of another. So far as we Indians are concerned we have no need to say so and do not desire to exercise that election. Since India passed directly under the British Crown we have owned allegiance to the sovereign of England. We stand unshaken in that allegiance. We gladly renewed our allegiance to His Majesty, the King Emperor in person, when he was pleased to visit India in 1912 after his coronation in England. We still desire to remain subjects of the British Crown. There is however the second and no less important aspect of self determination, namely, that being under the British Crown we should be allowed a complete responsible Government on the lines of the Dominions in the administration of all our domestic affairs. We are not yet asking for this either. We are asking for a measure of self-government which we have indicated by our Congress-League scheme of 1915. We ask that the measure of self-government or responsible government which you please to give to us should be judged and determined in the light of the principle of self-determination which has emerged triumphant out of this devastating war. In order that this should be done it is not necessary that the proposals of reform which have been elaborated by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford should be laid aside and a brand new scheme prepared. The special Congress and the Moslem League have expressed their willingness to accept those proposals with the modifications and improvements which they have advocated. This great Congress representing the people of all classes and creeds,

Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians, representing all interests, landholders and tenants, merchants and businessmen, educationists, publicists and representatives of other sections of the people, is assembled here to-day to express the mind of the people on this question. One special and particularly happy feature of this Congress is the presence at it of hundreds of delegates of the tenant class who have come at great sacrifice from far and near to join their voice with the rest of their countrymen in asking for a substantial measure of self-government. This representative Congress of the people of India will determine and declare what in its opinion should be the measure of reform which should be introduced into the country. Let the British Government give effect to the principle of self-determination in India by accepting the proposals so put forward by the representatives of the people of India, let the preparation incorporate the principle of self-determination and provide that the representatives of the people of India have an effective voice in determining the future steps of progress towards complete responsible government. This will produce deep contentment and gratitude among the people of India and strengthen their attachment to the British empire.

#### **Revolutionary Activities in India.**

Ladies and gentlemen, I think I have said enough to show how strong is our case both on the ground of justice and of necessity for a substantial measure of responsible government. We have noted with thankfulness the attitude of the British statesman towards the cause of Indian Reform and while we have noted with satisfaction that in their election manifestoes, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Asquith, in short the leaders of all parties in the United Kingdom, have pledged themselves to the introduction of responsible government in India, we regret to find that a limited liability company known as the Indo-British Association has been established in London with the distinct object of opposing the cause of Indian reform and both that association and other European and Anglo-Indian bodies in India, who are opposed to any measure of power being transferred to the Indians, have been misusing the Rowlatt Committees report to create a wrong impression in the minds of the British People. This is a wicked attempt. One should have thought that with the overwhelming proof of the loyalty of the people of India to the British Crown not even the worst detractors of the Indians would venture to make such an attempt at this juncture making a case against the loyalty of the Indian people. The Rowlatt Committee has brought the fact of that loyalty into greater prominence. The committee have summed up their conclusion as follows:—

“We have now investigated all the conspiracies connected with

the revolutionary movement in Bombay. They are purely Brahman and morally Chitpavan. In Bengal the conspirators have been young men belonging to the educated middle classes. Their propaganda has been elaborate, persistent and ingenious in their own province. It has produced a long series of murders and robberies. In Behar and Orissa, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Madras, it took no root but occasionally led to crime or disorder. In the Punjab the return of the emigrants from America bent on revolution and bloodshed produced numerous outrages and the "Ghadar" conspiracies of 1915. In Burma too the "Gadar" movement was active but was arrested. Finally came a Mahomedan conspiracy confined to a small clique of fanatics and designed to overthrow the British Rule with foreign aid."

"All these plots have been directed towards one and the same object, namely, the overthrow by force of the British rule in India. Sometimes, they have been isolated, sometimes they have been interconnected, sometimes they have been encouraged and supported by the German influence."

Now assuming that the whole of this statement is accurate, let us note what the committee say about them. They say all have been successfully encountered with the support of Indian loyalty. This should be enough to silence the calumniators of India as was very well observed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on Indian Constitutional Reform. Whatever qualifications may be needed in the case of particular classes, the people of India as a whole are in genuine sympathy with the cause which the Allies represent, however much they may find fault with the Government. They are true in their loyalty to the British Crown—the loyalty of the country generally emphasised by the attempts made by very small sections of the population to create trouble. Most sincerely do I deplore and so does every thoughtful Indian that any of our youth should have been misled into what the Rowlatt Committee have described, a movement of perverted religion and equally perverted patriotism. I deplore that they should have been led into any criminal organization or conspiracy against the Government. I equally deplore that they should have committed any acts of violence against any of their fellowmen. But let not the misdeeds of a small number of misguided youths be pitted against the unswerving loyalty of 320 millions of the people of India.

When the British Government was established in this country the idea was that it should be temporary to enable the Indians to regain the balance but instead of giving the Indian's opportunities to exercise the power of administration they imported any number of Europeans not only in the military but also in the civil service. Instead of there being a rule that no Indian shall be debarred from holding

any appointment there ought to have been a rule that Indians shall be employed in various offices unless circumstances made it necessary to import an Englishman.

#### **Commissions in the Army.**

He also referred to the various demands of the Congress including that for the commission in the army and in this connection he said that he knew it as a fact that in 1911 when the coronation took place Lord Hardinge had recommended that commissions should be thrown open to Indians but that was not done even now. Only ten Commissions were to be given but he understood that so far only five persons have been nominated.

Having made a passing reference to expensive administration he dwelt on questions of education, poverty, and public health and industries. He said his object in pointing out all these difficulties was to show that the system of Government by the present bureaucracy had failed very largely. While he acknowledged all the good it had done it had failed to promote the welfare of the people as it should have.

#### **The Behar Civil Service Association.**

It was a matter of surprise and pain to read of a circular by the Secretary to the Civil Service Association in Behar asking for the organised expression of opinion on behalf of the Civil Service on the reform proposals. Now everybody in the service was free to hold and to express his opinion individually ; but to think that for the members of the Civil Service to organise an expression of opinion about reforms which is likely to assume the shape of hostile opinion is a thing which has shocked Indian opinion. The circular said that effort was made in every province to have an organised expression of opinion. He appealed to the members of the Civil Service to think if this was the right course to pursue. They had come to serve India. Many had served well and they felt grateful for that, but if attempt was made by them as a body to prejudice or to oppose the present reforms it would be a matter of very serious complaint for India. Indians looked upon them to co-operate with them in making the Reforms a success and he hoped the advice given to them by Lord Hardinge would be remembered by them. There was great opposition against the reforms in England and if the Civil Service at this critical juncture throw in their weight against the reform proposals, India would have serious reason to complain. He hoped that the service would stand up for the interests of India and Indians to whose service they had given the best of their years.

#### **Root cause of Anarchism.**

Referring to the Rowlatt Committees Report, he observed that he had expressed before this his whole hearted regret and condem-

nation of the policy adopted by some of their misguided youths but he asked them to remember the circumstances in which that tendency grew. He asked Englishmen to consider what passed in India from 1897 to 1915. While on one side there were causes given for complaint, their just demands for reforms were not conceded. All these causes which he described at some length contributed to the state of feeling which might pardonably lead youths to sedition. If this was borne in mind they would arrive at the just conclusion and remedy for the state of thing. The remedy was not to be found in the repressive legislation but in large and liberal measures of reforms which would promote contentment and satisfaction among the Indian people.

#### **Deputation to England.**

Continuing the President said that the situation he had described showed that their cause was just and that opportunity was very favourable but it also showed that the opponents were strong and there was great need of sending powerful deputations to England. He hoped that the Congress would decide to send a deputation at an early date. The strength and influence which their deputation would possess would be derived from them and he therefore asked their attention to the principle of self-determination about which they had heard so much. He asked them to apply that principle to themselves. He asked them to determine that henceforward they would be equal fellow subjects in the Empire. He asked them to determine that hereafter they would resent most strongly any effort to treat them as inferior people. He asked them to claim with all the strength they commanded that in their country they should have the opportunity to grow just as Englishmen grew in the United Kingdom. He asked them to inculcate that principle wherever they went and he appealed to them to establish their Congress Committees in every Taluk and Tehsil and to see that the *people* understood this principle. If they did so, working with one purpose, he was sure God would grant them self-government earlier than expected.

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# THE FIRST All India Moderate Conference

*Bombay, Nov.—1918.*

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra N. Banerji)

### Our Creed.

In the course of his address the President said :—

Our creed is co-operation with the Government whenever practicable, and opposition to its policy and measures when the supreme interests of the Motherland require it. Our guiding principle is—"co-operate when we can ; criticise when we must." It is not "criticise when we can ; co-operate when we must." We deprecate opposition for the sake of opposition. Let the occasion arise, and let me assure you that we of the Moderate party, and I am sure I am permitted to speak in their name and on their behalf, are prepared to repeat the same chapter in our national history [like the Anti-partition agitation] But God be thanked, the times are changed—the angle of vision of our rulers has undergone a profound transformation. A change, a welcome change, has come over the spirit of their dreams, and they have extended to us the hand of fellowship and friendship. Let us grasp it with alacrity and enthusiasm, and in co-operation with British statesmanship, let us march forward to the accomplishment of the high destinies that under the Providence of God are in store for us. It is because the leaders of the present-day Congress movement will not recognise the change, the profound change in the spirit and the policy of the Government, and persist, despite the altered conditions, in a campaign of opposition, that we are here in this platform holding a separate Conference of our own, where in an atmosphere of harmony, of unity of views, ideals and aspirations, we can formulate our proposals with regard to the great constitutional changes with which we stand confronted to-day.

### The Reform Proposals.

He then examined the Reform Proposals and continued :

Here I must pause for a moment to refer to the charge of mistrust of the people which, it is alleged, the authors of the Report

exhibit in their proposals. Such a charge is inconsistent with the spirit and essence of the noble message which I have just quoted and with the general breadth and liberality of the proposals themselves, which in the opinion of all, friends and foes, critics and advocates alike, are admittedly a great advance upon the existing state of things, and in the opinion of many constitute a stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government. In judging of the proposals contained in the Report we cannot overlook the qualifying clauses. Responsible Government, under the terms of the declaration of the 20th August, 1917, is to be attained by and through progressive stages. We cannot go behind that declaration.

After justifying the limitations contained in the Report he said :

Whatever differences of opinion there may exist with regard to this view, it is impossible to dispute the fact that the proposals have been cast upon lines which on the whole have received a gratifying measure of support from the British public. They introduce important constitutional changes with safeguards which rouse no misgiving or suspicion among the conservative elements of British society. I therefore dismiss the plea of mistrust of the people brought against the framers of the Report. Caution, even carried to the verge of timidity, is not mistrust. Caution is an intellectual quality : mistrust is a moral distemper ; and when widely divergent opinions have to be conciliated, boldness has to be combined with caution.

### **Congress-League Scheme.**

I am well aware of the objection that will be urged. It will be said in reply that the latest pronouncement of the Congress-League Scheme which was authoritatively adopted at Lucknow is cast upon different lines. Now that scheme was avowedly a transitory arrangement. A new situation having been created by the message of 20th August, a new programme had to be followed ; and the special session of the Congress adopted such a programme. Recognising the scheme as a factor which has to be dealt with, it sought to work into its framework the leading features of the Congress-League scheme with the result that it practically transformed it out of recognition. It amounted to rejection by a flank movement. Our procedure is different. As I have already observed, we take our stand upon the basic pledge of the 20th. August, and our suggestions for the modification and expansion of the scheme are in entire conformity with the spirit and essence of the great pledge, not seeking to tamper with it, or to go beyond it, - but to keep within its broad and beneficent lines.

### **Opposition to the scheme.**

Indeed the opposition to the scheme raised by the Extremist leaders and their followers is a real difficulty in our way which has

to be met and overcome. Lord Sydenham, in the debate which took place in the House of Lords early in August, quoted Mr. Tilak in support of his condemnation of the Scheme and in urging that it should be dropped. It is a strange alliance. Once again the truth is illustrated that extremes meet. But it is an alliance, not indeed ratified by convention or consent (though both parties want the same thing, *viz.* the rejection of the scheme), which is disastrous to the best interests of India ; and our English friends are insistent in their appeal to us to unite in our support of the Reform Scheme and to unmistakably demonstrate our acceptance of it. [He then quoted from Sir Herbert Robert's speech, the *Manchester Guardian* and the London correspondent of the *Hindu* on the British view regarding the proposals and apprehended something worse for the Reforms in view of what fell from Lord Curzon recently in the Lords as to the attitude of the British Government.]

### The Reform Scheme Proposals for the Provinces.

So far I have said nothing about the Reform Scheme. The matter has been discussed threadbare in the Press, on our public platforms and in our Conferences. I take it that with the general features of the Scheme every one is more or less conversant ; I further take it that there is amongst us absolute unanimity in favour of the view that the Reform proposals represent a distinct advance upon the existing state of things and that there is an overwhelming consensus of opinion that they constitute a definite stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. It is upon the reform of the provincial administrations that the authors of the scheme concentrate their attention ; and its merits are to be judged by their proposals in this connection. [He then dwelt on the proposals in the Report on this point and continued :—]

The effect of this arrangement will be that in the major provinces the personal of the Executive Government will have an Indian majority, and in the minor provinces, there will be an adequate representation of the Indian element. Thus, both in in the Legislature and on the Executive Government of the major provinces, there will be an Indian majority, and in those of the minor provinces there will be an adequate representation of Indian members. The Budget will be prepared by th Executive Government as a whole, and will be submitted to the Legislative council for adoption and the Resolutions of the Council on the Budget will be binding on the Government, save and except any item in the reserved subjects in regard to which the Governor may certify that it is necessary for the public safety and tranquility or for the discharge of his responsibilities in connection with the reserved branches of the administration. It is a special power, and as such, I take it, will be used only on emergent occasions. Lastly, I come



to the division into reserved and transferred subjects which constitute perhaps the most vital feature of the Reform proposals. Certain subjects which are called transferred will be made over to Indian ministers to be appointed by the Governor. What these transferred subjects are to be will be determined by the Committee that has been appointed. Among the transferred branches are those which, in my opinion, and I think in the judgment of all impartial men, are nation-building subjects. Let us take one of them for instances,—Education. The control of primary and technical education is to be made over to Indian ministers. What does that imply? It means this—that the Indian ministers or the representatives of the educated classes will be brought into actual living contact with illiterate masses of their countrymen shaping, guiding and moulding their minds and aspirations, leading them onward and upward to the upbuilding of a true national life.

The Indian ministers are to hold their office during the life-time of the Legislative Assembly, that is to say, for a period of 3 years. They will be eligible for reappointment in the event of their being re-elected by their constituencies. Therefore, their continuance in office as Ministers after their first term of office will depend upon the suffrages of their electorates. From the very first it will be their duty, as it will be their interest, to try to please their electors and to obtain from them a re-election for the second term. It seems to me, therefore, that the accountability of these Ministers to their electorates begins from the very first stage; but more than that their responsibility to the Legislature is enforced in a more direct way. The supplies relating to the transferred branches will be voted by the Legislative Council. In the case of an unpopular Minister, the Legislative Council may refuse to grant him the supplies. Thus even in the first stage, I say, there is responsibility to the electorate in a modified form and in a larger measure to the Legislative Council. And after 5 years, the salaries of the Indian Ministers will be placed on the estimate and voted upon every year, and after 10 years, there will be complete responsibility. You have responsibility or the beginning of responsibility at the first stage, a greater measure of responsibility at the intermediate stage, and a complete measure of responsibility at the final stage.

#### **Government of India.**

I am sorry I am not able to speak of the proposal relating to the Government of India in the same strain. The message of the 20th August lays down that responsible government is to be introduced by progressive stages. Surely it may be possible to introduce a stage, it may be only a small stage, in the Government of India. But there are no signs of it. There are no transferred branches, no popular ministers, no definite popular control over any section of

the Budget. His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say that the authors of the Report had gone as far as it was possible for them to go. We are grateful, deeply grateful, for the recommendations so far as they go ; but I submit that it is perfectly consistent with the letter and the spirit of the message of the 20th August to introduce, in part at least, a system of responsible Government in the Central Government also. We earnestly hope that this part of the recommendations will be revised and enlarged before their final adoption by Parliament.

### **Party in Politics.**

To day we enter upon the threshold of a new epoch in the history of our national evolution. To some of us it may be a wrench to form ourselves into a new party though with the old ideas ; but we must move on with the times and the developments of the times, and face a situation, however unpleasant it may be to some of us, with equanimity and courage and even with tolerance and charity for those who may not worship with us in the same temple and who in moments of forgetfulness may be apt to misjudge us and to pelt stones at us.

### **Centre Wing of the Nationalist Party.**

We begin work to day as the centre wing of the nationalist party. We have arduous duties before us. We need for their due performances the ardour of youth, the maturity of experience, the undying faith which is the mainspring of all public movements. It is this faith which built up the Indian National Congress. It is this faith combined with work which will rear up our new organisation. We want to over-spread the country with a net work of organisations. Above all, we want men to work them—men fired with apostolic fervour who will go from town to town, from district to district, and from province to province and spread the glad tidings of great joy, the blessed lessons of patriotism combined with devotion, moderation and self-restraint, so needful in the new era which is about to dawn upon us.

### **Deputation to England.**

The situation is grave, critical, pregnant with the fate of future generations. Will you allow judgment to go by default ? Will you not send your best men, representing the culture, the wealth, the public spirit of this great country, to plead before the bar of British public opinion, to support the scheme with such modification as may be necessary, and to avert the grave peril with which the future of Self-Government is threatened ? The organisation of a deputation to England to express your views upon the Reform Scheme is the most serious work to which you must at once address yourselves. Choose your delegates, name them, send them forth

on their blessed errand with your prayers and good-wishes, and the benedictions of Almighty God will attend them.

### Our Work Here.

But there is also other work therefore you. Each era entails upon its children special obligations, and each individual has his share in the discharge of those obligations. A new era has dawned upon us, the enduring achievement of those illustrious men who have lived and died for their country. Their labours and sacrifices have brought us in sight of the promised land. They have fallen in the grand march. We are the inheritors of the fruits of their splendid devotion. Men talk of the time-forces, on the impetus to human freedom which the War has given. No one wants to belittle them, but do not eliminate the personal elements in the grand evolution of Indian freedom. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Salute the great Dead of India. I am a hero-worshipper to the marrow of my bones. The mighty stream may flow on in its majestic course without spreading the beneficent treasures of the fertilising load to far-off lands. Who were they who tilled and toiled and prepared the ground for those life giving seeds which are now about to be planted and which in the fullness of time will ripen into a rich harvest of freedom? But for the Congress and the work of the great leaders of the Congress in the past, India would not have been prepared for, India would not have asked for, the great boon which our rulers have promised her and of which we hope she will soon be the recipient. Blessed be their memories! The most distant generations of India will cherish them with affectionate reverence. Their task is done. Creators of modern India, they sleep the blessed sleep of the good and the true. Lost comrades now in Heaven, may your spirits be ever present with us, lifting us to a higher manhood, a nobler nationhood, tempering the fervour of our patriotism with moderation and self-restraint, blending harmoniously the ideal and the practical in our public life, softening the acerbities of our debates with the spirit of sweet reasonableness and of tolerance and charity!

### Our New Duties.

The work of propagandism is well-nigh finished; that was the achievement of the olders. The work of construction will be the destined portion of the children of the new age. To that task you and I must address ourselves. The political enthusiast who has roused the feelings of his countrymen and has created the most stupendous transformation in modern India, to whom all honour is due, must now give place to the practical statesman.

There are the electorates to be created, filled with citizens, manly, loyal and patriotic, inspired with a true sense of their civic rights and obligations, safe-guarded by the strongest of all safe-guards, the bulwark of responsible public life against the gusts of wild ideals,

pestilential in their fury and disastrous in their consequences. For this great work we need all the patriotic enthusiasm, all the capacity for self-sacrifices, all the moderation and self-restraint we have shown in the past. A new chapter is opening out in our history. We are undoubtedly the inheritors of an inspiring past : let us prove ourselves the progenitors of even a greater and nobler future. We claim to have helped to create modern India. Now, let us aspire to a higher and nobler distinction. Let us be the maker of India, of the future, a free, a rejuvenated India, where goodwill and amity will prevail among all sections of her vast population, where co-operation with the Government will be substituted, so far as may be, for opposition,—an India, rejoicing in the freedom of her institutions, in the growth of her commerce and her industries, in the expansion of her agricultural resources and in the creation of the amplest opportunities for the fullest development of those gifts and faculties with which an All bounteous Providence has so plentifully dowered our people.

#### Conclusion.

In conclusion, I have a word to say not to the Government of India but to the British Government at home. I have a warning note to sound. It was my high privilege to have appealed to my countrymen to co-operate with the Government in view of the new policy of conciliation and concession inaugurated by the message of the 20th August and ratified by the recommendations of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honorable the Secretary of State. My appeal has evoked a sympathetic response throughout the country which was conspicuously in evidence in the debates of the last autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council. We have endeavoured to do our duty. The Government must fulfil its part. The attitude of the British Government in England in regard to the Reform proposal is, so far as one can judge, unsatisfactory and even ominous. If the enactment of the Reform proposals is unduly postponed, if they are whittled down in any way, if the whole of what is recommended is not given ( and I think that in regard to the Government of India, there ought to be a greater advance) there will be grave public discontent, followed by agitation, the magnitude of which it would be difficult to exaggerate. We want peace and rest. We want steady progressive development accomplished by co-operation between the people and the Government. We firmly believe that the Reform proposals with modifications on the lines of the message will accomplish this great object. But this bright prospect will, if the Reform proposals are dropped, or their beneficent scope curtailed, be overshadowed by the dark cloud of contention, controversy and agitation, the future of which none can divine ; there will be agitation on the one hand, intense, bitter, wide-

spread, accentuated by deep national discontent, all parties joining in it ; there will be repression on the other, leading to God alone knows where. Is this a prospect which any Government can contemplate with equanimity ? Are the days of the antipartition agitation to be renewed, aggravated a hundred fold by the intenser public life of the India of to-day ? Is India to be converted by the unwisdom of our rulers into a greater Ireland ? Let the British Cabinet make its choice. But I have no doubts, no misgivings. The good sense of the British democracy will prevail ; its freedom-loving instincts will assert themselves. It cannot be that the civilized world has spent its blood and treasure, and that India has taken her part in the supreme sacrifice of the nations, in order that this ancient country, the home of a great civilisation, may continue to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, barred out of the heritage of universal freedom. The Prime Minister has told us that the principle of self-determination was no longer to be circumscribed by considerations of latitude and longitude, and the Secretary of State has assured us that India must be firmly set on the road to complete Self-Government. Are these messages of hope and sympathy to be cast to the winds and the seeds of deep and abiding discontent sown in the public mind of India ?

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# Resolutions of the Special Congress and the Moderate Conference.

## Special Congress

*Resolution IV.*—The Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquility and defence of the country subject to the following.

## Declaration of Indian Rights

That the Statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British Citizens :—

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in the Dominion whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or of association, free speech or in respect of writing except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice, and as a result of a lawful and open trial.

(c) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a licence, as in Great Britain, and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice.

## Moderate Conference.

[ *The first two of both are loyalty resolutions* ].

(V) This Conference urges that legislation of an exceptional character having the effect of curtailing ordinary rights such as the freedom of the press and public meetings and open judicial trial, should not be carried through the Council of State alone, or in spite of the declared opinion of the Legislative Assembly of India, except in a time of war or inter-

(d) That the Press shall be free, and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper.

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian serving in His Majesty's Army or Navy save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

### **Fiscal Autonomy.**

*Resolution V.*—This Congress is strongly of opinion that it is essential for the welfare of the Indian people that the Indian Legislature should have the same measure of fiscal autonomy which the selfgoverning dominions of the Empire possess.

### **Reforms.**

*Resolution VI.*—That this Congress appreciates the earnest attempt on the part of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy to inaugurate a system of responsible government in India, and, while it recognises that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present conditions in some directions, it is of opinion that the proposals are disappointing and unsatisfactory, and suggests the following modifications as absolutely necessary to constitute a substantial step towards responsible government :—

nal disturbance, without the approval of the Select Committee of the House of Commons proposed to be set up under the Scheme, unless such legislation is of a temporary character and limited to a period of one year only, the said legislation being in any case made renewable without such approval in the last resort.

### **Fiscal Autonomy.**

(VI) Saving such equal and equitable obligation as may be agreed upon as resting on all parts of the Empire, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Legislature, should enjoy the same power of regulating the fiscal policy of India as the Government of the self-governing Dominions enjoy of regulating their fiscal policy."

### **Opinion on Reforms.**

(III) This Conference cordially welcomes the Reforms Proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India as constituting a distinct advance on present conditions both as regards the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and also as real and substantial steps towards the progressive realisation of "responsible government" in the Provincial Governments in due fulfilment of the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917. As such this Conference accords its hearty support to those proposals, and while suggesting necessary modifications and improvements therein, expresses its grateful appreciation of the earnest effort of Mr

### **Government of India.**

(1) That a system of reserved and transferred subjects, similar to that proposed for the Provinces, shall be adopted for the Central Government.

(2) That the reserved subjects shall be foreign affairs (excepting relations with the colonies and dominions), army, navy, and relations with Indian ruling Princes, and subject to the declaration of rights contained in resolution IV, matters directly affecting public peace, tranquility and defence of the country, and that all other subjects should be transferred subjects.

(3) The allotments required for reserved subjects should be the first charge on the revenues.

(4) The procedure for the adoption of the budget should be on the lines laid down for the Provinces.

(5) All legislation shall be by Bills introduced into the Legislative Assembly provided that if in the case of reserved subjects the Legislative Council does not pass such measures as the Government may deem necessary, the Governor-General-in-Council may provide for the same by regulations, such regulations to be in force for one year, but not to be renewed unless 40 per cent of the members of the Assembly present and voting are in favour of them.

Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to start the country on a career of genuine and lasting progress towards the promised goal.

### **Government of India.**

(V) (a) This Conference, while making due allowance for the necessities or drawbacks of a transitional scheme, urges that having regard to the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917, and in order that the progress of India towards the goal of a self-governing unit of the British Empire may be facilitated and not unduly delayed or hampered, as also with a view to avoid the untoward consequences of a legislature containing a substantially elected popular element being allowed merely to indulge in criticism unchecked by responsibility, it is essential that the principle of "responsible government" should be introduced also in the Government of India, simultaneously with a similar reform in the Provinces. There should, therefore, be a division of functions in the Central Government into 'reserved' and 'transferred' as a part of the present instalment of reforms, and the Committee on division of functions should be instructed to investigate the subjects and make recommendations. (b) While, as suggested above, some measure of transfer of power to the Indian Legislature should be introduced at the commencement, provision should be made for future progress towards complete responsible government of the Government of India by specially authorising



(6) There shall be no Council of State, but, if the council of State is to be constituted, at least half of its total strength shall consist of elected members, and that procedure by certification shall be confined to the reserved subjects.

(7) At least half the number of Executive Councillors (if there be more than one) in charge of reserved subjects should be Indians.

(8) The number of members of the Legislative Assembly should be raised to 150 and the proportion of the elected members should be four fifths.

(9) The President and the Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly should be elected by the Assembly.

(10) The Legislative Assembly should have power to make, or modify, its own rules of business, and they shall not require the sanction of the Governor-General.

(11) There should be an obligation to convene meetings of the Council and Assembly at stated intervals, or on the requisition of a certain proportion of members.

(12) A statutory guarantee should be given that full responsible Government should be established in the whole of British India within a period not exceeding 15 years.

(13) That there should be no Privy Council for the present.

the proposed periodic Commission to inquire into the matter and to recommend to Parliament such further advance as may be deemed necessary or desirable in that behalf.

(e) The power of certification given to the Governor-General should be limited to matters involving the defence of the country, foreign and political relations, and peace and order and should not be extended to "good government" generally or "sound financial administration".

(c) This Conference recommends that the composition of the Council of State should be so altered as to ensure that one-half of its total strength shall consist of elected members.

(f) The Indian element in the Executive Government of India should be one-half of its total number of members of that Government."

### The Provinces.

1. There should be no additional members of the Executive Government without portfolios.

2. From the commencement of the first Council the principle of responsibility of the minister to the legislature shall come into force.

3. The status and salary of the ministers shall be the same as that of the members of the Executive Council.

4. At least half the number of Executive Councilors in charge of reserved subjects (if there be more than one) should be Indians.

5. The Budget shall be under the control of the Legislature subject to the contribution to the Government of India, and during the life-time of the reformed Councils, to the allocation of a fixed sum for the reserved subjects; and should fresh taxation be necessary, it should be imposed by the Provincial Governments as a whole for both transferred and reserved subjects.

### Legislature.

1. While holding that the people are ripe for the introduction of full Provincial Autonomy the Congress is yet prepared with a view to facilitating the passage of the Reforms, to leave the departments of Law, Police and Justice (prisons excepted) in the hands of the Executive Government in all Provinces for a period of six years. Executive and Judicial Departments must be separated at once.

### VII. Provincial Governments.

(c) The proposal to appoint an additional Member or Members, from among the senior officials, without portfolios and without vote for purposes of consultation and advice only, but *Members of the Executive Government* in the Provinces should be dropped.

(1) (a) The status and emoluments of Ministers should be identical with those of Executive Councilors, and the Governor should not have greater power of control over them than over the latter.

(b) Whatever power may be given to the Governor-in-Council to interfere with the decisions of the Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effects on the administration of the reserved subjects, corresponding power should be given to the Governor and Ministers in respect of decisions of the Governor-in-Council affecting directly or indirectly the administration of the transferred subjects. (59)

(d) Heads of Provincial Governments in the major Provinces should ordinarily be selected from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom.

(e) No administrative control over subjects vested in Provincial Governments should be "reserved" in the Central Government, particularly in respect "transferred" heads.

(f) The Government of India should have no power to make a supplementary levy upon the

2. The President and the Vice-President should be elected by the Council.

3. That the proposal to institute a Grand Committee shall be dropped. The Provincial Legislative Council shall legislate in respect of all matters within the Jurisdiction of Provincial Government including Law, Justice and Police, but where the Government is not satisfied with the decision of the Legislative Council in respect of matters relating to Law, Justice and Police, it shall be open to the Government to refer the matter to the Government of India and the Government of India may refer the matter to the Indian Legislature, and the ordinary procedure shall follow. But if Grand Committees are instituted this Congress is of opinion that not less than one-half of the total strength shall be elected by the Legislative Assembly.

4. The proportion of elected members in the Legislative Council shall be four-fifths.

#### **Elections.**

5. Whenever the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State, or the Legislative Council is dissolved, it shall be obligatory on the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be, to order the necessary elections, and to re-summon the body dissolved within a period of three months from the date of dissolution.

6. The Legislative Assembly should have power to make, or modify, its own rules of business

Provinces ; they may only take loan from the latter on occasions of emergency.

(2) This Conference recommends that the largest possible number of subjects should be included in the "transferred" list in every Province as the progress and conditions of each Province may justify and that none mentioned in the Illustrative List No. II appended to the Report should as far as possible be "reserved" in any Province.

IX. (a) The Legislative Councils should have the right to elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

VIII. (b) The elected element in the Provincial Legislative Councils should be four-fifths of the total strength of the Councils, at least in the more advanced Provinces. ( 99 )

IX. 1 (a) It should be provided that when a Council is dissolved by the Governor, a fresh election should be held and the new Council summoned not later than four months after the dissolution.

VIII. (a) The franchise should be as wide and the composition of the Legislative Council should be as liberal as circumstances may admit in each Province, the number of representatives of the general territorial electorates being fixed in every case at not less than one-half of the whole Council.

(c) The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of tax-payers their due representation by election and

and they shall not require the sanction of the Governor-General.

7. There should be an obligation to convene meetings of the Council and Assembly at stated intervals, or on the requisition of a certain proportion of members of the Assembly.

8. No dissolution of the legislature shall take place except by way of an appeal to the electorate and the reason shall be stated in writing countersigned by the Ministers.

#### **Parliament and India Office.**

(a) The control of Parliament and of the Secretary of State must only be modified as the responsibility of the Indian and Provincial Governments to the electorates is increased. No power over Provincial Governments now exercised by Parliament and by the Secretary of State must be transferred to the Government of India, save in matters of routine administration, until the latter is responsible to the electorates.

(d) No financial or administrative powers in regard to reserved subjects should be transferred to

the interests of those communities or groups of communities in Madras and the Bombay Deccan and elsewhere who at present demand special electoral protection should be adequately safeguarded by introducing a system of plural constituencies in which a reasonable number of seats should be reserved for those communities till the first Parliamentary enquiry.

(e) In the case of any community for which separate special electorates may be deemed at present necessary, participation in the general territorial electorates, whether as voters or candidates, should not be permitted.

(f) It shall be left to the option of an individual belonging to a community which is given separate representation to enrol himself as a voter either in the general or the communal electorate.

#### **Parliament and India office.**

(XI) This Conference, while generally approving the proposals embodied in the Report regarding the India Office and Parliamentary control, urges

(a) That the administrative control of Parliament over the Government of India exercised through the Secretary of State should continue except in so far as the control of the legislature on the spot is substituted for the present Parliamentary control.

(d) That until the India Council can be abolished by substituting Indian control for the control of Parliament over the affairs of India, it should be a

the Provincial Governments until such time as they are made responsible regarding them to electorates and until then the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State should continue.

(b) The Council of India shall be abolished, and there shall be two permanent Under-Secretaries to assist the Secretary of State for India, one of whom shall be an Indian.

(c) All charges in respect to the Indian Office establishment shall be placed on the British Estimates.

(e) The committee to be appointed to Examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India shall contain an adequate Indian element.

**RESOLUTION VII.**—The proportion of Mahomedans in the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly as laid down in the Congress-League Scheme, must be maintained.

#### **Commissions in the Army.**

**RESOLUTION XII.**—This Congress places on record its deep disappointment at the altogether inadequate response made by the Government to the demand for the grant of commissions to Indians in the army and is of opinion that steps should be immediately taken so as to enable the grant to Indians at an early date of at least 25 per cent of the commissions in the army, the proportion to be gradually increased to 50 per cent, within a period of ten years,

mere advisory body with its strength reduced to 8 members, four of whom should be Indians.

(c) That at least a major part of the cost of the India Office should be borne by the British Exchequer.

(b) That Indian opinion should be represented on the Committee appointed to report upon the organisation of the India Office and the evidence of Indian witnesses invited.

#### **Mahomedan Representation.**

(VIII) (d) Mahomedan representation in every legislature should be in the proportions mentioned in the Scheme adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916.

#### **Army Commissions**

(b) This Conference strongly urges that Indians should be nominated to 20 per cent., to start with, of Kings's commissions in the Indian Army and (2) that adequate provision for training them should be made in this country itself.

### I. C. S.

RESOLUTION XVII.—That this Congress is of opinion that the proportion of annual recruitment to the Indian Civil Service to be made in England should be 50 per cent to start with, such recruitment to be by open competition in India from persons already appointed to the Provincial Civil Service.

### Deputation.

RESOLUTION XVI.—That the President of the Special Congress, the President of the Congress for the year and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pilai and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayar, the General Secretaries of the Congress, be constituted a Committee of Selection for the purpose of selecting the members of the Congress Deputation to proceed to England to press the Congress views on the British Democracy.

### Franchise for women

RESOLUTION VIII.—Women possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the Scheme shall not be disqualified on account of sex,

### Public Services.

X (a) This Conference thanks the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for recommending that all racial bars should be abolished and for recognising the principle of recruitment of all the Indian public services in India and in England instead of any service being recruited for exclusively in the latter country.

### Deputation.

(XII) (a) That this Conference appoints a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, to select a deputation to proceed to England at a time to be determined by the Committee in consultation with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to urge on British statesmen, members of both Houses of Parliament, political associations, the Press and the British public generally, the wisdom and necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and giving legislative effect to it at an early date with such modification and improvements as have been formulated or suggested in the foregoing resolutions.

(b) The said Committee, with power to add to their number, should also take steps to form a properly constituted permanent organisation of the Party with branches in the various provinces with a view (1) to do sustained work for the political progress and the moral and material welfare of the people, (2) to give combined expression from time

### Constitutions of Councils.

RESOLUTION XIII.—That so far as the question of determining the franchise and the constituencies and the composition of the Legislative Assemblies are concerned, this Congress is of opinion that, instead of being left to be dealt with by committees, it should be decided by the House of Commons and be incorporated in the statute to be framed for the constitution of the Indian Government.

RESOLUTION XIV.—That as regards the Committee to advise on the question of the separation of Indian from Provincial functions and also with regard to the Committee if any for the consideration of reserved or unreserved departments, this Congress is of opinion that the principle set forth in the above resolution should apply *mutatis mutandis* to the formation of the said Committee.

Or

In the alternative, if a Committee is appointed for the purpose, the two non-official members of the Committee should be elected—one by the All-India Congress Committee and the other by the Council of the Moslem League while the co-opted non-official

to time to the <sup>or</sup> considered opinion of the Party on matters of public <sup>or</sup> interest, and (3) to inform and educate public opinion in this country in support of its views, methods and policy.

### Miscellaneous.

9 (b) Some provision should be made for the appointment and co-option of qualified Indians on the periodic commissions proposed to be appointed every ten or twelve years and it should further be provided that the first periodic commission shall come to India and submit its recommendations to Parliament before the expiry of the third Legislative Council after the Reform Scheme comes into operation and that every subsequent periodic commissioner should be appointed at the end of ten years.

10 (c) All racial inequalities in respect of trial by jury, the rules made under the Arms Act, etc., should be removed and the latter should be so amended as to provide for the possession and carrying of arms by Indians under liberal conditions.

(d) A complete separation of judicial and executive functions of all District Officers should be made, at least in all major Provinces, at once and the judiciary placed under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the Province.

(IV) This Conference regards all attempts at the condemnation or rejection of the Reform Scheme as a whole as ill-advised and, in particular, protests

( 64 )

members for each province should be elected by the Provincial Congress Committee of that province.

emphatically against the reactionary attitude assumed toward it by the Indo-British Association and some European public bodies in this country which is certain to produce, if successfully persisted in, an extremely undesirable state of feeling between England and India and imperil the cause of ordered progress in this country. This Conference, therefore, most earnestly urges His Majesty's Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom to give effect to the provisions of the Scheme and the suggestions of its supporters in regard thereto as early as possible by suitable legislations."



# Proceedings of the 33rd session of the Indian National Congress.

*Delhi—26 Dec. '18*

The President-elect, the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohon Malaviya, arrived at Delhi on the 25th Dec. The elite of the town were on the Station platform to receive him and a huge and enthusiastic crowd waited outside. There were deafening cheers as the President's special steamed into the platform. The usual procession carrying the President through the streets, a custom so long followed, had this year to be abandoned as the Government, for reasons best known to themselves, forbade it ; the Reception Committee had previously applied for formal permission for the procession but the authorities at Delhi would only permit it through the shady quarters and the obscurer streets. Self-respect, consequently, had to abandon the project. A military force was stationed outside the Ry. Station to be ready for emergencies ! The crowd, however, insisted on carrying the president's car in procession. But Pundit Malaviya got down from his car and proceeded on foot with the members of the Reception Committee, and the crowd, so long all too pressing, had to disperse in disappointment.

The next day, Dec. 26th, the Congress met at I P. M. at the Congress pandal. The usual cheering, singing and shouting of *Bande Mataram* went on. About 8,000 delegates attended from all parts of India. A special feature of this session's Congress was the presence of some 500 tenant-delegates brought by the president from the villages of U. P. Thus was a beginning made of turning the Congress into a really popular National Assembly, instead of its remaining the coterie of the bourgeoisie English educated Indians. It was a happy augury. The rising Nationalistic feeling refused to be bound by old fetters. Arms were flung open, and uneducated farmers and peasants were welcomed in the embrace.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Haji M. Ajmal Khan, then delivered his welcome address to the delegates in elegant sonorous Urdu—a National Assembly welcomed in the old National Capital in Urdu ! Do feelings give reality and senses tingle life ? If so, then the Congress had enough of both ! The president, too

after being formally proposed by Mrs. Annie Besant and others, and installed in the chair, began to deliver his address improptu in plain Hindi. This touched the Congress to the quick and gave it an air of sincerity unknown before. But the delegates from the Deccan and the Malabar could not understand Hindi and so the President had to address the Congress in English. For the full speech see pages 25—46.

### ***Second day—28 Dec. '18***

The Congress sat for a few hours at noon to pass Resolutions.

**Resolution 1—On Loyalty to the throne**—Put from the chair and carried all standing.

“That this Congress most respectfully begs to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor its deep loyalty and profound devotion to the Throne and its congratulations on the successful termination of the world war.”

“That this Congress desires to place on record its profound appreciation of the brilliant gallantry of the Allied forces and particularly of the heroic achievement of the Indian troops in the cause of Freedom, Justice and Self-determination.

“That the foregoing resolution be communicated to the Governments of the Allied Nations and the United States of America through His Majesty's Secretary of State of India and to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of India.”

### **Resolution II—On Declaration of Rights.**

The Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde next moved for the re-affirmation of the Special Congress resolutions demanding Self-Government, Declaration of rights, and the resolution regarding the commissions in the army (see p. 55).

Mr. Khaparde spoke on the Declaration of rights only. He said that the Bill of Rights was the foundation of everything in political life. Even if all the reforms they asked were granted, they were of no use unless rights demanded in this Bill were granted.

In order that men might exist and live as they desired to live the first thing necessary was to have the freedom of speech and freedom of association. If they could not discuss things which are uppermost in their minds how could they be a progressive society. There should be a free Press. What they did or said should be carried to the uttermost end of the world so that all who shared their thoughts and aspirations might all combine and make an effort to realise the common ideals of them all.

Then there was the right to bear arms. What protection had the cultivator from animals eating away his crops. Whose fault was it that the cultivator's crop was eaten up? The Arms Act had taken away their right to defend themselves.

No body's liberty should be taken away except by a sentence of the ordinary court. It was easy to appoint a special court and put on people who would easily give convictions. It was, therefore, necessary to have ordinary courts. He also referred to the disparity of treatment accorded to the Indian and the European accused.

**Mr. V. J. Patel** in seconding the Resolution spoke on the Self-Government part of the resolution and insisted on the time-limit. He observed that there should be a radical change in the present system of Government and unless and until it was altered and complete, Self-Government conferred on them would be quite useless and poverty and illiteracy which were the result of the bureaucratic rule could not come to end.

After Mr Khaparde's resolution was declared carried the President announced that he would adjourn the Congress till to-morrow as the members of the Subjects Committee had to meet the members of the All-India Moslem League to discuss certain resolutions. The Congress then adjourned.

### *Third day—29 Dec. '18*

#### THE REFORMS RESOLUTIONS.

##### **Mr. B. Chakravarty moved the first Resolution on Provincial Autonomy.**

"That this Congress also re-affirms the resolution No. 5 relating to Self-Government passed at the Special Session of the Congress, held in Bombay, subject to this : that in view of the expression of opinion in the country since the sitting of the said Special Session, this Congress is of opinion that

(a) so far as the Provinces are concerned, full Responsible Government should be granted at once, and that no part of British India should be excluded from the benefit of the proposed Constitutional Reforms, and that

(b) the non-official Europeans should not be allowed to form separate electorates on the ground that they represent the mining or the tea industries, and if they are allowed such representation,

they should be limited to their proportion compared to the population of the Provinces concerned."

In doing so he said : It has been asked, and probably it will again be asked, that you have already affirmed a number of resolutions passed from time to time by the Congress in agreement with the Muslim League. Why are you not content also to simply re-affirm the resolution No. 5 passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Bombay? Let me remind you that this resolution is one which gives modifications which you demanded at Bombay to be made in the Reform Scheme of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. You will have noticed that in that resolution we were content to say that for the present, for a period of six years, the departments of law, police and justice, prisons excepted, should be left in the hands of the bureaucracy. It may be asked why in four months you desire to introduce a modification by which you are demanding that, so far as the Provinces are concerned, complete autonomy, including law, police and justice, should be made over to the hands of the people. As the President pointed out yesterday, this resolution was on yesterday's agenda and was not taken up because a further discussion of the draft resolution was found necessary in the Subjects Committee, and that a discussion having taken place, I am here to justify the acceptance of the resolution as it stands.

But at the very outset, let me remind you that this National Assembly is intended to express and ought to be the mouth-piece of the country. It ought to be the mouthpiece of the country and voice the feelings of the country, and this National Assembly exists for reflecting the feelings of the people of the country. We have, therefore, to take a very rapid retrospect of what happened in connection with the question of Self-Government since 1885. In the first place, you have most emphatically declared in your constitution that the object of the National Congress is to demand for India a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with the other members. In the Congress of 1885, under the presidency of Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, a resolution was passed affirming the right of the Indian Nation to Self-Government. Passing rapidly we come to 1906. But from 1885 to 1906 the same resolution was repeated. In 1906 under the presidency of Dadabhai Naoroji, there was the further assertion for Self-Government, and he for the first time said that we were entitled to Swaraj. Swaraj means nothing more, nothing less, than a word which has now become celebrated, namely, Self-Determination. From 1906, for a number of years the same stand was taken to assert the right of the Indian Nation, but in 1915

there was a note of dissent for the first time. The President of that Congress, Sir S. P. Sinha, from his place, declared that the goal was not yet. Although that was the view taken by Sir S. P. Sinha as President of the Congress, I have taken trouble to look through the resolutions of that Congress and find that so far as the object of the Congress is concerned the Congress reaffirmed the resolution for Self-Government notwithstanding the fact that the President said that the time was not yet. The Congress of Lucknow, under the presidency of Babu A. C. Mozumdar, insisted upon your right for immediate Self-Government being recognised, and the resolution was remarkable for the fact that the Muslim League joined hands with us. But the latest pronouncement of Sir S. P. Sinha is ; "It is no use to say that the time is not ripe. The time will never be ripe in the eyes of those whose self-interest or timidity urges the continuance of the existing order of things." I ask you to remember the two words "self-interest" and "timidity." I cannot accuse you of self-interest, unless self-interest means self-preservation. But I must warn you against the charge of timidity. Some of my excellent and admirable friends, for whom I have the highest respect and admiration, are still timid, because they still think that the time is not ripe. I say the time is ripe.

The next thing we find is the Memorandum of the 19 Members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Then came the memorable Pronouncement of 20th August 1917. Then there was the visit of Mr. Montagu to India, and later the Congress of Calcutta, which was of the very greatest importance. You should understand our attitude and the change of attitude of some of our friends. The Self-Government resolution in the Calcutta Congress was moved by my friend Babu Surendranath Bannerji, and in the course of his admirable speech he said : "This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of Self-Government, the same to be attained within a time-limit to be fixed in the Statute itself at an early date." He further went on to say that the Congress is of emphatic opinion that the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms should be immediately introduced by a Statute as the first step in the progress. He still went on : "We cannot suspend our sitting unless and until we have acquired Self-Government in full measure, unless and until we have uplifted ourselves." But I very much regret, more than anything else, that Mr. Surendranath Bannerji is not with us here. He further went on to say : "There is a rift in the lute. It is said that the time for introducing Self-Government should be decided by the Government of India. We people who are most concerned in the matter, far more closely than the Government of India, claim to have a voice in fixing the time." Further address

ing you Mr. Surendranath Bannerji said. "The enemies of India are not quiet. They have raised the cry of not yet." Now they are the enemies of the country who say "not yet" and in that category I suppose Mr. Bannerji is included, even Sir S. P. Sinha. Mr. Bannerji further said: "United we stand, divided we fall" Responsible Government has been promised but I draw your attention to a note of warning. Let us have no more shams, no more glorified debating societies. We have had enough of them. We now want something substantial, something real that will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people. He ended his speech thus. "We must continue our work under the banner of the Congress," on which are inscribed the stimulating words "Nations by themselves are made." Mr. Bannerji, if he was still of the same opinion, would have been the gentleman selected to move this resolution. We suggested certain modifications. In the Moderate Conference, so far as I can see, the most important modifications sought for are exactly the modifications we seek. What had created a certain amount of trouble is the question of the attitude of the mind. In the Moderate Conference Mr. Bannerji said: "The Montagu-Chelmsford Report does not go far enough in some respects, and in our judgment needs modification and improvement." If that report cannot be accepted in its entirety and the required modifications and improvements must be made, it is on the whole unsatisfactory and disappointing. With regard to that part, it has been charged against us that we are trying to get things done by a flank movement. We say that the movement of the Moderate Conference is a flank movement, because in one breath they say that the Reform Report is satisfactory and in the next breath they want modifications and improvements in it.

Let us take the position of our Anglo-Indian friends. The Hon. Mr. Beatson Bell, Chief Commissioner of Assam, in a note to the Government, said, "The peasantry in India may not be literate, but I have lived amongst them, have mixed amongst them as a Settlement Officer for several years, and I have come to the conclusion that the peasantry in this country are as capable of exercising their civil and political rights as any peasantry in the world." That is my first answer. The second ground put forward is that if we get Responsible Government, we will interfere with the happiness and welfare of the dumb millions, and our Anglo-Indian friends have been asserting that they are the friends of the dumb millions! I appeal to you to read the note of our President to the Industrial Commission Report and there you will find that our Anglo-Indian friends, instead of being the friends of the dumb millions, have killed every industry and everything for which the Indian peasant and artisan have been celebrated all over the world,

with the result that at present we are hewers of wood and drawers of water and cannot produce any thing beyond the raw materials for manufacture in foreign countries. If the interest of the dumb millions means that the Anglo-Indians must be left free to exploit this country more and more and for ever, then it does mean that they are the friends of the dumb millions. On the other hand, if the dumb millions are to have their own voice heard, the Anglo-Indians are not friends of peasants, but we are their friends because we take care of the ordinary rights of the human beings, and we will not interfere with the commercial interests of our people. We are not out for confiscation. The Hon. Mr. Sastri has pointed out some instances in which the modifications are required in the Reform Report. He thinks that the Grand Committees should be exactly in the form in which it is described in the Report. We say that we do not want them, but even if they are to be there, as necessary evils, they ought to be more amenable to the control of popular policy than to the control of the bureaucracy. As regards full Provincial Autonomy, my reasons for demanding it are that we are voicing the opinion of the country, that Bombay has declared itself in favour of Responsible Government in the Provinces at once, that U. P. has done the same thing, Bengal has already indicated its desire in that connection and is going to demand it, and you will find that Madras will follow suit, as well as the other Provinces. In fact there is a resolution on that subject as regards the Punjab. A new situation has been created. The modifications we suggested in August last are not laws of Medes and Persians. If we suggested certain modifications at Bombay and we find subsequently that those modifications do not command the approval of the country, and if the country does not ratify them and says that immediate Responsible Government ought to be granted to us, I have not the slightest hesitation that you will accept the resolution with acclamation.

The Hon. Mr. Patel and other speakers seconded the resolution, and the President then called upon the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri to move his amendments of which he had given notice.

**The Hon. Mr. Sastri said.**

I move an amendment in these words. In the resolution before you drop all the words in clause (b) beginning with "subject to this" and substitute the words "excepting the clause pronouncing the scheme to be disappointing and unsatisfactory and the clause fixing the period of fifteen years for the completion of Responsible Government for India as a whole". The clause I wish to drop is new. It has been introduced in supercession of another resolution passed at the Special Session of the Congress in Bombay, fixing on a period of six years for the completion of Provincial Autonomy.

The class of people whom I represent would have objected even to the clause as it stood. This clause takes us much further and our objections, therefore, are redoubled. It takes us, in my opinion, very far into the dangerous waters. (Cries of "No, no.") I know a good many among you do not think so, but I know also that there are several, even amongst those for whom I am not speaking now, who will probably put the point of view before you that the change is not altogether for the better. That point of view may or may not be right. That point of view you will be glad to hear from others. I am, however, for the moment taking you to another aspect. The Hon. Mr. Patel has already referred to my amendment, although perhaps unconsciously, and obtained your verdict against it in advance. I object to the clause in the Bombay resolution describing the Reform Scheme as "disappointing and unsatisfactory". I know I am giving expression to an opinion which you do not relish, but I am here to represent a certain school of thought. I would beg you not to add to my difficulty by interruptions. (Cries of "No, don't hear you".) I am not going to take advantage of your indulgence, but I will put my case as briefly as I can and leave the rest in your hands. In my opinion and in the opinion of those for whom for the moment I speak, the scheme is in many ways inadequate. (Hear, hear.) I will briefly indicate to you the special difficulty under which I lie. You are aware that the Moderate Conference has passed a number of resolutions on this subject, and as the Hon. Mr. Patel has told you, they and the Special Congress in Bombay are in agreement as regards many very important points. I conceive it a very great advantage that I am enabled to be here and to emphasise the points of agreement as well as to emphasise the points of disagreement. For the moment I am one of those who think that, while the Scheme is defective in many ways and susceptible of improvement, it still marks a substantial step in advance towards Responsible Government. (Cries of "No, no.")

As regards the fixing of the time-limit, some speakers said that the Hon. Messrs. Bannerji and Chintamani once expressed themselves in favour of statutory time-limit. I dare say they did. I am not here exactly defending them, but I may draw your attention to the fact that that position has been abandoned by them and by others who thought with them for this reason, namely, that the Scheme of Reforms proposed the appointment of Parliamentary Commissions for the determination of the future stages in Responsible Government. Accepting that proposal whole-heartedly, they felt that it would be no longer consistent to advocate the fixing of a time-limit which really would render the appointment of Commissions idle and futile. That, it seems to me, is an important reason why they have given up their former position. But I also take leave to mention,



on my own account, another difficulty that may be felt against this particular item, namely, fixing the statutory time-limit. We have got to see that this time-limit is to be fixed by Parliament. We take leave to doubt whether there is anybody who can persuade Parliament to guarantee that, at the end of a certain period, whatever may happen in the interval, irrespective of any untoward circumstances in the political atmosphere that may take place, such and such a forward step shall be and ought to be taken. We take it it would be an impossible position to take and that is why, notwithstanding we realise the deep disappointment of the past, notwithstanding we remember how often the pledges given have been unredeemed, we realise that it may be difficult to get the Parliament to fix the limit absolutely in their hands and in the hands of their successors and that is why I take it, personally, I would not advocate the fixing of a statutory time-limit. That does not prevent us from advocating that, as soon as may be convenient, Responsible Government that we want ought to be completed. There are other ways in which we could approach Parliament, besides asking that they should guarantee that at the end of fifteen or twenty years they or their successors should guarantee its completion. Having taken so much of your time merely to indicate to you the points of difference, let me thank you for the way in which you have been good enough to allow me to speak. I am glad that I have come to the Congress platform. (Cheers). Not merely because I always intended to do so, that is a fact you all know; not merely because that I wish my voice raised here, however feeble it may be, on behalf of the opinion that the Moderates hold in this country, but also because, I think, it is a great advantage that I should, in unison with the rest of you here, raise my voice and demand that in the Central Government Responsible Government should begin at once, that the President and the Vice-President of our Legislative Assembly and Council should be elected by those bodies themselves and not merely appointed, and that we should also demand fiscal autonomy for the provinces, and I am in entire agreement with the Hon. Mr. Patel, although he seemed to think that we should differ, that without fiscal autonomy no reforms that will be inaugurated will be of much value, and that Responsible Government that may be inaugurated would be like the dummy figures you see, soldiers that are gay and imposing to look at but have no vitality in them.

#### Mr. Satyamurti

Mr. S. Satyamurti speaking in support of the resolution said :— The words “unsatisfactory and disappointing” found in our Bombay resolution which Mr. Sastri seeks to remove therefrom are too mild

in expression compared with the strength, volume and intensity of opinion in the country as to the nature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Mr. Sastri went as far as he could in order to moderate our expression of opinion in Bombay, and surely it is too much even for Mr. Sastri to ask us to give up those words. Be it remembered that, after all, those words express the bare truth and in politics as in other matters "honesty is the best policy". With regard to the time-limit, we agree that if we were living in normal times in India and had no doubt that the future political evolution of the country was secure to us, we need not insist upon the time-limit. But you know, Sir, that the long history of India has been one tragic record of disappointed hopes and aspirations, and it is because we know that the ideal held to us will be delayed in its achievement that we are anxious to get a statutory guarantee behind which no Nation can go. My main task is to deal with the amendment supported by Mrs. Besant. She asked us not to go forward for three reasons. Her first argument was based on a figure of speech. She said that the National army consisted of cavalry, artillery and infantry. But who has heard of the cavalry turning back to see whether the infantry is following or not? I believe it is the privilege and duty of the cavalry to rush forward whether the artillery is going behind or not. Apart from that, this Congress represents the cavalry of India, not the infantry, nor the artillery. God knows there has been enough of reaction in this country, official and non-official, and we in the Congress represent the cavalry and ought to go forward.

### **The Hon. Mr. Sastri.**

The Hon. Mr. Sastri, interrupting, said: We represent all divisions.

Mr. Satyamurti continuing, said: I maintain with due deference to Mr. Sastri that we in this Congress including his distinguished personality, represent the cavalry because he knows that there are people who are waiting in the Ante-Chambers of the Government House and Secretariats in order to prevent us from going forward. The Hon. Mr. Sastri is in the cavalry and I know it. But he knows it not. A point was made of the fact that there was some compromise or compact made in Bombay. I would like to ask was there a compromise or compact? (A cry of "Absolutely none.") It is a bare statement of truth to say there was no compromise or compact at all and assuming that there was, is there any use of it in this hall now? I throw down the challenge. Who is prepared to say that because the National Assembly is willing to go forward, he

considers it is a matter of conscience with him and therefore we ought not to go forward? I do not believe that anybody will say that because we ask for Responsible Government in the Provinces, full and immediate, he will feel that his conscience is violated in the least. The third argument was that since August last the situation has become worse. I agree, but if the situation has become worse—how do you meet it? Is it by moderating our demands, by becoming more timid and cowardly? It is not the way in which manly Nations fight their foe. If the situation has become worse and if our services are organised, ask for more. Not by cowardice, not by timidity, are we to win our battle. My friend Mr. C. P. Rama-swami Aiyar asked us and warned us not to have parties. But who can help it? Not even the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. There are parties in this country and he cannot deny it and therefore it is idle to ask me not to go forwards when others, not I, have created a party. We are Liberals, Radicals, and we shall be faithless if we do not go forward, but in mere timidity go with those who do not agree with us and will never agree with us. A question was asked what has happened since August last. In Madura the Police shot at an in-offensive mob, without any provocation. In Bombay you had the Willingdon memorial incident. In Bengal you had the Calcutta riots. In Delhi the procession of the President-elect of the Congress was stopped, a man in whose hands India has committed her National self-respect was insulted, and are we going to say that we do not want law, justice and police transferred to popular control?

### The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma

Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma said: There has been an allusion made by the previous speakers to Moderates and Extremists, to Radicals and Progressives and Nationalists. I really do not know to which school I belong. I know this much. In various official circles I am looked upon as being an ultra radical. But I know at the same time that by some of my friends I am considered to be an ultra-Moderate and therefore standing in that unknown position, I may appeal to the indulgence of the whole audience to allow me, in my endeavour to explain my difficulties and to tell you how I have been forced to come to the conclusion that I cannot but support the first part of the Hon. Mr. Sastri's amendment. I am not here to support the second and the third parts of his amendment. I am in cordial agreement with what we have done in the Bombay Congress on the whole, fairly and accurately, having regard to the whole situation, and I am here to ask you not to go back on it and not to go further than it for various reasons. I take it that we resolved upon not asking at the present moment for complete Self-Govern-

ment. There may be two views on that point. There is one school of thought that thinks that we are making a mistake in not putting our claims at the highest and asking for Self-Government in the full measure. There is another school of thought. Whichever school is right it is unnecessary to consider. We are obliged to ask for partial devolution of responsibility. That being so the next question is: am I to ask for complete autonomy in the provinces and rest content with a bureaucratic rule in the Imperial House, or am I to ask for autonomy vertically and not horizontally. But I am appealing to an intellectual audience and not an emotional audience, and I ask you to analyse the subject and then you will find that when we ask for fiscal autonomy in the Imperial Council we are asking for almost the whole thing in the Imperial Council and nothing less. I for one would be satisfied with the condition in the provinces and I would not rest one moment unless the control over the finance in the fullest sense of the term is granted to us in the Imperial Assembly. On that point we have a strong case. There is no question there of Brahman or non-Brahman. No conflict between Hindu and Musalman, no conflict between landlord and tenant, between the priestly class and Panchamas, or between Indian States and British India. All have asked for control over the tariffs. All have asked for complete self-determination in adjusting our fiscal relations, our commercial relations with the rest of the world. We cannot rest content for a moment with any reforms that deny us those privileges and rights which alone can make India worth living in, an India worth praying for, an India which can be self-respecting. That is the privilege which the Colonies at present possess, being part of the Empire and subordinate to that Empire in some respects, and there is absolutely no reason whatsoever why we should not be granted that measure of reform. If that should be granted we shall have control over the finance, over the railways, over commerce and if we have control over those branches of the administration in the Imperial Council, what is left to the Government? Absolutely nothing. There is no use disguising from us the fact that if we ask for complete autonomy in the provinces and the fiscal autonomy in the Imperial Council we are asking for fifteen annas and eleven and three-quarter pies in the rupee. If we do not reject the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, we are driven to the conclusion that we must give up some subjects in some of the provinces and ask for some subjects in the Imperial Council. That is why we were compelled, although we feel that in almost all the provinces the people can manage their local affairs including law, police and justice, still inasmuch as the authors of the Report had their own misgivings and doubts and fears, we agreed in Bombay to delay our demand for six years for the control over law, police and justice. I appeal to your

generous consideration to say if you are going to wreck all chances of Reform. You see how public opinion is hardening against us. Are we to reject the hand stretched out to us by Mr. Montagu and others? Supposing you pass the resolution and send a deputation to England, I think that the compromise arrived at in Bombay may be considered to be binding. I think that it was a prudent, statesman-like compromise with no surrender of principles or interests and I therefore ask you to accept the first part of the amendment, not on the ground of a compromise alone, but on substantial, intellectual, strategical grounds as well as on grounds of justice and policy.

Several other speakers also addressed the House, some in support of, others against, the amendment.

#### **Amendments Lost.**

The three amendments of the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri were then put separately and were all lost by an overwhelming majority.

#### **Resolution Carried.**

The parent Resolution was then put and declared carried by an equally overwhelming majority. The Congress at this stage adjourned till the next day.

### **Fourth day—30th Dec. '18**

#### **THE REFORM RESOLUTIONS.**

##### **(b) Equal Treatment for the Punjab**

*Moved by Pandit Rambhuj Dutta Chowdhry  
and carried unanimously.*

“That this Congress views with grave apprehension the attempt made in certain quarters to assign an inferior position to the Punjab in the Reform Scheme, and urges that, having regard to its political, military, and historical importance, its wealth, education, social advancement and its magnificent services during the last War, the Punjab should be placed on a basis of equality with Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces.”

##### **(c) Self-Determination for India.**

*Moved by Mrs. Annie Besant and carried by a Majority.*

“In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British Statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of Self-Determination should be ap-

plied to all progressive Nations, be it restated, that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive Nations to whom the principle of Self-Determination should be applied.

“That in the practical application of the principle in India the first step should be the removal of all hindrances to free discussion and therefore,

the immediate repeal of all laws, regulations and ordinances restricting the free discussion of political questions, whether in the press, private or public meetings or otherwise, so that the legitimate aspirations and opinions of all residents in India may be fearlessly expressed, and further the abolition of the laws, regulations and ordinances which confer on the Executive the power to arrest, detain, intern, extern or imprison any British subject in India outside the processes of the ordinary civil or criminal law and the assimilation of the law of sedition to that of England.”

#### (d) Complete Responsible Government.

The passing of an Act of Parliament which will establish at an early date complete Responsible Government in India, and when complete Responsible Government shall be thus established, the final authority in all internal affairs shall be the Supreme Legislative Assembly as voicing the will of the Indian Nation.

#### (e) India's Position in the Empire.

Resolved further that in the reconstruction of the Imperial policy, whether in matters affecting the inner relations of the Nations constituting it, in questions of foreign policy, or in the League of Nations, India shall be accorded the same position as the Self-Governing Dominions.

#### (f) The Indian Civil Service.

That this Congress re-affirms the resolution of the Special Congress, demanding that 50 per cent of the Indian Civil Service should be recruited in India.

#### (g) Rowlatt Committee Report.

*Moved by Mr. B. C. Pal and carried unanimously.*

“That this Congress views with alarm the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee which, if given effect to, will interfere with the fundamental rights of the Indian people, impede the healthy growth of public opinion and would also prejudicially affect the successful working of the Constitutional Reforms.”

### Repeal of Repressive Measures.

This Congress urges on the Government to remove from the Statute Book immediately the Defence of India Act, the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the Bombay and Madras Regulation of 1819 and 1827, respectively, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and other similar repressive measures curtailing the liberty of the subject. This Congress further urges upon the Government that all detenus interned or externed under the Defence of Indian Act or the aforementioned Regulations, and all political prisoners should at once be set at liberty as an act of amnesty in view of the victorious termination of the War, as also to ensure the success of the new regime under the new scheme,

### Equal Rights to Women.

*Moved by Mrs. Sarala Devi Chowdhurani and carried with acclamation.*

That this Congress urges that women possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the scheme shall not be disqualified on account of their sex.

### INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

**Mr. J. B. Petit.**

Mr. J. B. Petit then moved the resolution relating to the Industrial Commission.

The speaker pointed out, had the Government acted wisely in the past instead of in a stepmotherly fashion, India would have rendered much more valuable help in the war. They considered it an irony of fate that even now they were compelled to pass a resolution of this nature and that a minute had to be attached even to the Industrial Commission's Report.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal suggested certain alteration in the resolution which the mover accepted. The resolution which was carried ran thus :

“While generally welcoming the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and the policy that in the future the Government must play an active part in promoting the Industrial development of the country, the Congress hopes that in the practical application of this principle, the object kept in view will be the encouragement of Indian capital and enterprise and exploitation with the sole aim of making India industrially and economically self-contained and self-dependant.

"This Congress places on record its regret at the exclusion of the tariff question from the scope of the Commission's inquiries and reiterates its opinion that the industrial development of the country is impossible without fiscal autonomy being granted to her.

"This Congress agrees with the Commission that industry should have a separate representation in the Executive Council of the Government of India, but it is of opinion that an Imperial Industrial Executive Board is not necessary.

"This Congress welcomes the recommendations of the Commission that Provincial Departments of Industries should be constituted at an early date and urges the same in the Government of India.

"This Congress urges that the Imperial and Provincial Advisory Boards should be constituted for the purpose of promoting Industrial developments and that they should consist of Indians elected by Indian Industrial and Trade Associations and by the Chambers of Commerce.

"This Congress is of opinion that the proposed Imperial Industrial and Chemical Services should be constituted on a scale of service and with the object of having them manned fully by Indians, but the Europeans, who are experts in each line, should be engaged on short term agreements till they can be replaced by duly qualified Indians. This Congress is of opinion that the Government should invite the Universities to establish Commercial Colleges and should help them to do so by substantial grants.

"This Congress regrets the absence in the Report of the recommendations for an adequate organisation for financing the industries and urges upon the Government the urgent necessity of starting Industrial Banks on a scale commensurate with the vast and costly educative machinery recommended in the report. That the Congress offers to the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya the profound gratitude of the country for his able, closely reasoned and comprehensive minute attached to the Report which puts the case for the Indian industrial development in an unanswerable form.

The resolution also made several other recommendations

### ***Fifth day—31st Dec. '18***

#### **Delegation to Peace Conference.**

The Resolution moved by Mr. C. R. Das as amended by the amendment moved by Mr B. Chakravarty and carried runs :

"That this Congress urges that in justice to India it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives to the



same extent as the Self-governing Dominions at any Conference that may be held to deliberate on or settle the terms of Peace or Reconstruction ; in view of the shortness of time and in anticipation of the request made in the preceding part of the resolution being acceded to by His Majesty's Government, this Congress elects as its representatives Lok, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Syed Hassan Imam."

#### **Congratulation to the King.**

The following resolution was then moved from the chair and passed :

"That this Congress congratulates H. M. the King Emperor on the successful termination of the war, and petitions to the High Court of Parliament in England enunciating our demand for responsible Government as an integral part of the British Empire and embodying the resolutions of the Congress regarding such demands and appoints Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. B. G. Horniman and Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Petit to draft a suitable petition and desires the All India Congress Committee to arrange its presentation. The following resolutions were then passed by the Congress.

#### **Deputation to England.**

"The Congress resolves that a committee consisting of the Hon. Pandit Gokarannath, Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde, Hon. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. C. R. Das, Hon. V. J. Patel, Mr. Barkat Ali and Lala Harkishen Lal and the President Ex-officio be appointed to select the members of the deputation to proceed to England, to advocate and press the demands of the Congress as contained in the resolutions of this sessions and to co-operate with the Provincial Congress Committees in collecting the necessary funds with Mr. Kelkar as the convener.

#### **Delhi as Regulated Province.**

"That this Congress strongly recommends that Delhi should be constituted into a regulated province, that it should have a legislative council to assist the Chief Commissioner, and that it should have at least two representatives in the legislative assembly.

#### **Status of British Indians in the Dominions.**

"That this Congress reaffirms the resolutions passed at previous sessions of the Congress on the subject of the status of British Indians in the Self-governing Dominions and Crown colonies of the Empire and once again places on record its sense of resentment and ever-growing dissatisfaction at the actions of the colonies, earnestly hoping that in view of the readjustment of the relations between the component parts of the empire the grievances of the Indian settlers should be removed.

# The All India Muslim-League.

*The Special Sessions—Bom., Aug. 31st to Sept. 1, 1918.*

## RESOLUTIONS.

On August 30, 1918 the Congress and the League came together for a joint sitting in the Congress Subject-Committee and the League Council to deliberate upon the then all engrossing subject of the Reforms. The following are the Resolutions of the League.

The **first resolution** proposed by the President of the Muslim League ran as follows :—The All-India Muslim League tenders its most loyal homage to His Majesty the King-Emperor and assures the Government of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Muslim community of India throughout the present crisis.

The president next proposed—The All-India Muslim League reaffirms the principles of reform contained in the resolutions relating to Self-Government adopted in their annual sessions at Lucknow and Calcutta and declares that the grant of Self-Government within the Empire is essential to strengthen the bond between England and India and also to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people.

The **second resolution** was also put from the chair and carried unanimously.

The All-India Muslim League enters an emphatic protest against the insinuation contained in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reform that the people of India are unfit for responsible government.

The All-India Muslim League deeply deplores the absence of some of the trusted leaders of the community from this Special Sessions of the League and once again puts on record its respectful but firm protest against their continued incarceration in spite of the repeated prayers of the community for their release.

The All-India Muslim League once again emphasises the importance of making due provisions for an adequate and separate representation of the Mussalmans on all Self-Governing institutions which will be constituted on the inauguration of the proposed constitutional reforms.

That the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that it is essential for the welfare of the Indian people that the Indian Legislature should have the same freedom in fiscal matters as are enjoyed by the self-governing dominions of the Empire.

### The Reform Scheme.

**Modifications Suggested.**—The Honourable Syed Wazir Hasan moved the following resolutions :—The All-India Muslim League affirms that the introduction of a system of Responsible Government should proceed simultaneously in the Central as well as the Provincial Governments. The All-India Muslim League while welcoming the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms as an earnest attempt to liberalize Indian political institutions and recognising that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present conditions in some directions, is of opinion that the recommendations as a whole are unsatisfactory and regrets that the scheme fails to appreciate the peculiar position of the Mussalmans of India and evinces a want of sympathy with their interests.

The League is further of opinion that the following modification and changes in the proposals are necessary to render the scheme of reforms a substantial step towards Responsible Government. The proportion of the Mussalman in the Assembly and the Legislative Councils as laid down in the Congress League Scheme must be maintained. The measure of control that Parliament and Secretary of State exercise over Indian affairs should be relaxed, as subjects are transferred to popular control, from time to time, and in the case of reserved subjects, the general and financial control of Parliament and the Secretary of State should not be substituted by the control of the Government of India as long as the Government of India is not made fully responsible to the people. The Council of India should be abolished and the Secretary of State should be assisted by two Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian. The establishment charges of the India Office should be placed on the British estimates. The Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India should contain an adequate Indian element. The words "Good Government" in recommendation 5 of the Report should be either clearly defined or deleted. There should be no Privy Council for India. The Indian element in the Executive Council of the Governor General should not be less than half of the total number of members. In making such appointments the claims of the Mussalmans should be borne in mind.

Power may be taken for the appointment of Under-Secretaries but the majority of these should be appointed from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. The total strength of the Legislative Assembly should be 150, of whom four-fifths should be elected. The President and Vice-president of the Legislative Assembly should be elected by the Assembly.

The Council of State may be retained provided that a system of

reserved and transferred subjects similar to that proposed for the provinces is adopted for the Central Government and that in the legislature of India the certificate of the Governor-General-in-Council should not apply except to certain reserved subjects hereinafter mentioned. The Reserved subjects should be confined to the Army, the Navy, Foreign and Political relations between the Government of India and other powers excepting relations with the Colonies and Dominions, including the declaration of war and entering into treaties and matters directly affecting the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country.

**Governor General's powers.**—In the Council of state half the members shall be elected, one-third of the elected members being Mussalmans to be elected by Muslim constituencies.

The certificate of the Governor-General should not apply to matters other than reserved subjects and only in cases directly affecting the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country. If the Governor-General dissolves the Legislative Assembly he shall summon a fresh Assembly within three months of such dissolution.

The Governor-General-in-Council and not the Governor-General alone should have the power to pass ordinances. The Budget in the Legislative Assembly should follow the same procedure as the Provincial Budget *mutatis mutandis*. Reserved Subjects to include only Law, Justice and Police, (except Prisons) and there should be a complete separation of judicial and Executive functions at once.

The status and salary of the Ministers shall be the same as that of the members of the Executive Council.

Complete **Provincial autonomy** be assured by terms of the statute within six years. No additional members shall be appointed without portfolios. The League disagree with the recommendation that additional member or members may be appointed to the provincial executive Councils by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only. The Governor shall not have power to summon either part of his Council separately. Power may be taken to appoint Under-Secretaries provided that the Under-Secretaries so appointed shall be from among the elected members of the Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council shall consist of four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated members. The Legislative Council shall elect its own President and Vice-President. The re-transfer of transferred subjects to the list of reserved subjects in case of mal-administration shall only take place with the sanction of Parliament. The Legislative Council shall have the right to vote the salary of ministers five years after the first Council.

The status of Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi should be that of a

Regular Province and that popular government and effective control in the affairs of the local Government should be granted to their people.

The percentages of recruitment in India in the public service, including the Indian Civil Service, should begin with 50 per cent, and increase by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. annually until the position is reviewed by the Commission. The League objects to the time scale of promotion set out in recommendation No. 68 of the Report. All persons either recruited in England or India should receive equal pay. No allowances to be granted to persons recruited in Europe for service in India, or to those recruited in India for service in Europe.

The All-India Muslim League authorises the Council of the League to take steps to send a deputation to England at an early date to work conjointly with the Congress deputation in the matter of Reforms in accordance with the principles incorporated in the resolutions passed in this special session of the All-India Muslim League and to secure for the Mussalmans of India due recognition of their rights for enabling them to take their proper place in the reformed political constitution of the country.

The All-India Muslim League while generally condemning the conclusions arrived at by the **Rowlatt Committee**, records its emphatic protest against the aspersions cast in the report on the loyalty of the Mussalman community and, having regard to the method of investigation adopted, declares its conviction that the conclusions arrived at by the committee regarding the existence of a seditious movement in the community are not correct. The League further emphatically declares that it cannot accept the remarks of the said committee regarding some of the respected leaders of the community unless and until the materials on which the committee profess to base their conclusion are tested in a court of law.

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# All India Muslim-League

*11th Sessions, Delhi, Dec. 30, '18.*

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

(Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haque)

After referring to the wide spread Muslim apprehensions regarding the fate of Turkey in the hands of the Allies, the President observed that to them (Indian Mussalmans) the fate of Turkey could not but be a matter of the deepest concern, for with it was closely interwoven the question of the Caliphate or the guardianship of the Holy places of Islam.

Over the achievements of British diplomacy and statesmanship in the past they were ready to draw a veil, but it was time to remind British statesmen that it was politically unsound and against the teachings of history to indulge in heavy drafts on the loyalty of a subject people. Very little logic was needed to demonstrate the fact that the practical destruction of the mind of even the loyal Mussalmans of India has already been accomplished. It was, therefore, a matter of deepest regret that at the forthcoming Peace Conference the Mussalmans of India would be wholly unrepresented and that most weighty decisions on questions affecting the sentiments and feelings of one section of His Majesty's Indian subjects would be arrived at in the absence of proper representation of their interest. The recent utterances of responsible British Ministers have hardly been of an inspiring character. Only the other day Lord Robert Cecil had declared that Turkey had shown an utter incapacity for ruling subject races and had given a plain hint as to how the Allies contemplated dealing with Turkey. But had England herself shown any conspicuous capacity for ruling her subject races? Tall talk and low performances might be amongst the many and varied proud privileges of Englishmen, but did they seriously realise what the verdict of history was likely to be on the achievements of their own countrymen in India?

India had retrograded in material prosperity under British rule due mainly to two causes: First, the British administration had not promoted or widened the sources of national wealth in India; secondly, all the available wealth had been actually drained out of the country by the system of administration which could not

possibly leave any wealth in India without directly falsifying the fundamental and living truths of political economy.

He then referred to the Reforms and pointed out the necessity of Self-government and gave the usual replies to the various objections so often urged against the grant of reforms. On the question of Hindu-Moslem relations he considered it a gross libel on both communities to say that the Hindu was the natural enemy of Mussalmans. Incidents like the Arrah riots were due to the fanaticism and ill-conceived religious fervour of those sections of the two communities who, from want of education and the cultivation of a civic moral, had not learnt to be tolerant of the feelings and sentiments of the other.

Speaking about Moslem interest in the Government he observed that their rulers had not shown any jealous regard for the protection of Mussalmans and their interests ; in many respects under the present conditions Mussalmans were the greatest sufferers. He dwelt at some length on the late Calcutta disturbances and gave his version of the occurrence which, he said, was different from the official one. Facts, however, remained what they were and people began to wonder that the wrong-doers were not only yet punished but even rewarded for oppressions committed on the people.

The speaker next referred to the cases of Moslem internees, particularly to those of Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali and Moulanas Mahomedul Hasam and Abdul Kalam Azad. He asked Government to compare Muslim feeling in India to-day with what it was only a few years ago and earnestly besought them to consider whether they were really serving the best interests of British rule in this country. He wished to tell Government that they were driving Mussalmans slowly to the very verge of despair.

Referring again to the question of the Caliphate and the safety of the holy places of Islam he wished to leave those questions to be further discussed by the Moulanas, but he wanted to emphasise one particular aspect. All questions relating to the Caliphate and the holy places touched the Mussalmans in the most vital part of their religious belief and however much convenient imposters can with impunity be set up to misrepresent the real views of the community on political questions, any attempt to repeat that process regarding religious matters was bound to be attended with the most serious consequences. They were loyal to the British Crown and they were prepared to vindicate their loyalty by making sacrifices, subject to the one vital condition of consistency with the teaching of Islam and with fidelity to the dictates of their faith. But in making one sacrifice after another the dividing line might soon be reached and they would have to tell their Rulers that in the event

of a possible conflict between Divine commandments and the laws of an earthly King a true Mussalman must allow the former to prevail even at the risk of laying down his life. He said in conclusion :—

“To me the future of Islam in India seems to be wrapped in gloom and anxiety. Every instance of a collapse of the Muslim powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of our community in India. The future of Turkey, as far as I can see, seems to be doomed. The feelings of the European Powers towards Turkey have hardly ever been friendly in the past and in the nature of things could not have been otherwise in spite of the lapse of centuries. The relation between East and West is seldom free from a tinge of that immemorial conflict which dyed red the waves of the Salamis and the Nile and latter on hurled the hordes of Christendom against the bulwarks which the heroes of Islam had raised for the protection of the holy places of our faith. It is an antagonism between two distinct types of civilisation and divergent outlooks on life and is based on almost all the factors that can possibly divide man from man. I will not, therefore, be surprised if they take this opportunity finally to dispose of Turkey and her possessions in Europe, and herein lies food for the amplest reflection. As the years roll on the position of the Mussalmans in India becomes more and more critical and demands our most anxious thought and care. In my humble opinion we should invoke Divine help and guidance in all sincerity and meekness of heart ; above all we should renounce any lurking spirit of strife and quarrel with other communities and seek their help and assistance in our troubles and difficulties. There are some Mussalmans who think that intolerance of non-Muslims is a point of bravery, and that a contrary feeling betokens cowardice. I have even come across Muslims who take a particular pleasure in assuming a militant attitude towards non-Muslims as if devotion to Islam demands that we should always be on the war path irrespective of consequences. All this is not merely morally reprehensible but politically a grievous blunder. We are daily drifting towards a position when we shall have to tackle one of the most obstinate and powerful bureaucracies known in history. We shall then need all our strength and also the help and co-operation of our non-Muslim brethren. Experience has shown that we can have this help and co-operation for the mere asking. Shall we be wise and strengthen our arms by an alliance with our brethren, or shall we be foolish and weaken whatever strength we possess by internecine quarrel and strife? We have to decide with the future of our community in the palm of our hands and, please God, let us decide wisely.”

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**PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS  
1918**

**EDITED BY  
H. N. MITRA M.A., B.L.**

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## Acts Passed in 1918

1. **The Indian Forest (Amendment) Act.**—This amends the Act of 1878 in three particulars. First, the maximum period for which a protected forest may be closed by a Local Government has been raised from twenty to thirty years. Secondly, it enables Forest Officers, not below the rank of Forest rangers, first, to release any tools, boats, carts or cattle seized under s. 52 on the execution by the owner of a bond for the production of the property so released, if and when so required (s. 63 A). The third amendment is more important as creating a new duty for the public. It is now incumbent upon privilege holders, their servants and village officers to extinguish and prevent forest fires on their own initiative instead of merely requiring them to render assistance to Police and Forest officers when such assistance is requisitioned. To this end s. 78 of the Act has been amended.

2. **The Cinematograph Act.**—provides : first, to protect the public from fire and such like dangers, and (2) to protect them from viewing undesirable pictures. It is, therefore, enacted that cinematograph exhibitions should be licensed ; the authority that can grant licenses being the District Magistrate in the Mofussil and the Commissioner of Police in the Presidency towns. Every film that is meant to be exhibited must be certified by an authority appointed in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council (s. 7). Section 8 gives power to make rules.

3. **The Indigo Cess Act.**—With a view to re-establish the revival of the natural indigo industry on a permanent footing and to modernise the method of cultivation and manufacture of indigo, the Government levied a cess of one rupee on every Bengal maund of indigo produced in India and exported to any port beyond the limits of British India or to Aden. The proceeds to be applied to meet the cost of such measures as may be considered advisable to take for promoting research in the interest of the indigo industry in India.

4. **The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Act.**—The object of this Act is to legalise the issue of the nickel two-anna pieces and currency of the new nickel coin. Both the two-anna and one-anna

nickel coins are a legal tender in payment only up to one rupee. The old two-anna pieces remain current coin for all purposes.

**5. The Criminal Justice, Aden (Amendment) Act.**—It is enacted that one more Assistant Resident should be appointed as Additional Session Judge who would try such cases and appeals as the Resident may direct.

**6. The Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act.**—The maximum limit for the issue of currency notes against Treasury bills which has been fixed at 42 crores of rupees is now raised to 66 crores of rupees. This is a war measure to remain in force during the continuance of the war and six months thereafter.

**7. The Indian Income Tax Act.**—All previous Acts are swept away and replaced by the present Act.

No tax is levied on income less than Rs. 1,000. For income varying from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000, a tax of four pies in the rupee is levied; but the tax is to be assessed at five pies in the rupee for incomes ranging from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000. If the income is anywhere between Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000, the tax is assessed at six pies in the rupee; and for incomes amounting to Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 25,000, the tax is nine pies in the rupee. For all incomes exceeding Rs. 25,000 a year, a general tax of one anna on the rupee is imposed.

Chapter I of the Act deals with taxable income which includes "all income from whatever source it is derived if it accrues or arises or is received in British India." Exemptions:—(1) income derived from property held under trust for religious or charitable purposes; (2) income of a religious or charitable institution; (3) income of local authorities; (4) interest on securities held for Provident Funds; (5) amount received in commutation of pension; (6) special allowance to meet expenses incurred in performance of duties of an office; (7) legacies; (8) casual and non-recurrent receipts; (9) perquisites which are not money and which cannot be valued in money.

Agricultural income are not chargeable to income tax. But (1) salaries; (2) interest on securities; (3) income derived from house property; (4) income derived from business; (5) professional earnings; and (6) income derived from other sources are chargeable.

The next Chapters treat of deductions and Assessment. Dividends declared on shares by limited companies and interest carried

on Government and other securities are taxed at the source at the rate of one anna per rupee; but it is open to a share-holder or a security-owner to get proportional reduction at the general assessment of the tax on all of his sources of income. These rates of refund are: one anna in the rupee if the income is below Rs. 1,000; eight pies in the rupee for incomes between Rs. 1,000 and 2,000; seven pies in the rupee for incomes varying from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000; six pies in the rupee for incomes ranging from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000; and nine pies in the rupee for incomes aggregating from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 25,000. The mode of assessment is also changed. It is obligatory on every Company to send a return of its annual income by the 15th of June every year. In case of a person whose income is not less than Rs. 2,000, the Collector shall send a notice calling upon such person to state his total income during the previous year under different heads indicated above. It will be open to the Collector to assess the tax upon income so specified, or to make further inquiry. As soon as the sum is fixed, the Collector shall serve a notice of demand upon the assessee.

An appeal from the assessment lies to the Commissioner, which must be made within thirty days. The Commissioner has the power on appeal to reduce, enhance or confirm the assessment. The Chief Revenue authority has the power to call for any assessment and revise the same. A penal assessment of double the amount of the tax can be imposed upon any person who is guilty of concealing any source of his income.

When the taxable income varies from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 the Collector has summary powers of assessment.

Liability to pay tax in special cases is incurred by the guardian, trustee or agent of a minor, lunatic, or idiot, or a person residing out of British India, and the Court of Wards.

Refund is allowed to individual share-holders, partners, and owners of securities, if they satisfy the Collector that their total income in the previous year was less than the amounts specified in Schedule II. If a person makes a false statement in the declaration made by him he commits an offence under s. 177 of the Indian Penal Code, but such a prosecution will lie only at the instance of the Collector.

**8. The Indian Defence Force (Amendment) Act.— III of 1917.** Under S. 12 of the parent Act, the enrolment of non-European British subject was limited to a period of six months from the commencement of the Act. That period having expired,

*IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL*

it is now enacted that the Governor-General in Council may by notification allow recruiting to be re-opened from time to time in specified areas.

**9. The Indian Soldiers (Litigation) Act, 1918** — The Act of 1915 is repealed. The object of the present as well as the repealed Acts is to provide for postponement of proceedings in which Indian soldiers serving under war conditions are concerned.

**10. The Usurious Loans Act.**—The present Act is aimed at Usurers by proceeding on the lines suggested by the Money Lenders' Act (63 and 64 Vic. c. 51), s. 1, and empowering the Courts to re-open transactions by way of money or grain in cases when they are satisfied : (1) that the interest or other return is excessive, and (2) that the transaction is substantially unfair. In such cases the Courts may (1) re-open the transaction, take an account between the parties, and relieve the debtor from payment of excessive interest ; (2) re-open any account already taken between the parties ; or (3) set aside, revise or alter any security given on agreement made between the parties in respect of any loan (s. 3). The only limit to the exercise of this power is that (1) the Court cannot re-open a transaction more than six years prior to the date of the transaction in suit or (2) to disturb the decree of a Court. It is competent to the Court to exercise these powers also in any insolvency proceedings.

**11. The Indian Army (Amendment) Act.** — The existence of an extensive war for upwards of three years has discovered a number of defects in the previous Act which are sought to be remedied by this Act. The term "native" has been replaced by the term "Indian" which has been rendered legally possible by the Government of India Act, 1915. The "Army Corps", which was not known to Indian Military authorities when the Act of 1911 was passed, is now recognised and given its place throughout the Act.

**12. The Indian Companies Restriction Act.**—A war measure and justified on the ground of successful prosecution of the war. To husband the resources of the Indian money-market, of the Government of India wanted to exercise control over fresh issues of capital. It is therefore provided that the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies shall not register a company, nor shall a company increase its share capital, issue debentures or call up unpaid capital, unless the company holds a license in this behalf

issued by the Governor-General in Council (s. 3). Any contract made for the purpose of increasing share capital or for the issue of debentures, in contravention of its provisions is void and any call made by a company in contravention of it are unenforceable.

**13 The Indian Paper Currency Act.**—Another war measure. Hitherto, the Paper Currency Reserve could legally remain in silver or gold coin or bullion in transit to and from India in certain circumstances. The war changed the venue of purchase of silver from London to New York. It is enacted that during the continuance of the war and for six months after, such Reserve can also be (1) in silver held in the United States of America on behalf of the Secretary of State for India in Council or the Governor-General in Council; or (2) in silver in course of transmission from the United States of America, which was at the commencement of such transmission or at any period thereafter held as aforesaid.

**14. The Gold Coinage Act.**—In June 1918 the Government of India promulgated an Ordinance legalising the issue of gold mohurs valued at Rs. 15 each in India. These coins were accordingly minted and set into circulation in the districts of the Panjab. The provisions of that Ordinance have been enacted into an Act. His Majesty's Mint at Bombay since started has been minting sovereigns and for the time being the gold mohurs have ceased to be minted. The Act fixes the weight of a gold mohur at 123·27447 grains troy, mixed in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{17}$  of fine gold and  $\frac{1}{17}$  of alloy (s. 4). These gold mohurs remain a legal tender so long as they do not lose their weight below 122½ grains or are not defaced. Power is given to any person to cut (1) diminished or defaced coins; and (2) counterfeit coins.

**15. The Enemy Trading Orders (Validation) Act.**—Aimed at the German and Austrian Firms.

**16. The Provisional Collection of Taxes Act.**—This Act applies only to Financial Bills introduced by the Members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. It provides that when a bill is introduced in the Indian Legislative Council by a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, and such Bill provides for the imposition or variation of any tax in the nature of customs or excise duties, and there is inserted therein a declaration that it is expedient in the public interest that the Bill should have temporary effect under the provisions of this Act, the Bill shall, for the period limited by this section and subject to the provisions of this Act, have effect from the date of its introduction. But

where such an Act as above described ceases to have effect, any money paid in pursuance of the Bill shall be repaid or made good. This measure has been necessitated by the introduction of a number of Acts passed to raise revenue to meet increased expenses consequent on the war.

**17. The Indian Non-ferrous Metal Industry Act**—It is passed with the object of preventing the subject of States at present at War with His Majesty from obtaining control during the period of the war and for five years thereafter over any business in connection with certain non-ferrous metals and metallic ores. The prohibited commodity are zinc, copper, tin, lead, nickel and aluminium and other ores. It enacts that it shall not be lawful for any person, after the expiration of six months from the commencement of this Act, to carry on any business of working, extracting, smelting, dressing, refining or dealing of non-ferrous metal or ore without a license.

**18. The Indian Army (Suspension of Sentences) Amendment Act.**—This is a purely military measure. Its chief provision is that where an offender is, whilst a sentence is suspended under this Act, sentenced for any other offence, then, if the further sentence is also suspended under this Act, the authority ordering such suspension may direct that the two sentences shall run either concurrently or consecutively, provided that the aggregate term does not exceed fourteen years (s. 3).

**19. The Indian Defence Force (Further Amendment) Act.**—This Act enables the enrolment of European British subjects above the age of fifty years for general military service or for local military service (s. 11 A).

**20. The Indian Companies (Foreign Interests) Act.**—Its object is that companies which, during the war, have been reconstituted in India on lines approved by the Government of India and of the British Empire as a whole, should be restrained from altering their articles of association in such a way as to bring them under the control of foreign interests. It is therefore enacted that the provisions in those respects should not be altered without the consent of the Governor General in Council; nor can such a company be wound up voluntarily without such consent.

**21. The Indian Defence Force (Foreign Service) Amendment Act.**—This provides that certain persons deemed to be enrolled under the Indian Defence Force Act shall be liable to serve outside India as well as within its limits.



**22. The Bronze Coin (Legal Tender) Act.**—The Bronze coins, the pice and pies, minted at His Majesty's mint at Calcutta, but owing to pressure of war it has not been feasible to mint these coins in sufficient quantity. The offer of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad to mint the bronze coin for the Government of India at the Hyderabad Mint has made it practicable for the Government of India to utilise the resources of the mint. Under the Indian Coinage Act of 1906 only the coin minted at His Majesty's Mint in India are legal tender. To remove this inability, the Act is passed to make coins minted at mints outside British India at the request of the Governor-General in Council also legal tender in British India.

**23. The Cotton Cloth Act.**—It was aimed to afford relief against the exorbitant prices of cotton cloth, primarily brought about by the war, but alleged also to be mainly responsible to the heavy speculation of a few cloth merchants. The high prices of cloth have affected the poor classes miserably. The Governor General in Council has the power to appoint one or more Controllers who are empowered to pass orders for the purpose of encouraging or maintaining the supply of standard cloth at reasonable rates to the poorer classes of the community. They may also declare and define the classes of standard cloth; prescribe distinctive indications to be woven into or impressed on the standard cloth; require any person who ordinarily manufactures cotton cloth to manufacture a prescribed quantity and quality of standard cloth; and fix the prices to be paid to the manufacturer for standard cloth. The Controllers are to be assisted by Advisory Committees consisting of persons having knowledge of the cotton or cotton cloth trade and appointed by the Governor-General in Council. When the Controller has directed a manufacturer to manufacture standard cloth and has fixed the price therefor, the manufacturer shall deliver the same at such time and place and in such manner as the Controller may specify from time to time and the Controller shall pay to the manufacturer the said price, together with the profit if any actually paid by the manufacturer. Disobedience to the Controller's orders is made punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine or with both. The price at which the standard cloth is to be sold shall be fixed by the Local Government; and the sale of cloth can be made at the prices fixed by Government and by persons duly licensed on this behalf.

# Summary of Proceedings

OF

## The Imperial Legislative Council.—1918.

Winter Session—6 Feb' 18.

*(For the Members of the Council, See  
Part I of the Register, P. 41).*

The first meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council was held at Delhi on 6th February. **The Viceroy** opened the session with a long speech generally reviewing the position of affairs. He referred at the outset to the outrage recently perpetrated upon the Moslem population of Shahabad and certain neighbouring areas; alluded to the various commercial expedients which had been forced upon the Government by the prolongation of the war, and explained that whilst hitherto India had not felt the burden and suffering which war brings to the houses of the poor with anything like the same severity as less favoured countries nearer the main theatres of operations, the pinch was being felt and one of the matters which had given Government cause for the most anxious consideration had been the recent rise in prices. In Education, the greatest event was the meeting in November last of the Calcutta University Commission. Government had determined to place no obstacle in the way of local legislation designed to stimulate the spread of primary education. Speaking on Military matters he said an added burden had been thrown on the Allies by the situation in Russia, and India had to be prepared for greater efforts and greater sacrifices and for a fuller organisation of her military resources in manpower and in material. For this sustained efforts in the direction of recruiting were required. A stream of gifts and contributions from the Native States was still flowing strongly for which he expressed satisfaction and gratitude. He then adverted to the **Reform Scheme**, spoke of the efforts which he had made in co-operation with the Secretary of State to ascertain the opinion of all classes in the country. Following the precedent adopted by Lord Morley, the scheme would be submitted to the public for discussion.

## NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTION

9

The Finance Member introduced the Indian Income Tax Bill. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi raised a point, whether incomes arising from agricultural sources should be taken into account in determining the rate of assessment. He said: "I feel it my duty to enter my humble protest against section 4 of the Bill which, under cover of a graduated scale of tax, is likely to contravene the very spirit of Lord Cornwallis's understanding with the owners of permanently settled estates. Section 4 of the Bill under discussion provides that the net amount of the agricultural income in excess of Rs. 1,000 received by any particular assessee in the year of assessment should be taken into account in determining the rate at which the tax shall be levied, thus laying him open to be assessed as a landlord at a higher rate than at present." This point was discussed by almost all the members who spoke upon the Bill and generally endorsed by every member from an agricultural constituency and particularly from a permanently-settled tract. The Finance Member promised that this point should be taken into consideration by the Select Committee.

### Resolution I.—Feb. 6th.

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma proposed the following resolution: "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council (a) the **redistribution** of provincial areas and the constitution of provinces, where, necessary, to secure complete success for self-governing institution in British India; (b) the rearrangement of provincial areas on a language basis wherever and to the extent possible, especially where the people speaking a distinct language and sufficiently large in numbers desire such a change." The long discussion on this resolution showed the heterogeneous character of the Provinces of India. The main purpose of the resolution was to group the Provinces on a linguistic basis. The mover dismissed as beyond the realms of possibility the inducing of the people of India to adopt one language even in the very remote future. India he said, has had a central Government for ages but its past history as well as the history of the peoples in the world in general did not encourage the hope of a universal language. After a century of British rule the number of English-knowing Indians was but one and a half millions against 14 millions of literate people. To expect the people of India to give up their mother tongue seems to be a wild dream. Now the very nature of representative institutions involved an independent appreciation by the people of the problems of legislation, administration and finance. He said that in

non-official organisations when the medium employed was English the assemblies were composed almost wholly of English-educated Indians but during the past ten or fifteen years in his own part of the country as soon as the use of the mother tongue came into general use at the Provincial Conferences and began to be almost exclusively employed, the assemblies had been composed of all the strata of society and had become large, real and living centres of activity. If the Provinces were not grouped on a linguistic basis it would be necessary to conduct the proceedings in English and many members would have to sit and listen to speeches which they did not understand.

The discussion which followed showed a wide diversity of opinion. Government officials were strongly opposed to the proposals on the ground of impracticability.

Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi said "While a slight readjustment here and there may be desirable, the game of 'General Post' which my Hon. friend Mr Sarma advocates, and which has also been advocated in certain other quarters, namely, the partition of our existing provinces into small Provincial States, 30 to 40 in number, is one which, in my humble judgment, is in the highest degree impracticable, and, in view of the heterogeneous character of our population is likely to be highly injurious to the best interests of the country. There is, within the British Empire, no precedent for it. Australia with its territorial extent of three million square miles is divided only into six colonies or provinces. Canada with its area of three million and a half square miles is divided only into seven. The advocates of this scheme would divide India with its area of one million and a half square miles into 30 to 40 small States."

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru said the question would lead to endless controversy and discussion all over the country. Instead of accelerating or expediting constitutional reform it would seriously retard the introduction of such reforms.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri asked Mr. Sarma to forbear from complicating the situation. When responsible government came, whether it came at the end of 20 or 30 years, then the time might be ripe for a discussion to propose to chip and chop the provinces but for the present let them walk warily so far as the rearrangement of the Provinces was concerned.

The resolution was negatived.

## Resolution II.—Feb. 20.

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma introduced the following resolution :  
“This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government may be pleased to accept and declare **total prohibition** of the use of all alcoholic and intoxicating liquors and drugs to be the aim and object of its policy and so to direct its administrative methods as to achieve the end in view at an early date.”

It was very warmly supported by all the Indian members of the Council but hotly contested by the Europeans. Humorous attacks and counterattacks were made on both sides and Englishmen would not certainly go without their bottle! The mover said the changes he was suggesting did not necessitate any vital departure from the existing policy except in certain essential particulars and would not reduce the revenue to any appreciable extent in the immediate future. But he wished Government to accept the principle of total prohibition as the goal of their excise policy. The official answer was that very large numbers of the Indian population were not yet ready for total prohibition and any attempt to introduce this policy or any important steps leading to this policy would only encourage illicit distillation which was much worse for the people than a controlled traffic.

The resolution was negated by 33 votes to 20.

## Resolution III.—Feb. 27.

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chandra introduced the following resolution :  
“This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court be extended or rather re-extended to the British portion of the **Khasia and Jaintia Hills** in the Province of Assam.” Sir William Vincent in opposing it said that this was a matter of provincial or rather parochial interest and should be dealt with in the Provincial Council rather than brought before the Imperial Council.

It was defeated by 38 votes to 9.

## Resolution IV.—Feb. 27.

Mr. Sastri moved a resolution on the subject of the recruitment for the **public works** department and the railway engineering services ; “This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government of India do recommend to the Secretary of State for India that the recruitment for the Public

Works Department and the Railway En  
the proportion of posts reserved for Roy  
a reasonable period of time wholly in I

The proposition was hotly contested  
supported by most of the non-official I

Mr. F. C. Rose remarked that the  
element must be gradual. It was esser  
works in India so vital to the general

be efficiently maintained and new  
pushed under the best skilled enginee  
obtain. Important Engineering probl

future to demand even greater skill  
than in the past. In irrigation, for i  
straightforward works had been co  
engineering skill and talent would  
problems that would arise.

Mr. Sastri acknowledged the fa  
his proposal had been met. The res

#### Resolution

Mr. Sastri moved the following res  
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mends to the Governor General in  
steps be taken to ensure that India  
majority of the posts in the services  
and (b) the educational qualificati  
into these services should be suffici  
candidates irrespective of their creed

Sir William Vincent opposed an  
that a very great advance in Indian  
India had been made and that in  
satisfied to a great extent the test con  
Resolution for many services, and  
recruitment of Indians in recent years  
satisfactory.

The Hon. Nawab Alli Chaudh  
Mahomedans in the Public Service  
Bengal the percentage of various  
the graded posts ranging from Rs. 20  
the figures come to something 1  
Rs. 200 to 300—Europeans 4 per

resolution on the inclusion of  
**s Examination**: "That this  
for-General in Council that the  
ed to include Indian History  
among the subjects for the  
price."

sted against the retention of the  
ut the other Indian members  
cepted.

#### VIII.

resolution on the **Civil Medical**  
nds to the Governor-General in

should be reconstituted which  
e medical organisation of the  
posts which are at present

Service should be transferred  
at the Civil Medical service  
edical officers and the indepen  
edical Service officers employed  
as recommended by the Public

ons should not be given prefer-  
and that not more than one-sixth  
ordinate medical officers should

on behalf of the Government  
he resolution was tantamount to  
lical Service and he did not

aware of the extraordinary value  
at to the world at large. He  
at no less than 34 members of  
ained that blue ribbon of the  
the Royal Society. This Service  
e malarial parasite, a discovery  
is concerning Malaria and which,

among other things, has enabled the Panama Canal to be successfully built. It has reduced the mortality of Cholera by two-thirds, and shorn amoebic Dysentery of most of its terrors, liver abscess, as a consequence, is no longer feared. It has worked out the method of transmission of Bubonic Plague, a work which points the way to the ultimate eradication of that disease. Indian Medical Service officers have discovered the cause of relapsing fever and its means of transmission. Enlarged Prostate, that terrible and fatal concomitant of old age, can now be overcome, thanks to a member of the Indian Medical Service, and it was again an Indian Medical Service officer who invented the method of evacuating stone in the bladder by crushing. The work of Indian Medical Service men in the domain of Eye surgery, more especially with regard to cataract and glaucoma, is recognised throughout the scientific world. This service discovered the origin of that dread disease Kala Azar which is now no longer incurable. We are carrying out extensive investigations into Ankylostomiasis, a disease which is costing India millions of pounds a year, and also into Bilharziosis, which now threatens to invade India. Very important contributions to the knowledge of the world concerning snakes and their venom have been made and are being made by this service. An Indian Medical Service Officer is the greatest living authority on goitre. I may also mention the valuable work done on short fevers and the method of transmission of disease by "carriers" which is of such world-wide importance. All this may not be known to the Hon. Mr. Sastri, but if so, it seem to me another case of a prophet not being without honour, save in his own country. The Hon. Member will no doubt say that all this can be done by the Service he proposes to create but I doubt it."

Sir William Vincent on behalf of Government drew attention to the increased proportion of Indians passing into the Indian Medical Service.

The resolution was defeated by 35 votes to 15.

### The Financial Statement.

Sir William Meyer introduced the Financial Statement. The essential features he said are: The general situation is in many ways similar to that outlined last year. The revenue position is again excellent. Our Railway receipts have once more broken the record, and far exceeded the figure estimated in the current year's budget. The result is that we are able to face with equanimity a

considerable increase in military charges. Our financial embarrassments are mainly due to ways and means question. We have had to incur here on behalf of His Majesty's Government constantly increasing expenditure which is repaid to the Secretary of State at home. Simultaneously there is a serious and growing demand on our resources to finance the shipment of materials required for the prosecution of the war and of the food-stuffs which the Allies and many portions of the Empire are drawing from India.

### Resolutions on the Financial Statement.

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma moved, "That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council an increase in the recurring appropriation from Imperial revenue of 30 lakhs towards **primary education** by another thirty lakhs for expenditure from the year 1918-19 onwards on the development of education in (a) Mechanical, electrical and sanitary engineering, (b) Metallurgy, (c) Mining, (d) Forestry, and (e) Agriculture."

The Finance Member in explaining the official position said that on the figures in the financial statement he could make no further grant but he might make an allotment on the final budget figures if they showed a better position than they had been able to assume. If that proved to be the case, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State, he was prepared to set aside such sums not exceeding Rs. 30 lakhs as might seem desirable for purposes of technical and agricultural education. In these circumstances the resolution was withdrawn.

### Budget Resolution II.

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma next moved that "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a grant of 50 lakhs of rupees may be made in aid of **sanitation**, especially towards the supply of pure drinking water in rural areas." The Finance Member, whilst expressing his entire sympathy with the purport of the resolution, said he could not accept it because although a surplus was provided for it was needed for their ways and means purposes in connection with the war and he could not dissipate it further. The resolution was withdrawn.

### Budget Resolution III.

Rao Bahadur B. D. Shukul moved "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the sum provided in the budget under the head of education for the Central Provinces be increased



by rupees four lakhs for the establishing of a **University at Nappur.**"

The Education Member said that the Government desired the establishment of the Nagpur University at a very early date. The only reason for the delay was that Government was waiting for the report of the Calcutta University Commission. The motion was withdrawn.

#### Budget Resolution IV.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a resolution that the enhanced Railway passenger fares imposed during the year 1917 should be withdrawn. Sir George Barnes pointed out that India, in the way of travelling facilities as in every other way, was suffering less than any part of Europe and of any of our Allies with the exception of Japan, and he could not accept the resolution which was negated.

#### Budget Resolution V.—March 13.

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma moved a resolution "that this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the **land revenue** should be wholly provincialised."

The Finance Member said he could not accept the resolution in the form in which it stood but was prepared to accept one in the following terms: "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that in view of the revised financial arrangements with the provinces consequent on a scheme of constitutional reforms, the question of wholly provincialising the land revenue be taken into consideration," which was accepted.

#### Resolution IX.

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma next moved the following two resolutions.

"1. This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that one of the post-war reforms should be the introduction throughout British India of **free and compulsory primary education** immediately after the war."

"2. The Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that if the land-revenue be not wholly provincialised, the Government of India should undertake to finance free and compulsory primary education out of Imperial revenues.

The Education Member, Sir Sankaran Nair, said Government were not prepared to introduce compulsion but were prepared to do all they could to extend the existing system of primary education. In fact they had considerably extended it in the last few years. The number of pupils had increased and they expected in the present year to have more than eight million pupils at school. The cost of the scheme would be about ten to twelve crores of rupees annually. Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the Indian members with this policy. The Finance Member pointed out that it was inconsistent of the mover to harp on provincial autonomy and on federalism and at the same time to insist on an immediate programme of free and compulsory primary education which gave the local governments and the local bodies no option in the matter. After a hot debate the resolution was defeated by 43 votes to 12.

#### Resolution X.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved the following resolution on the reorganisation of the police : " This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government of India should recommend to the Secretary of State for India : (1) that the age-limits for the examination for admission into the Indian Police Service be raised from 19-21 to 21-23 ; (2) that the pensions and salaries of officers of the Indian Police Service should not be enhanced, as has been recommended by the Public Services Commission ; (3) that the rule which requires that candidates for the examination for the Indian Police Service shall be of pure European descent should be abrogated ; and (4) that the said examination should be held simultaneously in India and in England ; or, if the last recommendation be not accepted, that not less than one-half of the total number of posts in the Indian Police Service should be recruited by an open competitive examination held for the purpose in India." The resolution was negatived under very strong Government opposition.

#### Resolution XI—March 18.

Mr. Sastri moved "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a representation be made to the Secretary of State for India that the maximum **pension limits** fixed for Civil officers should not be increased." The resolution was negatived. Mr. Sastri next moved : " This Council recommends to the

Governor-General in Council that the Government of India do represent to the Secretary of State for India that the cadre of the Indian Civil Service be not increased as recommended by the Public Service Commission." This also was negated.

#### Resolution XII.

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma moved that "this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the contract with the **East Indian** Railway Company be determined by the 31st of December 1919, and that the State do take over the management of that Railway system on and from that date." The discussion showed a considerable difference of opinion in the Council on the merits of State and Company management for the Indian Railways, the majority of the Indian members favouring State management. The resolution had to be withdrawn owing to Govt. opposition.

#### Resolution—March 19.

Mr. S. N. Bannerjea moved the following resolution on the subject of **internments** under the Defence of India Act: "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a Committee with an adequate Indian element thereon be appointed in each Province to inquire into and report upon (1) all cases of internment under the Defence of India Act; (2) all cases of detentions under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and cognate Regulations in Madras and Bombay; and (3) all cases of persons who may hereafter be dealt with under the aforesaid Act and Regulations, the Committee being empowered to make recommendations with regard to the health, allowance, place of detention and other matters relating to the prisoners referred to above."

The Home Member said that in view of the feeling on the subject the Government of India were prepared to ask the local governments to appoint a committee consisting of one Indian and one English officer of judicial experience of whom one at least shall be, if possible, a High Court judge or an officer who has served in that capacity, again to make careful inquiry into each case, to sift the materials on which the order of restraint or confinement is based, to consider any memorials that are put on behalf of the persons whose cases are under investigation, and to advise the Government whether these orders are justified by this material that is placed before them. Further, this Committee will, in the case of a person

for whose detention originally sufficient grounds are proved, inquire, so far as may be possible, whether by his subsequent conduct the detenu has shown such signs of reform or amendment that the removal of restriction imposed on him is possible or whether, by reason of any other circumstances this course is feasible without danger to the public tranquility. In view of this assurance the resolution was withdrawn.

#### Resolution XIV.

Mr. S. N. Banerjea next moved "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Indian Members for the next **Imperial War Conference** be appointed on the recommendation of the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council."

There was a lively discussion on the motion, and the mover, the Hon. Mr. Banerji, said that he would even go a little further to meet Govt. half way; "let us have a pannel of, say, a number of members elected by the elected members of this Council" said he, "and Govt. may pick and choose from that pannel."

The Hon. Sir W. Vincent, opposing on behalf of the Govt. said that the mover on this occasion was beating his head against a wall ("we always do that", said Mr. Bannerji), for the Home Govt. does not allow it.

Non-official Indian members strongly supported the motion but it was as usual, defeated by 39 votes to 16.

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# The Imperial Legislative Council

Autumn Session—4 Sept. 1918

## THE VICEROY'S OPENING SPEECH.

His Excellency the Viceroy said in the course of his speech :—

Since we separated at the close of the winter session I have had the privilege of meeting a large number of Hon. Members at that historic conference which assembled at Delhi in the last week of April. It was an assemblage without precedent in the history of India. In it Princes, representatives of the people, and Government sat for the first time in joint conclave, taking counsel together how India could best rally her forces anew in the cause for which the Empire is fighting. I expected much from that conference. I have not been disappointed. It has been more than justified by success. One immediate result of the conference was to call upon India to add half a million men to her army in the ensuing year. Well might we have shrunk from such an undertaking had not the Central Recruiting Board been already in being! But the Board set itself at once to the task and over 97,000 combatant and nearly 55,000 non-combatant recruits were enlisted in May, June and July. As for the units which, with the approval of the military authorities at Home, we set ourselves to raise the results have outrun our expectations. Of the total number two-thirds and more have been raised already. I wish I could tell you how many men we have recruited and sent overseas since the beginning of the war but military reasons compel reticence. This much, however, I can say: we are now recruiting twice as many men in a month as before the war we recruited in a year. This fine record is due to the labour of the Central Recruiting Board backed by whole hearted co-operation in the province, and now that the increase in the emoluments of our Indian troops and the grant of King's Commissions, long-awaited and powerfully advocated at the conference, have been announced I look forward to a finer record still. The success of the central recruiting board with its blend of soldiers and civilians

and Indian Princes and its enlistment of non-official energies in the provinces and Native States pointed the obvious way to that readjusting and speeding up of our whole war machinery on which the conference laid stress. So we set up similar Central Boards to cope with supplies, traffic, labour and publicity all under the co-ordinating guidance of the War Resources Committee. Let me briefly remind you of their scope.

He then referred to the various works allotted to the different Boards, and then spoke on :—

### THE EXPANSION OF MAN-POWER.

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India ever foremost in the cause of the Empire have responded to the call for further assistance. Signal service though the Imperial Service troops of many states have rendered on every front—which of us for instances was not stirred by the gallant charge of the Jodhpur Lancers in Palestine?—the Durbars are now being invited to afford their troops the opportunity for more effective service still by incorporating them during the war in the regular army. In the Native States at large a scheme is on foot to raise battalions for the Army composed as far as may be of subjects of the State but officered, paid and equipped by Government. The scheme has met with a ready welcome. In Jodhpur, Bikaner, Bharatpur and Dholpur; in Kolhapur and in Patiala, Chamba and Suket, units on the new model are now in process of formation, and from Baroda, from Mysore, from Alwar, from Rewa, from Tehri and from Bahawalpur, Jhind, Kapurthala, Maler-Kotla and Faridkot offers of similar help have been pouring in. To the police we addressed a special call to enrol themselves in the Army and five police battalions have already been incorporated, two from the Punjab, two from the United Provinces and one from Bihar and Orissa. Gallantly indeed has that gallant body of men responded to our call, Meanwhile the British branch of the Indian Defence Force has been playing its useful if unobtrusive part and we are now considering how its usefulness can be extended. But I cannot hide my disappointment in the Indian branch of the force. We re-opened recruiting for it in April in response to what we were told was a genuine demand. But less than 500 recruits have so far offered themselves for enrolment. We have made good in the other enterprises to which we have set our hand. Shall we not make good here also?

### LABOUR CORPS FOR INDIA.

We have formed or are forming no less than 18 labour corps for working in India alone. Of the many labour companies sent to France in 1917 all have now returned with the exception of those formed from later reinforcements.

### SUPPLIES FOR MESOPOTAMIA.

India's contribution to the second war loan has now passed the 20 million sterling which we set before us as the minimum and I look to a notable addition before the war loan closes by the middle of the month. But at the conference something further was foreshadowed and what from that further financial assistance should take Hon. Members will be asked at this session to consider. A resolution on the subject will be moved by the Hon. Finance Member. But the decision itself will be left to the non-official members. And over and above her financial contributions and over and above the many shiploads of food-stuffs and raw products with which she has been supplying the Allies, India continues to furnish Mesopotamia and other theatres of war with masses of railway material and a vast variety of engineering and other stores. These are found partly from our stocks of imports and partly from India's indigenous industries. The drain on our imports has been continuous and severe. The flow of fresh supplies is restricted and it is becoming increasingly difficult for India to meet all the demands, increasingly difficult indeed, for her own needs and public bodies are turning more and more to our central organisation for assistance. The depletion of our stocks of imports has stimulated the development of our resources and we are doing what is possible under war conditions to foster local manufactures. What India can do when she puts forth her strength and enlists the services of experts from outside is shown by the great success of the Tata Steel Works which has supplied most of the military railway requirements in the eastern theatres of war. One notable demand on India has now been materially reduced, the provision of river craft for the Tigris and Euphrates, and here let me acknowledge India's indebtedness to the river craft boat at Calcutta and the committees at other ports associate with it for their valuable service given ungrudgingly and without remuneration. In directing this work of construction their work has been heavy. Apart from furnishing 100 steel pontoons they have constructed over 400 river craft and have erected two hospital steamers, five tugs and 70 barges.

### HIGH PRICES.

He next referred to the high prices all round, specially of Cotton Cloth which was so much felt by the poorer classes, and continued. The dearness of cotton cloth in particular presses the masses hard. Its causes are many. The high price of raw cotton, throughout the world, the high cost of manufacture of the imported cloth, the reduction in the volume of British manufactures available for the general public. To increase the imports of Manchester cloth or to lower its prices does not lie within our power. The solution of the problem must be sought on other lines and the lines we have been advised to follow by the committee (drawn largely from the trades) whose services we enlisted last March are two-fold. First, the prevention of speculation in raw cotton second, the standardisation in India of the cloths used by the poorer classes and their manufacture and distribution under control. The first measure we have already put into effect by empowering the Government of Bombay to regulate forward contracts for the purchase or sale of the next cotton crop. In the carrying out of the second measure we rely on hon. members' assistance. We are introducing a bill at this session to require our mills to manufacture certain kinds and certain quantities of cloth to be paid for at cost price, plus a reasonable margin of profits and to be sold to the public at fixed prices through licensed shops or at Government depots.

### THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

Again, there is the currency question. At the Delhi Conference, I referred to certain rumours then afloat as to the ability of Government to meet their obligations to encash currency notes at Currency Offices. There had been an unprecedented drain on our stocks of metallic currency in connection with purchases for His Majesty's Government and an unfortunate delay in obtaining fresh supplies of silver to replenish them. This obliged us to curtail those extra legal facilities for the free encashment of notes outside the currency offices which have been an important feature of our currency policy in recent years. But the United States of America came to our rescue and undertook to supply us with silver in large quantities. Substantial instalments have arrived in India. Our mints have been busily coining them into rupees for some time past. They have also been coining our gold bullion into mohurs which have already been used for the purchase of wheat in the Punjab



and have been well received. They are now engaged on the coinage of sovereigns. We are thus increasingly able to meet the difficulties which temporarily faced us a few months ago. But let me again emphasise how unprofitable to India is this lavish outpouring of metallic currency. The purchase of the silver alone means that India's money is being spent abroad to unfruitful purpose. Should the present rates of absorption continue to the end of the year more than 100 crores of India's money will have been invested. The interest would have strengthened our revenue and could have been spent to India's material advantage. Everybody therefore who insists on payments in metal instead of in notes is directly hampering India's interests.

### HISTORY OF THE REFORM SCHEME.

But hon. members will expect me to say something on the question of reforms and I think I can deal best with the subject by recalling past history. Men's memories are so short that they dwell on the present and ignore the past which leads up to the conditions of the present, and this has been notably the case in connections with this great subject of reform. At the outset of my tenure of office I warned those who were insistent on political reform that the British temperament was adverse from catastrophic changes. The expression of opinion was the subject of criticism and the Russian revolution which took place shortly afterwards was seized upon as a text on which to base claims to sweeping changes. I think those who sang a paean over the Russian events have since repented. Russia, indeed, has pointed a moral which it would do us all good to take the heart. Let me remind hon. members further. In my opening speech to the Council of February, 1917 I informed you that the Government of India had had addressed His Majesty's Government on the subject of political reform and as I told you in the September session I continued to press His Majesty's Government for a declaration of policy throughout the first six months of the year. This declaration of policy we obtained on August 20th. That policy was not a new policy devised on the spur of the moment by a Secretary of State fresh to office. It was a policy long and anxiously considered by His Majesty's Government, the promulgation of which happened to coincide with a change in the office of Secretary of State. Nor was Mr. Montagu's visit a happy thought on his part. As I pointed out last September it was merely the carrying out of a plan which I had proposed

and Mr. Chamberlain's resignation involved the transfer of my invitation to Mr. Montagu. It is well to recall these events to the memory of those who attack the Secretary of State as the rash innovator stepping in with a new and cut and dried policy immediately on his assumption of office. To these critics I would point out the sequence of events. Can it be seriously suggested that after a few days tenure of office by a new Secretary of State His Majesty's Government would embark on an announcement of the gravity of that of August 20th unless they had previously had it under their most careful consideration? The suggestion in his statements carries its own refutation. Mr. Montagu simply took up the policy where Mr. Chamberlain had left it. As for those who repudiate what they choose to term "disappointing and unacceptable proposals" I would remind them again of my repeated warning that expectations must not be carried to the heights of catastrophic charge. In the Legislative Council in Delhi last February with Mr. Montagu present I spoke of sane and sober change. I have always been careful to weigh my words to avoid raising expectations beyond those which my words would warrant. If there are those who have built up hopes of others it, is of them they must make complaint and not of me. I turn now to the announcement of August 20th. I cannot help thinking that some of our critics to-day have forgotten that any such statement of policy was ever made. That announcement carried the weight and authority not of the Viceroy or Secretary of State but of His Majesty's Government. It was not challenged in Parliament at the time. It has not been challenged in Parliament since it was received both at Home and in India. I believe I do not put it too high with general satisfaction and those who criticise our report are on sure ground if they can show that our proposal are not in consonance with it, but am I far wrong when I suggest that there are two schools of critics who write and speak as if the announcement of August 20th had never been made at all?

Those who reject the basal pledge and those who reject the limitations whereby that pledge was conditioned. I have always regarded the announcement of August 20th as the terms of reference in accordance with which the Secretary of State and I had to discharge the duty laid upon us during these last winter months. I regard it now as the touchstone that must be applied to our proposals. If they fall short of the policy embodied in it then those who complain of their inadequacy have good ground for asking for a further extension of the scheme. On the other hand, if our

proposals tresspass beyond the limits it imposed upon us they should be brought within its bounds. We had the right neither to fall short nor to go beyond our terms of reference.

### RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE PROPOSALS.

I come now to the proposals themselves. Let me once again refer to the two shoals of our critics. According to one the Secretary of State is the villain of the piece, the Viceroy his unhappy victim who has put his signature to the report perforce and against his better judgment. According to the other a sympathetic Secretary of State has been enmeshed in the net of the cold hard bureaucracy and has consented to proposals far short of those he would otherwise have advanced. I am going to ignore these criticisms. Issues of the magnitude of our proposals are outside and beyond the personal factor. Our proposals are before the public for criticism. How we arrived at our results is neither here nor there. The one question at issue is the scheme, Is it good or bad? If bad how best can it be amended. But that you may know that it did not spring forth in full panoply from our brains like Athene from the head of Zeus, let us give you in brief the history of its production. In the third paragraph of the report we have sketched in the barest outline the course of our investigation. The sketch gives but a faint impression of the close touch which we preserved with the members of the Government of India throughout. Indeed, from our return to Delhi early in January up to our departure for Dehra Dun at the end of March we were in daily communication with them. All that time the proposals were being hammered out in frequent conferences both with them and with the members of the Secretary of State delegation. I could point out the originators of this or that proposal in our scheme, but it would be beside the mark. What I wish to emphasise is the very careful examination which this great problem received not only from the Secretary of State and myself but from my colleagues and those distinguished gentlemen who accompanied Mr. Montagu. We followed up every possible line of advance. We scrutinised all the suggestions which had been offered to us. It was only after the most careful setting of suggested policies that we decided upon the proposals in our scheme. Surely it is not without significance that my colleagues signed a despatch conveying their cordial support to the general policy which the report embodies that the associates of the Secretary of State recorded their united support

of our recommendations which in their view while safeguarding imperial interests and providing for the proper maintenance of law and order carry out His Majesty's Government's announcement of 20th August last providing at once for such an instalment of self-government as is at present practicable and safe, together with statutory machinery for its development at subsequent stages, and that the Council of India put on record a minute giving the general policy our scheme their unanimous support. Those who would lay stress then on the personal factor in this issue would do well to remember that it is not enough to dispose of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. They have to account for this very weighty consensus of official opinion. I will now turn to a general consideration of the criticisms of our proposals. It is obviously impossible for me to deal with them seriatim within the compass of a speech but it may be useful to indicate my attitude in general terms. I take my stand in the first place on the announcement of August 20. The policy embodied in that announcement is binding at all event on me. I cannot recognise the validity of criticisms which impeach it. For me they must be out of court. The place where they should be heard is the High Court of Parliament and I would remind Hon. members that such criticisms have never once been advanced in Parliament during the twelve months since that statement of policy was made. They were not even forthcoming in the debate on the Indian budget, the occasion of all others when the critics of our policy might have been expected to make a brave show. In the second place I wish to remind Hon. members of a significant sentence which occurs in paragraph 289 of the report. We have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go. I will content myself with this extract, but the whole of the remainder of the paragraph is pertinent. What I wish to emphasise is this :—substantial steps were promised. In my own heart I am convinced that substantial steps are provided in our proposals. We have not kept back something, like hucksters in the market, something which we would be prepared to give as a result of pressure. Everything has been placed on the table for all men to see. In the words of the report "we have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go. But within that line we are prepared to consider criticisms and suggestions." Far be it from me to claim any infallibility for our proposals. I would however say this—that it is for those who criticise to offer their alternative to our plan. We found nothing easier during the course of our

enquiry last cold weather than to riddle with criticism each and every suggestion made to us. The problem before us was to select the scheme which would be open to criticism least. For do not forget this—our task was to devise a transitional constitution, containing within itself potentialities of advance together with the machinery by which at definite periods that advance could be secure. Such a transitional constitution must in the nature of things be peculiarly open to attack and the Secretary of State and I made it clear in our report that we recognised this to be the case. Let me quote our own words "Hybrid executive, limited responsibility in assemblies partly elected and partly nominated, by divisions of functions, reservations general or particular, are devices that can have no permanent abiding place. They bear on their faces their transitional character and they can be worked only if it is clearly recognised that that is their justification and their purpose. They cannot be so devised as to be logical. They must be charged with potentialities of friction. The hope of avoiding mischief lies in facing the fact that they are temporary expedients for training purposes, and in providing that the goal is not merely kept in sight but made attainable, not by agitation but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself. Criticise, then, freely but remember that if your criticism is to be useful it must be constructive and not merely destructive. You must give us something which we can set up in the place of that which you destroy.

Let me now sketch in broad strokes our scheme as I see it. In the domain of the Government of India the fundamental principle is laid down that its authority must remain in essential matters indisputable. That is the basis, but consider the advance which subject to that principle we propose. An assembly, in the main elected, infinitely more representative of India than the council as now constituted—an assembly before which all business will normally be brought, able to express its opinion and exert its influence in respect of all matters pertaining to the Government of India, and if the Government through the Council of State retains its present power to make its will effective the use of that power is conditioned. It can only be exercised on the certificate of the Governor-General in Council that the matters at issue is in the interests, of peace, order and Government. Surely no one can say that this scheme does not involve a large increase in the influence of the representatives upon the actions of the Government of India?

I turn next to the domain of the provinces. Here we come upon the division of functions of Government into the two categories of transferred and reserved subjects. This division has been the object of much criticism, but I doubt whether the wit of man can devise any other device whereby the progressive transfer of responsibility can be secured. Now what advance is secured in this domain? In the sphere of transferred subjects the will of the legislative council is in the main to prevail. But even in the sphere of reserved subjects the development is marked. Here too the will of the legislative councils is normally in the main to prevail, and even in the exceptional cases where the machinery of the grand committee has to be set in motion the Governor's certificate of the powers of the legislative council will remain unimpaired for in the constitution of the grand committees will be reproduced the proportionate strength of officials and non-officials in the councils as at present constituted. Thus in the domain of provincial governments the immediate advance is immense and the road forward lies open and defined.

#### COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

I said that I would not follow up the various criticisms which have been made on our scheme but hon. members will probably expect something from me on the vexed question of communal representation. I cannot help thinking that much more has been read into our proposals than they were intended to convey. We wished indeed to make it clear that in our opinion communal electorates were to be deprecated for the reasons set out in our report. But it was in the main to the method of securing communal representation by communal electorates that we took exception and not to the communal representation itself. A careful reader of the report will see that we regard this as inevitable in India and that we clearly contemplate the representation of those communities and classes and interests who prove their case before the committee shortly to be appointed to examine the question. I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India, but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates. However, I am content to leave the unravelling of this important question in the hands of the committee who will have the fullest evidence placed before them and will be free to make such recommendations as they think right unfettered by our report. One last word on

the subject of reforms. Hon. members are aware of the stress we lay in the report on the necessity for the educational advance. Last year we approached the Secretary of State with our proposals. But it was suggested to us that in view of the impending discussion on reforms and especially on the further relation of local, provincial and imperial finances it would be better to postpone their consideration. We have now approached the Secretary of State again and with his consent our circular letter to local governments on this vital subject will be published this afternoon.

### THE WAR—FIRST AND LAST.

I began with the war and it is with the war that I end, for not only does the war dominate all our thoughts but on its successful issue depends the very liberty of the world without which these our schemes for the liberalising of India's political institutions would be vain indeed. The shadows seem to be slowly lifting. We can almost fancy we can see the first faint flicker of victorious peace dawning on the horizon. From March to July Germany put her strength in a great effort to separate the French and British armies, to capture Paris, to force her way to the Channel Ports before the full flow of America's numbers should finally rob her of all hope of victory. She put forth her whole strength and failed and with her failure came a dramatic change. The genius of General Foch delivered a mighty counterstroke on the whole front from the Aisne to the Marne and the Allied armies hurled the Germans back. Before they could recover from the blow the Allies struck again and yet again and ever since the Germans have been receding seeking in vain to husband their fast diminishing man-power, nor can they look for help from Austria or Turkey and Bulgaria, for all three are solely pressed. The fifth year of the war has thus been ushered in full of high hopes for the Allies. But the end is not yet and so far from success tempting us to relax our efforts it calls us on to redouble them. The greater and more sustained our efforts now the sooner will come the triumph of the unconquerable cause of righteousness and liberty, bringing to the stricken world the unspeakable blessings of peace.

### HINDU INTERCASTE MARRIAGE BILL.

Mr. Patel introduced the Hindu Intercaste Marriage Bill and cited cases from the High Courts of the Provinces to show the hardship which the absence of such a law as was proposed in the

present Bill had caused. He gave instances under which an inter-caste marriage extending for twenty-five years with eight children were invalidated in the end by a decision of the Bombay High Court. In the interests of justice and morality the Bill should be accepted.

The Maharaja of Cossimbazar opposed the Bill which was likely to act prejudicially to the best interests of the community which, he said, should be safe-guarded against individuals. It was not the correct time to consider the Bill.

Mr. Sukul wanted to uphold the time-honoured traditions and customs of the Hindus. According to the Hindu law marriage was no civil contact and quoted Shastric texts in support of his contention.

Mr. Sukul continuing emphasised the policy of non-interference to which Government stood committed.

Sir William Vincent said that the Bill was similar to the one brought forward by Mr. Basu several years ago. It would be undesirable to throw out the Bill at the present stage. In his opinion the Bill should be admitted and circulated for opinion. Government would be largely guided by the opinion of those who were most likely to be affected by it.

Mr. Khaparde supported the introduction of the Bill and thought that the Hindu religion, like the British Empire, was very imperial. Mr. Patel was only trying to introduce the time-honoured custom of absorption in Hindu society; but the speaker was opposed to a change in the present law of succession and wanted to prevent property-hunters from having recourse to such marriages.

Raja Rampal Singh said he was a great believer in the observance of caste rules; and it would serve no useful purpose in trying to go ahead of the time. Hindu sentiment was assuredly opposed to the Bill.

Rai Sitanath Roy, opposing, said the Government should not be party to an innovation in ancient Hindu customs and usages.

Mr. Shastri said that the Bill in certain cases went further than what obtained in the Hindu Law. In his opinion it would have been better if marriages were of a civil nature. He thought Mr. Patel's Bill was inadequate and did not approve of the attitude of Government of not identifying themselves with a reform of this kind. The Bill was a purely permissive measure and ought to be admitted. He asked Mr. Patel to withdraw the present motion and give



opportunity to the country to discuss it and decide the matter in the new Council under the reforms. If, however, he pressed it, he would heartily support the motion.

Mr. Ayanger opposed the Bill.

Pandit Malaviya said when Mr. B. N. Basu introduced a Bill of a similar kind there was tremendous opposition in the country. Similar reasons of opposition existed now. Would it be wise to circulate the present Bill? He was sure there was no change in the attitude of the public since the introduction of Mr. Basu's Bill. He was, therefore, opposed to the present motion.

Mr. Sapru warmly supported the Bill and ridiculed the idea of the Hindu religion or the Hindu society being in any danger. He thought that society had considerably changed since the introduction of Mr. Basu's Bill and those who criticised the present Bill misunderstood its scope.

Mr. Banerjea was in sympathy with the principle of the Bill but asked the mover to withdraw the motion the introduction of which was very inopportune. The Bill would lead to grave agitation and controversy and should be dropped at the present moment. He entirely agreed with Mr. Shastri that chances should be taken in the reformed Council.

Mr. Jinnah said he did not understand why the Bill should create unrest and failed to understand the attitude of Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Shastri. He saw no reason why the Bill should not be circulated for opinion. He invited attention of Government to the observation of Mr. Curtis on this subject.

Mr. Sarma was for accepting principle underlying the Bill. It demanded radical changes. To prevent kulinism becoming rampant again, he appealed to Mr. Patel to defer the Bill till the new Council came into existence.

Sir George Lowndes emphasised the Government attitude that they should be guided by opinions expressed in the country. Mr. Jinnah misunderstood Sir William Vincent in saying that their decision would rest on the opinion expressed by a majority in the council. He referred to the Shastric law on the subject and said Manu and the Mitaksara recognised such marriages as also the Southern India School and Dayabhaga. He contended that it was not the foundation of the Hindu religion but a custom that was contested.

After Mr. Patel had replied leave was given to the introduction of the Bill of which the following is the text :

"Whereas it is expedient to provide that marriages between Hindus of different castes are valid it is hereby enacted as follows. (1) This Act may be called the Hindu Marriages Validity Act, 1918. (2) It extends to the whole of British India. No marriage among Hindus shall be invalid by reason that the parties thereto do not belong to the same caste."

## THE REFORM RESOLUTION,—6 Sept.

The following Resolution was moved by the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji—

"This Council while thanking the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for the Reform proposals and recognising them as a genuine effort and a definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a committee consisting of all non-official members of this Council be appointed to consider the Reforms Report and make recommendations to the Government of India."

### Mr. Banerji's Speech.

In doing so, he said, that his resolution thanked the Viceroy and Secretary of State for the Reform Proposals and stated the reasons for this expression of gratitude which were that the proposals represented a definite stage towards the realization of responsible government, and finally, it recommended the appointment of a Committee consisting of non-official members of the Council.

He thought that a word of explanation was necessary. His friends on the official benches must not imagine that by their exclusion from the Committee he meant to cast any reflection upon them of implied want of confidence in their judgment as to the great issues covered by the Report. The Report had been presented to the British Cabinet by the highest authorities connected with the Government of India. It was entirely official in its character and complexion. The officials had their say. Mr. Montagu wanted the public to offer their criticism of the Report. They were of the public, their repres-

entatives in that Council and they wanted to be left alone in the matter of this vital importance to form their own conclusions unaided by the official advice and unfettered by the official guidance. He was quite sure that his friends on the official side would accept this explanation and absolve him from any desire to treat them otherwise than with consideration due to them.

#### A Distinct Advance.

The first part of the Resolution had an intimate bearing upon the conclusions which the Committee might arrive at, for, if they rejected the scheme outright and regarded it as undiscussable, their recommendations would partake of a particular character, but if they viewed it as a stage towards responsible government, their conclusions would follow a different line. Speaking for himself he felt that the scheme was a distinct advance on the existing state of things and marked a distinct stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. Never in the history of the British relation with India there was a more gracious message than that of the 20th August 1917, nor a more statesmanlike document than the Report under consideration. If he ventured to anticipate the verdict of history he would say that when the heat and dust of the present controversy was allayed, a grateful posterity would accord to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State a high and honoured place among the benefactors of the people of India. Their English friends including Commander Wedgwood than whom there was not a stauncher advocate of Indian Home Rule had invited them to accept it as their charter. He (the speaker) did not disguise from himself the fact that the Report had its imperfections and defects. Indeed, the illustrious framers were themselves conscious of them for Mr. Montagu in a recent speech openly invited public criticism and declared that he would be glad if a better scheme could be substituted. The appointment of the Committee such as was proposed in the present Resolution implied that the scheme needed examination modification and improvement. They took their stand upon the scheme and pressed for alterations and improvements, so that it might fulfil the legitimate aspirations of the people and the intention of the gracious message of the 20th August 1917. The largest space in the Report was devoted to what constituted the vital features of the constitutional problem namely the reform and enlargement of the executive and legislative machinery of the Government. The authors of the Report concentrated their attention upon the provinces and

its merits would be judged largely by their recommendations on this head.

### Provincial Administration.

He pointed out the fundamental changes recommended in the provincial administration :—

(1) Every province must have a Governor-in Council which meant the disappearance of one-man rule and the association of Indians in the highest Executive Councils of the provinces.

(2) There was to be complete division between the Imperial and Provincial finance which had been urged by them for nearly thirty years.

(3) The Legislative Councils were to consist of a substantial elected majority which could give the representatives of the people real power to make their own laws as regards the transferred subjects and very considerable influence as regards reserved subjects. The Executive Government would consist in the major provinces of five members of whom three would probably be Indians and in the minor provinces five members of whom two would be Indians. Thus in the Executive Administration of the provinces the Indian element would predominate.

Lastly the Budget would be framed by the Executive Government and would be submitted to the Legislative Council whose votes would be binding on the Government in regard to the transferred subjects and also as regards the reserved subjects, unless certified to the contrary by the Governor.

He next dealt on what he considered the most fundamental features of the provincial reform, namely the appointment of popular ministers and the division of subjects under reserved and transferred heads, and pointed out that in the initial stage there would be a beginning of responsibility when it would be open to the Legislative Councils to get the supplies under the transferred heads and there would be a greater measure of responsibility after five years when the salaries of popular ministers were placed on the estimate and full measure of responsibility after ten years.

### Government of India.

He was however dissatisfied with the proposals regarding the Government of India. He took his stand upon the basic pledge of the 20th August and concluded that the proposals fell short of

that announcement. There was no progressive stage of any kind towards responsible Government and he submitted that this part should be revised.

### Striking Change in the Angle of Vision.

He said that the Report as a whole indicates a striking change in the angle of vision of their rulers and observed that when there was real advance on their part towards peace, conciliation and popular contentment it should be accompanied by similar movement on the part of the people. He said that throughout his life no one had more strenuously opposed the measures and policies of the Government than he had but now that the hand of fellowship and friendship had been stretched out by their rulers he invited his countrymen to grasp it with alacrity and enthusiasm and in co-operation with British statemanship to march forward to the accomplishment of their high destinies.

The Resolution was carried by 46 Votes to 2.

The Resolution was supported by most of the Indian Members but Pandit Malaviya, and Messrs. Khaparde, Patel, Jinnah, and others of their school were not of the same mind as the mover. They were not at all eager to express satisfaction at the Reforms Report. Mr. Hogg and Mr. Ironside, representing the non-official European community opposed the Resolution and were hostile to the Reforms Report itself. They declined to serve in the committee. The attitude of the advanced Nationalists is fully explained in the Hon. Mr. Patel's and the Hon. Mr. Khaparde's Speech given below.

### Hon. Mr. PATEL'S SPEECH

on Mr. Banerji's Reform Resolution—7 Sep. '18.

May it please your Excellency, I regret I am unable to support this resolution in the form in which it appears on the agenda. Speaking for myself, I say I have not the slightest objection to the appointment of a committee consisting of all the non-official members to consider the Reforms Report, though I must say I do not anticipate much good out of the deliberations of the committee. But with regard to that part of the resolution in which the hon. mover puts in a claim that the constitutional reforms contained in the Report constitute a definite advance towards the realization of responsible Government in India, I join issue with him and my reasons are these. It is only very recently, last week, that the two

national organisations of this country, I mean, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League met in Bombay, held joint deliberations and came to certain unanimous conclusions in regard to the reform proposals. In the resolutions that they passed at their sittings they, in no unequivocal terms, held that the reforms are, though they constitute an advance, not a definite advance as the hon. mover has stated in the resolution, an advance on the present conditions in some directions, not an advance towards the progressive realization of responsible Government as is stated in the resolution. That is the verdict of the National Congress and the Muslim League. They go further and say that the reforms taken as a whole are disappointing and unsatisfactory. In the face of this verdict of the Indian people, Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians, I fail to understand how, standing here as the representative of the people, I can conscientiously assent to a proposition which says in effect or rather in express terms that the reforms constitute a definite advance towards progressive realisation of responsible Government.

#### **Beginning At Wrong End.**

Your Excellency, the main object, as I understand, of the resolution is the appointment of a committee, and I submit it is for that committee who will sit to deliberate upon the reform proposals to say whether the reforms as a whole, constitute a definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government. If we are going to appoint a committee, it is no use for this council first to pronounce a verdict that the Reforms constituted a definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government and then ask that committee to make recommendations. It may be that the committee to be appointed might so frame its recommendations that no one who reads them would be justified in saying that the reforms constitute a definite advance. It may be that the committee might agree that the reforms do constitute a definite advance, but I certainly think, that to ask the Committee to consider the Reform proposals and express their opinions thereon after the pronouncement of this Council that the Reforms proposals constitute a definite advance, is to begin at the wrong end. Your Excellency, it is said that much will depend on the two committees that the authors of the Report have suggested, one regarding the transferred and the reserved subjects and the other regarding the franchise constituencies and the rest of it. It may be that those committees might recommend that all subjects in the provinces

except one or two namely, law, justice and police may be handed over to the Legislature. It may be that the Committee might recommend that only a few and a very few subjects shall be transferred to the Legislature. It may be, your Excellency, that that Committee might recommend that the Mahomedans in particular provinces shall not have a separate electorate, or it may be that they might agree with the recommendations of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress and say that the agreement arrived at in Lucknow shall be observed and the Mahomedans shall have their separate representation as agreed to. So I say before this Council pronounces a verdict on the question whether the reforms as a whole constitute a definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government or not, I would ask the hon. members of this Council earnestly to consider whether it is wise at this juncture to recommend any particular view. Speaking for the educated Indians, I would say that there are these entirely at one with the resolutions, and the Indian Muslim League and hon. members in this Council who have heard our friends Mr. Khapard and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I would most respectfully ask the hon. members to wait at least till the decisions are published.

#### Absence of Essentials in

It may be contended that if that is the case, I do not know about the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, but the houses are put on how was it that they expressed so clearly. It only illustrates my reforms are unsatisfactory and disappointing. My reply to your Excellency is that the Council said that you drive only League thought that there were several essentials, but no progress will be ever expected, would be granted by the reforms, but did not find place in the recommendations they. The Hon. Member has on the whole disappointing and unsatisfactory. I say and I say with all the force that I can command. I only are worth having unless they are accompanied by that progress would

Your Excellency, the constitutional reforms even if they had gone much further than they have done are to my mind not worth much. The authors of the Report have recognised the Indian Legislature to regulate the Indian tariff, and at the same time when it comes to a question of recommendations they leave the whole question to be settled by the Imperial Conference, which is to meet after the war.

### Very Denial of Responsible Government.

Speaking for myself, I say that I regard the denial of fiscal autonomy to India as the very denial of responsible government.

Secondly, the country certainly expected, and with due deference I say they expected from the very terms of the announcement of the 20th of August 1917, that the introduction of responsible Government and Christians, I fail simultaneously both in the provinces and representative of the people. Unfortunately, however, we find that proposition which says in effect India is concerned the Report not only reforms constitute a definite government of India will remain indistinct realisation of responsible Government to include among the functions of the Government of India to the Indian

### Beginning of Government of India to the Indian

Your Excellency, the main objection is the appointment of a committee who will sit to decide whether the reforms as a responsible Government in this country towards the progressive realisation than once and I have no hesitation in saying we are going to appoint a committee to pronounce a verdict that the Order! The Hon. Member has been towards the progressive limit allowed. He must bring his remarks then ask that committee that the committee to be that no one who reads the reforms constitute a definite advance, but I certainly consider the Reform a distinct advance. There are others on the after the pronouncement that the reforms constitute a definite advance. constitute a definite advance, it would be much better if the two parts Excellency, it is said separately to the Council and if your that the authors transferred and with "and" in the second line and ending with franchise constitution in the third line be dropped. I formally propose, committees might be words.....



H. E. the President.—The Hon. Member is not in order in moving an amendment because he has not given notice.

The Hon. Mr. Patel.—I said with your Excellency's permission.

H. E. the President.—Well, it is not my permission at the present moment.

### Hon. Mr. KHAPARDE'S SPEECH on the Reforms Resolution.

I rise, My Lord, to support this resolution, the main operative part of it, though I disagree with what my Hon. friend described as the preliminary part of it. All discussions in this Council has very rightly begun with the Declaration of the 20<sup>th</sup> August 1917. I do not propose to read out that declaration, but not mean that an ~~out~~ out what appears to me to be rather brought out, and that is that the first **Educated Indians**. the views of the Government in Eng<sup>l</sup> as a whole, and states what the policy is been said that there are these it is desired to be. The next par<sup>g</sup>ing to take care of them. It is "I would add" and those three word<sup>s</sup> people do not care for them and above the declaration which has<sup>d</sup> by the educated people. It is ment the Right Honourable the<sup>s</sup> that come here to serve will take giving expresion to certain views<sup>s</sup> ters and the great people who will the last paragraph which says that<sup>s</sup> want to dispute that assumption directions" and so on. It may<sup>s</sup> to dispute the assertion that we character as either the second par<sup>g</sup>up among them and have our matter much which. So that I take it<sup>s</sup> not take care of the masses. I declaration of the British Govern<sup>ment</sup>da<sup>s</sup> assumption, Your excellency, as a whole. The next paragraph, on<sup>te</sup> assumption and that will be of the Right Honourable the Secret<sup>ary</sup> a they are moving houses opinion is certainly entitled to great<sup>ly</sup>br. I do not know about the the highest officer of State it is entitled to<sup>ge</sup> but the houses are put on can pay to it. But I submit it does<sup>not</sup> it only illustrates my as the first declaration, the first being that<sup>it</sup> tinent like India is a great of England, while the next is a declaration<sup>will</sup> by a number of teams, person for whom I have the greatest <sup>respect</sup> said that you drive only is not on the same level as the first. As<sup>for</sup> no progress will be ever about publicity etc., that can be taken<sup>whic</sup> whether it is, taken as on the same level with<sup>the</sup> The Hon. Member has paragraph does not matter. But taking these thing<sup>s</sup> your remarks to a this leads me to my next point, which is that<sup>is</sup>

(a) The declaration of the whole Cabinet, our Excellency. I only that progress would

is due and it is not permissible, at least I believe it for anyone to go beyond it or to criticise it. We have got to take it as it stands. It is like the aphorisms with which we are familiar in the Shastras. There is to be no reasoning about that matter. The next authority, that is to say the declaration of the Secretary of State is very high indeed but has to be interpreted as we interpret our Sastras and all those things in which it is permissible to add something or explain away something or do as the lawyers do with regard to all laws, namely, interpret and expound them for the benefit of the jury.

Now in carrying out this policy we perfectly recognise the immense labour that has been bestowed on the report but recognise it fully and appreciate it also as has already been expressed by the Christians, I think the session of the Congress held lately in Bombay. We all appreciate the great adroitness shown in the proposition which says in effect as far as possible, to bring out Indian reforms constitute a definite and definite realisation of responsible Government to that extent we feel very grateful; we are very things, and those two things are

Beginning with the first, the main proposal for a whole Continent, is the appointment of a committee who will sit to consider the proposals, with all its variety and say whether the reforms as proposed can be done within a certain time limit. towards the progressive realisation of the proposals not give any time limit, but the work are going to appoint a committee to consider the proposals. These two things however pronounce a verdict that the proposals are not to be done within a certain time limit. towards the progressive realisation of the proposals it is unavoidable that some portions of then ask that committee to report. I believe that the highest human beings that the committee to be employed on this work for a few months—were employed on this work for a few months that no one who reads a testimony to the poverty of time. the reforms constitute a definite and definite realisation of responsible Government. I left for others to do, but there it is and committee might agree

advance, but I certainly do not propose to discuss Your Excellency, I propose not to discuss consider the Reforms to mention the proposals in detail, but after the pronouncement of a few points which strike me as really of great constitute a definite and definite realisation of responsible Government.

Excellency, it is said that the authors of the Report assume that there are no Indian Constituencies.

transferred and the Commission of the Report assumes that there are no franchise constituencies in India worth mentioning, and that the Constituencies might be created, then they are to be educated and made

fit to operate and act. Now these suggestions are very good and I recognise their merit. But I humbly submit that there are constituencies in India and my learned and Hon. friends here who have been working on this Council for 5 years have not been doing it on their account but representing certain constituencies and certain interests who sent them.

There are the District Boards, there are the Municipalities, there are the Universities, there are the Chambers of Commerce and there are a number of other bodies all of them representing, I submit, very intelligent classes of people and there are other constituencies also. I agree that they may have to be enlarged but to say that there are no constituencies and that the constituencies are to be created appears to me to begin a little early. In fact begin at a point where there is no historical evidence. ~~ving opinions and~~ ~~not mean that an illiterate~~

My next point is that though we are something like different Nations and has got a History of its own and very Educated Indians. have got a great and ancient civilization as been said that there are these tendencies which they have inherited going to take care of them. It is have got their own tenets and their people do not care for them methods of thought, they have been used by the educated people. It is imperial history too. They came to that come here to serve will take hundred years, they tried to get into the great people who will whom they ruled and they tried to want to dispute that assumption did become popular to the extent that to dispute the assertion that we the power of Mahomedan Kings. So among them and have our Then there are Parsis who have got to take care of the masses. I belong largely to the trades and to this day assumption, Your excellency, and the most forward in industrial enterprise assumption and that will be thought because our Dadabhoj Naoroji a they are moving houses and the greatest man and I humbly submit I do not know about the There are the Christians and they have got but the houses are put on them about what I need not speak. Even it only illustrates my history of their own. So notwithstanding all things like India is a great each unit has got a civilization, is a civilization by a number of teams, tendencies of its own, which if we can say that you drive only certainly make for the best Government going. no progress will be ever

Now it is said, how about these races, how are said to be not politically minded, people said, the Hon. Member has so on? Well, I have any argument of my own, your remarks to a which is a new Science and a very important every foetus represents the history of the evolution.

Excellency. I only that progress would

through from the time that human being existed as mere moss, then became an aquatic and then a vertebrate and so on. Those that have examined the foetus, who have looked at it and seen it, say that it represents acons of ages in a few seconds and at the end of nine months when it ripens crores of acons of ages that have gone before. So also with history. Take what period you like, you find that in it are preserved specimens of nearly every stage of civilisation even to this day. When you come from England and get some-where about Scotra Island the Sailors tell you that cannibals live there, and coming from England with its high civilisation, these islands which are in between you meet canibals and people like rustics and so forth. History always preserves all the specimens and so does Embroyology. In India ~~and Christians, I fail to~~ we have got our hill tribes who are not representative of the people of people who think politically, read proposition which says in e countries, see the best of it there, and reforms constitute a definite the best that they have seen elsewhere realisation of responsible Government in England

Beginning of my life to try and introduce it. Do come here and we want to get it.

Your Excellency, the main argument against diversity of races is the appointment of a committee who will sit to frame it will be seen that the brain say whether the reforms as a whole human body. The rest of the towards the progressive reager, the limbs etc. but is it not really the are going to appoint a comilarly if you take this political body of pronounce a verdict that is races and there may be large number of towards the progressivehead and the brain of the body is also im then ask that committhuman frame again you do not provide that the committee to artificially develop and lengthen your limbs tions that no one who longer than they are. You have got to work the reforms constitu whole thing as a whole. Similarly, I humbly committee might aga there is a big majority—though it may be advance, but I ceioring to the modern phraeology or rather consider the Reforowed from statistics—there are many crores out after the pronounce thousands and so many lakhs who are literate constitute a defini are intelligent. My submission is that literacy Excellency, it is sang as education. In India there are not many that the authorsut there are a very large number of people that transferred and id and very good people too, and in villages where franchise const. I have seen many people who can neither read committees mig

nor write; but you talk with them and discuss matters with them and you find that they give you very intelligent answers. This superstition about literacy being the highest form of education or the whole of education is of comparatively modern origin and I do not think it is quite correct either. I do not know that Charlemagne was ever able to sign his name. I doubt it very much and I doubt if Sivaji had any literary attainments. I do not think so but that is another matter; we do not discuss these matters about literacy. My point is that literacy is not the same thing as education. A man may be very illiterate and may be highly cultivated as he is in India by listening to Purans and sermons and going about mixing with people and deriving opinions and correcting them. As I found, literacy does not mean that an illiterate person does not know anything.

#### The Charge against Educated Indians.

In the reform proposals it has been said that there are these large masses of people and who is going to take care of them. It is silently assumed that the educated people do not care for them and that they cannot be represented by the educated people. It is silently assumed that the Officers that come here to serve will take care of them; they are the masters and the great people who will look after the masses, and do not want to dispute that assumption about the Officers, but I really wish to dispute the assertion that we who are born of them and brought up among them and have our sympathies with them that we shall not take care of the masses. I take exception to that portion of the assumption, Your excellency, I take exception also to a further assumption and that will be my last one. I am told that in America they are moving houses bodily; they make tremendous houses. I do not know about the mechanism; I have since been there, but the houses are put on wheels and they are drawn. If this is true, it only illustrates my point. The Government of a large continent like India is a great thing, it is a big load. It has to be drawn by a number of teams, not by one horse or by one team. If it is said that you drive only one team and the rest of them and still, no progress will be ever made.

H. E, the President.—Order, Order.—The Hon. Member has reached the limit of his time. Will you bring your remarks to a conclusion.

Hon. Mr. Khaparde—Most certainly Your Excellency. I only wanted to make a point of this that I think that progress would

have to be all round, and therefore as much in the Government of India as in the Government of the Provinces. I do not subscribe to the view that the provinces ought to begin first, and after they have advanced something could be attempted afterwards in the Government of India. I said all this to show that I disagree with the Hon. mover with regard to that one sentence viz., "definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India." I wish these had not been there, and then my support would have been whole-hearted and there would have been no need for this preliminary speech of mine. But I thought it my duty to point out. Except that, I like the idea of appointing a Committee as suggested by my Hon. friend Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji. I think such a committee will do immense good. We have all spoken our views, we have attended the congress and other meetings, we have our views which may differ from the views of others. But even if we differ the difference will be well considered and the joint opinions will be placed at a later stage before Your Excellency which will give Your Excellency material from which to choose. You may of course reject some of the proposals and I believe you will no doubt reject some. But all that has to be said will be put on a short compass and placed before Your Excellency. It will be excellent material for Your Excellency to place before the Cabinet. So this Committee will serve a very useful purpose of focussing all the opinions which can be submitted very respectfully and with due deference for being considered by the powers that be. So, I support the operative part of the Resolution and submit that the Committee should be appointed.

*CONTINUED IN THE  
SUPPLEMENT*

# THE ANNUAL REGISTER SUPPLEMENT.

**Containing**

- 1. The Educational Movement**
- 2. The Social Movement**
- 3. The Industrial Movement**

**AND**

**OTHER MATTERS**

*Will shortly be out.*