

With the compliments of
The Secretary to the Government of India
in the
Home Department

~~THE~~ REFORMS COMMITTEE (FRANCHISE).

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

THE REFORMS COMMITTEE
(FRANCHISE)

~~VOLUME I~~

- Vol. I* {
I.—Bihar and Orissa.
II.—The United Provinces.
III.—The Punjab.
IV.—The Central Provinces.
V.—Assam.
- Vol. II* {
VI. Bengal
VII Madras
VIII Bombay



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I.—BIHAR AND ORISSA.

At Patna.

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PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

Extracts paragraphs 15 to 41 from the letter from the Government of Bihar and Orissa, No. 4110-P., dated the 10th November 1918, to the Government of India in the Home Department.

1. (15) I am now to explain the scheme, which has been framed by the Local Government, for the composition of the Provincial Legislative Council and for the electorates in accordance with the suggestions contained in paragraphs 225 to 232 of the Joint Report. A copy of the scheme and of the tabular statistics on which the franchise and electorate proposals are based is annexed to this letter as Appendix III. Advance copies have been forwarded to the Franchise Committee for their examination.

2. (16) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council agrees that the principle of direct elections should be extended to all constituencies. This system is already in force in Bihar and Orissa as regards the landholder and Muhammadan electorates, as well as the special constituencies of planting and mining interests. The indirect system obtains in the District Board and Municipal electorates; and when consulted last year, His Honour in Council emphasized the artificiality of both and recommended that, for the former, should be substituted a direct electorate in which the franchise would be given at first to members of panchayats and then gradually extended to a wider circle of responsible persons, united by the bond of a common local interest; for the latter he proposed the substitution of a system of direct election by municipal rate-payers, the vote being given to all persons paying rates in excess of a prescribed sum or possessed of other suitable qualifications, educational, professional, etc. Further enquiries have now been made on the subject of the franchise, of which the results are discussed in paragraph 19 below.

3. (17) The next important question is whether the new electorates should ordinarily be of the territorial type, and to what extent the principle of communal election should be admitted. The Local Government agree that the constituencies of the future should ordinarily have a territorial basis, being divided into two main categories, rural and urban. They consider, however, that the principle of communal election should be admitted more generously than is proposed in the Joint Report. The principle is rightly conceded in the case of Muhammadans. The representatives of this community in Bihar and Orissa protest that the concession has been made somewhat grudgingly and contend that it should be extended to provinces where the Muhammadan population is in the majority. The large landholders of Bihar and Orissa have pressed for the retention of their existing communal electorate, and His Honour in Council considers that their claim should be admitted; they undoubtedly form a distinct class in the Province, such as is contemplated in paragraph 232 of the Report, and it would jeopardize the popularity of the scheme with an important body of opinion if this privilege were withdrawn. His Honour in Council is of opinion that it would be highly undesirable to lower the existing franchise in the case of the special landlord constituencies, as the sole object of the concession is to secure the representation of the large landholders by members of their own class. The smaller landholders may well be merged in the ordinary territorial electorates, in which their influence will secure their adequate representation. The large landholders at present hold nearly one-fourth of the total elected seats in Council, but it is proposed, as explained below, to reduce this percentage very considerably. The special electorates of the planting and mining communities should certainly be retained as indicated in paragraph 232 of the Report and a University electorate should be added as contemplated in the same passage. The European members of the present Council who represent the planting and mining communities have pressed for the representation of Europeans and Anglo-Indians by election rather than by nomination, but, apart from the two classes which they represent and from European officials, the number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the Province is small and scattered, and His Honour in Council does not consider that it is necessary or feasible at present to make provision for these two classes except by nomination.

4. (18) The enquiries which have been made by the Local Government with a view to the collection of materials for consideration by the Franchise Committee are explained in detail in Appendix III. The Local Government concur fully in the recommendation made in the Joint Report that the ordinary franchise of the territorial and Muhammadan electorates should be on the broadest possible basis which it is possible to introduce without a breakdown of the electoral machinery involved; indeed they regard this as a fundamental condition of the proposed reforms. The rural franchise, moreover, must be sufficiently low to admit of the adequate representation of the cultivating classes who form the most important section of the population. However much the raiyat voters of the future may at the outset be devoid of political instinct and incapable of appreciating their strength aright, or exercising their power wisely, however much they may be subject in the beginning to undue influence and intrigue, it is absolutely essential that their training in the duties of citizenship should begin at once, if they are to attain to the place in the body politic to which their numbers and economic importance entitle them. There are already signs of an awakening. The co-operative movement has begun to teach them the virtues of thrift and the advantages of union. Great efforts are being made, and will continue to be made in the near future, to develop and expand primary education, and it may be hoped that the existing ignorance and political indifference of the cultivating classes will not take long to disappear. Raiyati associations are beginning to spring up in different portions of the province, and, although there may possibly be a certain amount of wire-pulling behind these, the fact of their formation is significant.

5. In endeavouring to form an estimate of the number of voters who might be included in the rural constituencies, the Local Government confined their enquiries mainly to the three large classes of (a) raiyats, (b) zamindars, and (c) tenure-holders, who occupy an intermediate position between the two former classes. They took as the general basis of qualification for a vote the payment of cess, which in the case of the raiyat is calculated at the uniform rate of half an anna per rupee of rent. As rental incidence varies enormously from district to district, being dependent not only on comparative fertility of soil and the play of competition, but also on innumerable local factors, it was found that a wide range of rental standard would be necessary in order to bring within the limits of the electoral roll a fairly even proportion of well-to-do raiyats, which would be sufficiently large in each district to avoid being swamped by the other two elements in the electorate. Paragraph 228 of the Report contemplates such a differentiation both between provinces and between districts of the same province; and the Lieutenant-Governor in Council considers that it is inevitable at the outset and must be faced, although it may possibly give rise to complaints in the more prosperous districts. A summary enquiry has been made to ascertain whether the local variations would be reduced, if the raiyats' franchise were fixed on the basis of area rather than rent. The figures are incomplete. So far as they go, they indicate that greater uniformity would thus be secured, but His Honour in Council considers that on the whole it is preferable to adhere to the cess basis, as this represents a contribution to local taxation and it is desirable to emphasize that the right to vote is based on a payment to the State. The scheme which has been prepared for the Franchise Committee contemplated the fixing of the franchise at such amounts of cess payment for raiyats, zamindars and tenure-holders, respectively, as will produce rural electorates averaging about two per cent. of the population, or approximately one-tenth of the rural householders of the province. The actual figures, however, on account of the necessity of securing

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some degree of uniformity, work out to a percentage of 1·7 only. The total number of persons who participate in the present Council elections is roughly 2,500. At a general average of 1·7 per cent. of the population the total number of voters in the province is in the vicinity of 600,000, and the average district electorate about 30,000, of which roughly three-quarters would be raiyats and one-quarter landlords including tenure-holders. This seems as far as it is possible or expedient to go at present in the direction of numbers, as any further increase would place a dangerous strain on the new electoral machinery which is discussed in the next paragraph. The result proposed above is obtained by fixing a rent payment of Rs. 48 (on which cess of Rs. 1·8-0 is payable through the landlord) as the general standard for the raiyats' franchise, this limit being reduced to Rs. 16 in the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions and increased to Rs. 64 in certain of the Bihar districts. For zamindars a cess payment of Rs. 12 is proposed, the fact being recognized that of this amount more than half is recovered from raiyats while in many cases a share of varying amount is borne by intermediate tenure-holders. For tenure-holders a cess valuation of Rs. 100 is proposed, the cess actually paid being borne in varying proportions by the raiyat, the tenure-holder and the superior landlord. It will be seen that provision has also been made in the rural franchise for the inclusion of (a) non-agriculturists who pay income-tax or make an annual contribution of not less than Rs. 1-8-0 to local funds in the shape of union rates, and (b) of persons who have certain educational qualifications. These two classes will be insignificant in point of number, but it is necessary that provision should be made for them.

6. The case of the urban franchise is simple, as municipal electorates already exist, and it is proposed that all persons eligible to vote in municipal elections should also be eligible to vote in the urban constituencies of the Legislative Council. The ordinary franchise in municipal electorates was formerly based on a rate payment of Rs. 1-8-0 but was recently raised to Rs. 3. As the underlying principle of the Reform Scheme is a franchise on the broadest possible basis, it is proposed to revert to the former standard of Rs. 1-8-0. This has the additional advantage of tallying with the general basis of the rural franchise.

7. The existing Muhammadan franchise yields only an average of about 300 voters for each constituency. The Local Government see no reason why it should not in future be placed on the same basis as those proposed for the general rural and urban constituencies.

8. The franchise of the special landlord electorates has already been discussed.

9. In the case of the planting and mining electorates, His Honour in Council would adhere generally to the existing arrangements. The member who represents planting interests is returned by the Bihar Planters' Association which is a fully representative body, and no change is required. The present mining member is returned by the Indian Mining Association, and the Lieutenant-Governor in Council considers that that body should continue to return a member. But as it is composed mainly of representatives of the Calcutta agents, His Honour in Council thinks that a second member should be provided to represent the interests of local colliery owners who are not members of the Indian Mining Association and of those who are employed in the coal-fields as managers, assistant managers, etc. It has not yet been possible to work out the details for this constituency.

10. For the new University constituency the franchise should correspond to that in force for Senate elections under the Patna University Act, 1917, and Regulations.

11. (19) Reference has been made in the last paragraph to the limitations which must at the outset be placed on the franchise on account of the practical difficulties which will be experienced in the installation of electoral machinery on a scale never before attempted. The nearest approach to this is in the system of Local Board elections, which has been introduced so far only in the Patna Division. Although the Local Board unit is comparatively small, the experience of past elections has not been very promising, as will appear from the notes included as Appendix IV. The conduct of a general election on the lines now proposed will entail a vast amount of preparation and local organization which will throw a very heavy burden upon the District Officers and their subordinate staffs. The provisional views of the Local Government on this subject are contained in Appendix V. Here it need only be observed that all unnecessary complications should be avoided and that the election organization should be so arranged as to work in, as far as possible, with the administration of the Local Self-Government Department. As regards the latter point, it is a feature of the present franchise proposals that the Council electoral rolls will be useful for purposes other than Council elections, e.g., for Local Board and municipal elections.

12. The Local Government have considered the questions of (1) plural constituencies with reservation of seats for particular classes of candidates, and (2) proportional representation. They are emphatically of the opinion that such devices are likely to cause undue complication of the electoral machinery, and will not, in the present undeveloped condition of the proposed electors, lead to any useful results in the direction of securing fair representation for minorities. They have therefore framed their proposals on the principle that each constituency will be a single member constituency and they will, if the proposals are finally accepted, proceed to divide up the districts for which more than one member is proposed, into suitable areas for electoral purposes. As the average single constituency will include a larger number of voters than can be polled by the district staff in one day, the elections must ordinarily be spread over two days; and in the case of the larger districts, which will be represented by two or more rural members, the elections must extend over the greater part of a week. This arrangement will leave certain loopholes for intrigue and personation, but these are necessary evils and every effort will be made to reduce them within the narrowest limits.

13. (20) The important question of the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Council remains to be considered. The present Council includes:—

3 *ex-officio* members.

19 nominated members of whom not more than 15 may be officials.

21 members elected as follows:—

(1) by Municipal Commissioners	5
(2) by District Boards	5
(3) by landholders	5
(4) by Muhammadans	4
(5) by mining interest	1
(6) by planting interest	1

TOTAL . 43, to which may be added one expert member, official or non-official.

14. While the Local Government accept the principle that the new Council should contain a substantial majority of elected members, they do not consider it desirable in the present circumstances of the province that the Council should be so large, or that the proportion of elected members should be so high, as is demanded in certain quarters. Non-official opinion, which clings to the Congress-League Scheme, asks for a Council of 125 with an elected majority of four-fifths. In the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, neither of these demands is suitable under the existing

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conditions of Bihar and Orissa. There is much less diversity of interests in a province that is mainly agricultural than in the Presidencies, and His Honour in Council believes that there will be ample room for the representation of all important interests, while the standard of ability and character will not be unduly lowered, if the new Council be limited to 96 of which two-thirds should be elected members. This is the figure which he has decided to recommend, after further consideration of the tentative scheme laid before the Conference of non-official members, which contemplated a Council of 90, two-thirds elected and one-third *ex-officio* and nominated.

15. (21) The scheme which the Local Government recommend is as follows—

<i>Elected—</i>		
Rural non-Muhammadans	62	
Urban non-Muhammadans	6	
Rural Muhammadans	12	
Urban Muhammadans	3	
Large landholders	7	
The Planting Community	1	
The Mining Interests	2	
The Patna University	1	
		TOTAL 64
<i>Ex-officio and nominated officials—</i>		
The Executive Councillors	2	
The Commissioners of Divisions	5	
The Secretaries to Government	5	
The Legal Remembrancer	1	
Heads of Departments and Experts	6	
The Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University	1	
		TOTAL 20
<i>Nominated non-officials</i>		12
		GRAND TOTAL 96

16. In framing the scheme the Lieutenant-Governor in Council has taken the following points into consideration—

- (1) The allotment of seats to Muhammadans follows the basis adopted by the Lucknow Convention of the Congress and the Muslim League which gives the Muhammadans of Bihar and Orissa 25 per cent. of the elected Indian seats. It will be seen that 15 seats have been provided for them out of 60, the four special electorates (Planting, Mining, and University) being excluded.
- (2) The proportion of rural to urban constituencies is 44 to 9. This gives the residents of cities and towns a larger share in the Council than their population justifies, but His Honour in Council has taken into account both the relative position which municipal bodies enjoy in the present Council and the higher standard of education and general level of intelligence which prevails in urban areas.
- (3) It is proposed to give seven seats to the large landholders. This will leave them with a much smaller proportion of representation than they enjoy in the existing Council, but the class is numerically small, and it will have little difficulty in securing further representation in the general rural electorates, until such time as the cultivators begin to recognize their political powers. The Local Government propose to distribute the seats for the large landholders, by giving one each to the Patna, Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions, which have populations of between five and six millions, and two to the Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions with populations of ten and eight millions, respectively.
- (4) Of the nominated members, it is proposed that 20 should be officials and 12 non-officials. With a smaller number than 20 the selection of official members for the Grand Committee would be unduly limited.

17. The communities and interests for which it will be necessary to provide representation by nomination are fairly numerous in Bihar and Orissa and include the following—(1) industrial interests other than planting and mining, represented at present mainly by the colony at Sakchi but likely to develop greatly in the near future, (2) aborigines who form a large section of the population in Chota Nagpur, (3) the depressed classes who will remain outside the scope of the franchise, (4) domiciled Bengalis who may or may not succeed in carrying a fair proportion of the general seats, (5) Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. A general reserve out of the total of 12 would be retained for adjustment of election results and for the appointment, when necessary, of non-official experts.

18. (22) The distribution of seats assigned to the urban and rural constituencies, both general and Muhammadan, is set forth at page 1 of Appendix III. It is founded primarily on a population basis, but this has been confused to some extent by the disproportionate allotment of seats to Muhammadans and by the preference shown to urban areas, both of which causes have operated to give the Bihar divisions an advantage over the others. The divisional figures are as follows—

<i>Patna—</i>		Population 5,634,789.	
Number of members	Urban	3 (including Muhammadan)	1)
	Rural	10 (" "	3)
		TOTAL	13 (" " 4)
<i>Tirhut—</i>		Population 9,973,359.	
Number of members	Urban	2 (" "	1)
	Rural	14 (" "	4)
		TOTAL	16 (" " 5)

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Bhagalpur—

Population 8,144,821 (a).

Number of members	Urban	2 (Including	1)
	Rural	8 (3)
	TOTAL	10 (	4)

Orissa—

Population 5,131,753 (b).

Number of members	Urban	1	
	Rural	6 (	1)
	TOTAL	7 (	1)

Chota Nagpur—

Population 5,805,362.

Number of members	Urban	1	
	Rural	6 (	1)
	TOTAL	7 (	1)

19. (23) The question of the qualifications of candidates for election to the Legislative Council, is not dealt with in the Report, but it is presumed that the Government of India would wish to have the views of the Local Government upon it. The existing rules on the subject are contained in Regulations IV and V framed under section 6 of the Indian Council Act, 1909, published in Notification No. 86, dated the 21st November 1912 of the Legislative Department. The conditions of eligibility prescribed in Regulation IV will presumably be retained, but in view of the general change of system now proposed His Honour in Council is doubtful whether it is necessary to prescribe any additional rule for individual constituencies except the general condition that no person shall be eligible for election unless he possesses the qualification for a vote within the constituency concerned.

20. (35) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council accepts the proposed composition of the Imperial Legislative Assembly (paragraph 273), the abandonment of the title "Honourable" (paragraph 278), and, subject to the proposal below, the allotment, as between the provinces, of the seats to be filled by election (paragraph 274). If seven seats only be allotted to Bihar and Orissa, he would retain the existing seats for representations of the large landholders and the Muhammadans and he would give one general seat to each of the five divisions of the province. The drawback to this arrangement is that it gives the Muhammadans only one seat in seven or considerably less than the proportion agreed to at the Lucknow Convention. For this reason His Honour in Council would be glad if an eighth seat could be allotted to Bihar and Orissa in which case it would be reserved for a second Muhammadan. His provisional views on the franchise of the general and Muhammadan electorates are stated in Appendix III. He would retain the existing franchise in the case of the large landholders.

21. (36) As already stated, the Local Government regard the scheme for a Council of State as an essential safeguard, at least during the period of transition. They also welcome it as a means of securing a permanent element, which will make for stability in the future development of the Constitution. They agree that the personal qualifications of members should be of a character appropriate to the dignity of the body, that they should enjoy the title of "Honourable," and that the life-time of the Council should be five years. They approve of the composition of the Council proposed in paragraph 277, and the procedure explained in paragraphs 279 to 281.

APPENDIX III.

22. The proposed distribution of seats assigned to the urban and rural constituencies, both Muhammadan and general, is set forth in the following statement.

23. The population figures relate only to males of 20 years of age or more and are expressed in thousands. In view of the proposal of the Local Government to exclude from the jurisdiction of the reformed Council the districts of Santal Parganas and Angul, the figures for those tracts have been excluded from those for the rural population. It

(a) Includes Santal Parganas (1,882,978) which is excluded from the scheme.

(b) Includes Angul (199,451) which is excluded from the scheme.

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[Continued]

is, however, proposed to give the franchise to the urban population of these tracts, and hence figures are shown against Santal Parganas. There is no urban area in Angul.

DISTRICT	URBAN NON-MUHAMMADANS		URBAN MUHAMMADANS		RURAL NON-MUHAMMADANS		RURAL MUHAMMADANS		REMARKS
	Population.	Members.	Population.	Members.	Population.	Members.	Population.	Members.	
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Patna City	26	1	9	1	3,78	2	26	1	
Patna	13		6	1	4,97	2	44	1	
Geys	13		4		4,11	2	27	1	
Shahabad	13		4		4,11	2	27	1	
PATNA DIVISION	49	2	26	1	13,78	6	92	3	* Excluding Patna City.
Muzaffarpur	17		5	1	5,99	3	73	1	
Sarai	12		4	1	4,50	2	52	1	
Champaran	8		3		4,17	2	68	1	
Darbhanga	10		6		6,19	3	78	1	
TIRHUT DIVISION	50	1	14	1	20,85	10	271	4	
Bhagalpur	15		6		4,87	2	47	1	
Hongly	14		4	1	4,78	2	42	1	
Farsha	7		3		3,97	1	3,01	1	
Santal Parganas	8		2		..	..	..	..
BHAGALPUR DIVISION	44	1	15	1	12,47	5	2,90	3	
Cuttack	19		..	..	4,70	2	13	..	
Balasore	5		..	..	2,44	1	7	..	† Urban Muham- dans of Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divi- sions included with rural.
Puri	12		..	..	2,55	1	5	..	
Sambalpur	3		..	..	1,84	1	..	..
ORISSA DIVISION	39	1	..	..	11,53	5	25	1	
Ranchi	8		..	..	2,80	1	12	..	
Hazaribagh	8		..	..	2,58	1	23	..	
Palamu	2		..	..	1,47	1	14	..	
Manbhum	7		..	..	3,61	2	23	..	
Singbham	2		..	..	1,53	1	1	..	
CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION	27	1	..	..	11,97	6	79	1	
PROVINCIAL TOTAL	..	6	..	3	..	32	..	12	

Note by Mr. J. A. Hubback, I.C.S., on the statement showing probable number of electors.

24. (1) The appended statement gives the results of the detailed enquiries, made by the District Officers in August 1918, into the probable size of constituencies.

25. (2) Preliminary Enquiry.—A preliminary enquiry was very hastily made in January 1918. It was recognized that the following factors of unknown weight were ignored in the results then obtained:—

- (i) The cases in which two or more holdings are held by the same raiyat, either in one village or in more than one village.
- (ii) The cases in which there is no adult male co-sharer in a holding.
- (iii) The cases in which a raiyat, who would be entitled to a vote on the rental of his holding, is also a proprietor or a leaseholder.

26. (3) Present Enquiry.—The District Officers, therefore, were asked in Mr. McPherson's demi-official No. 648-69-C, dated the 24th July 1918, to make more extensive enquiries on the lines detailed below.

27. (4) The records-of-rights of villages covering one-sixth of the total area of each police station jurisdiction were examined. (The preliminary examination was confined to 100 villages in each district, or about 2-4 per cent. of the total number of villages in the Province.)

28. From the figures of raiyati holdings so obtained the probable total number of holdings of different rental value in each police station jurisdiction was deduced by rule of proportion. The raiyati holdings included those held by (a) fixed rent raiyats, (b) settled raiyats, (c) occupancy raiyats, (d) non-occupancy raiyats. Rent-free tenancies were

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separately dealt with and under-raiyats completely ignored. The value of the rent when paid on the produce or actually in kind was estimated in each district. The rates adopted are discussed below for all districts where produce rents are common.

29. Large villages were as a rule selected, but in some cases villages were selected by a mechanical process of taking every sixth village.

30. (5) In order to estimate the correction to be applied, owing to the fact that raiyats often have two or more separate holdings in the same village, either one or two villages in each police station jurisdiction were selected, and the records-of-rights examined.

31. This is often a big factor, as in the districts where produce rents are prevalent nearly every raiyat has two holdings, one on cash rent and one on produce rent. Further in districts where the number of proprietors is large a raiyat frequently holds under two or more proprietors. The general effect on the figures of the amalgamation of holdings is to increase slightly the figures for the lowest standard considered, and to increase materially those for the higher standards. For the amalgamation of two holdings below the lowest standard gives one holding above it, but the amalgamation of two holdings above the lowest but below the next higher standard, gives only one holding in the lowest standard and one in the next higher.

32. The results so obtained have been applied as a district percentage to the figures obtained from an examination of one-sixth of the area of the district.

33. The records of the same villages were also subjected to a cross check between the *Mewal* (record of proprietary interests and tenures), and the *terij* (the list of the raiyati holdings), in order to detect cases, in which raiyats, whose holdings after amalgamation reached the various standards were also found to be proprietors or tenure-holders. (It was not thought necessary to consider the precise value of their proprietary interests or tenures, as that would have been extremely laborious, and as a matter of fact the number of cases has proved to be scarcely ever more than 3 per cent. in the lowest standard or 10 per cent. in the highest.)

34. (6) With a view to eliminating as far as possible the error of omitting to consider cases in which raiyats have holdings in more than one village, it was at first arranged that the largest village in each police station jurisdiction should be taken for the enquiry mentioned in the preceding paragraph. It was, however, decided that this error could not be ignored, and hence in the latter part of the work some smaller villages were taken.

35. A further enquiry was ordered to estimate the effects of what may be called amalgamation of extra-village holdings as distinguished from the amalgamation of intra-village holdings dealt with in paragraph 5.

36. For this purpose some 10 villages in each district were taken and the records were first examined to obtain the results of "intra village" amalgamations, and then examined with those of all adjoining villages to obtain the results "extra village" amalgamations. Only those cases, in which the largest part of the holding formed by amalgamation is situated in the selected village, were taken into account.

37. The results were expressed as a percentage for the whole district, obtained by dividing the number of holdings of a certain standard, after "intra village" amalgamations only, into the number of holdings of that standard, after both "intra" and "extra" village amalgamations.

38. (7) Yet another enquiry was undertaken to gauge the effect of omitting holdings, in which there is no adult male co-sharer. As this depends on actuarial factors, modified slightly by local or communal laws of inheritance, it was decided to limit the enquiry to six villages in every district. In each of these the rent roll was examined on the spot in the presence of the bulk of the raiyats and the rent-collecting agency, and the facts noted. The percentage was found to lie in nearly all districts between 3 and 9 per cent., only Sambalpur with 19 per cent. exceeding the latter limit. It would probably be safe to take 6 per cent. as the reduction to be made on this score throughout the province. It is noteworthy that the figures of Santal Parganas, with a large Animist population, Purnea with a large Muhammadan population, and Monghyr with a population which is fairly typical of the province are 6, 4 and 3 per cent.

39. (8) Thus percentages have been obtained for the effect of—

- (i) "intra village" amalgamations;
- (ii) overlapping of raiyats and proprietors or tenure-holders;
- (iii) "extra village" amalgamations; and
- (iv) omission of females and minors.

40. These percentages have been multiplied together and applied to the district figures for the total number of holdings of each standard obtained as explained in paragraph 4, and the resulting figures have been given in columns 7 to 11 of the double page statement attached.

41. It should be noted that the standards chosen for the Bihar districts are Rs. 32, Rs. 64 and Rs. 96 and for the Orissa and Chota Nagpur districts Rs. 16, Rs. 32 and Rs. 48.

42. The holding or group of holdings belonging to the same set of persons has been taken throughout as the unit, and no attempt has been made to see what the individual's interest is as distinct from the interest of the joint family. This is based on the idea that the "Karta" or equivalent head of the family would get the vote.

43. In the actual preparation of the electoral roll the difficulties of holdings in the common possession of several families will have to be faced. But these are not very common.

44. (9) *Proprietors and holders of rent-free lands.*—The figures of columns 12 to 15 have been obtained from a detailed examination of the Cess Tauzi Registers.

45. They include proprietors of both revenue-paying and revenue-free estates, and also persons who, holding lands without payment of rent, pay cess direct into the Treasury or to the proprietors of estates to which the rent-free lands have for cess purposes been assigned.

46. The unit is the estate or the separate account, where such accounts have been opened.

47. It may be taken that the cess paid by proprietors out of their own pocket is about one-third of the aggregate payment. Hence a proprietor paying Rs. 3 is making a contribution equal to that of a raiyat whose rent is Rs. 32. Rs. 6 cess from a proprietor equals Rs. 64 rent from a raiyat. Rs. 9 equals Rs. 96 and Rs. 12 equals Rs. 128. Rent-free holders pay a much larger proportion of the cess out of their own pockets, but they do not contribute directly or indirectly to the land revenue.

48. *Rent paying tenure-holders.*—The figures of those whose tenures have been valued at Rs. 100 or more were reported by most District Officers in January and have merely been repeated except where corrected. Such tenure-holders may perhaps be taken to be paying as much cess from their own pocket as raiyats paying rent of Rs. 32.*

* A tenure-holder, whose tenure is valued at Rs. 100, who holds all in his own possession and pays a quit rent of Rs. 8, pays cess out of his own pocket of Rs. 6. A tenure-holder, whose tenure is valued at Rs. 100, who has sublet the whole and pays a rent of Rs. 80, pays cess out of his own pocket of 10 annas.

49. (10) Column 6 is also taken from the same statement. It has been obtained by dividing the total rental of the district by the number of actual workers among ordinary cultivators (total of columns 14 and 15, Table XV, on pages 150 and 151 of Part III, Volume V of Census, 1911). The total rental includes cash rents and produce rents on an average district valuation.

50. (11) The remaining columns 17 to 20 contain no new material but have been taken from the results obtained in the preliminary enquiry of January 1918.

51. (12) *Probable Error*.—The work appears to have been carried out both intelligently and carefully in the district offices. After making allowance for actual errors, and for possible overlapping of voters, I think the total number of voters on any of the franchises chosen can be obtained within 20 per cent. In a few districts, however, the number of proprietors who would get the vote has been exaggerated, because no allowance has been made for the great landowners, who hold a large number of revenue-paying estates.

52. (13) *Maximum number of voters for one polling officer*.—I made some enquiries from officers who have had experience of conducting elections as to the number of votes that can be polled under the supervision of a single officer in one day. One officer said he had polled 2,700 votes, in 14 hours with 15 candidates for 5 vacancies, and that another officer had polled 4,000 votes with two candidates. In these cases the polling officer himself noted the candidate for which the electors wished to vote.

53. Other officers, however, are much less hopeful and range from 500 to 1,000 as the number that can be polled. In Gaya Municipal election, in March 1918, a ballot was taken, and I arranged to have two polling officers for all wards in which the number of electors exceeded 500, and we got through comfortably between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m.

54. If the arrangements for the Gaya Municipal election are followed, I should say it would be unwise to expect an officer to poll more than 1,000 in a day. It is unlikely that more than 30 officers of the required standing will be available in a district and in the smaller districts not more than 20.

55. (14) *Details for Districts*.—On this basis I proceed to examine the figures district by district, assuming that the proprietors' franchise is payment of Rs. 12 as cess and tenure-holders, a valuation of Rs. 100.

56. *Patna*.—Produce rent land was valued at Rs. 10 per acre. This is important as 404,000 acres out of a total net cropped area of 1,023,000 acres are held on produce rents. Cash rents are high (Rs. 8-4-0 per acre), and I do not think the rate adopted is excessive.

Rupees 32 clearly gives an unmanageable electorate. Rupees 64 will give about 46,000 rural electors and Rs. 96, about 31,000.

57. *Gaya*.—Produce rent land was valued at different rates from Rs. 9 to Rs. 4. The average will be about Rs. 6-8-0 which is reasonable. Cash rent averages Rs. 6, but includes all the best land.

Produce rents are paid for 1,104,000 acres out of 1,829,000 acres of net cropped area.

Rupees 32 is obviously out of the question. Rupees 64 will give about 60,000 rural electors and Rs. 96 about 28,000.

58. *Shahabad*.—Produce rent land was valued at Rs. 5 per acre. Much of it is infertile land towards the south and west. The rate is reasonable. Cash rent averages Rs. 3-4-0 per acre. Produce rents are paid for 254,000 acres out of 1,746,000 acres of net cropped area.

Rupees 32 is here also out of the question. Rupees 64 will give about 46,000 rural electors and Rs. 96 about 28,000.

59. *Patna Division*.—On the whole Rs. 64 rental for the raiyati franchise for Council Elections, may just be manageable.

60. *Muzaffarpur*.—Produce rents are rare. The feature of this district and of Saran is the large number of proprietors who will come into the electorate.

Rupees 32 will give about 47,000 rural voters. Rupees 64 will give about 20,000. Out of these two-thirds will be proprietors.

61. *Saran*.—Produce rents are rare.

Rupees 32 will give about 42,000 rural voters, but Rs. 64 about 14,000 of whom more than half will be proprietors, or tenure-holders.

62. *Champaran*.—Produce rents are rare and cash rents very low. Rupees 32 will give about 23,000 rural voters, but Rs. 64 only 7,000.

63. *Darbhanga*.—Produce rents are rare.

Rupees 32 will give about 46,000 rural voters. Rupees 64 will give about 22,000 and Rs. 96 about 15,000.

64. *Tirhut Division*.—On the whole I would put the franchise at Rs. 48, which will probably give 38,000 for Muzaffarpur, 33,000 for Saran, 19,000 for Champaran, and 38,000 for Darbhanga. If the franchise is put higher the raiyats' vote will be in danger of swamping by the petty landlords.

65. *Bhagalpur*.—Produce rent lands are valued at Rs. 12 per acre, which is in my opinion excessive. Rupees 6 would be more reasonable. At the last cess revaluation of North Bhagalpur Rs. 12 was taken as an initial all-round rate for these lands and the superior land in possession of landlords. It was reduced after objections had been considered to about Rs. 6-8. The same procedure was followed in South Bhagalpur, where the bulk of the produce rent land lies, and the final assessment was made at rates between Rs. 6 and Rs. 12 per acre. The total area of produce rent land is only 157,000 acres out of the net cropped area of 1,684,000 acres.

If there were no produce rent area, it is clear the figures supplied would be accurate.

If the whole district were held on produce rent, then the figure for Rs. 64, now given, would be the figure for Rs. 32. It is clear then that the true figures for Rs. 32 will lie between 44,389 and 19,505, and as the produce rent area is only about 10 per cent. of the whole, it is probable that the true figure for Rs. 32 will be about 41,000. This would give about 47,000 rural voters.

Rupees 64, after applying the same kind of correction, would probably give about 24,000 rural voters.

66. *Monghyr*.—Here again the produce rent lands have been over-valued, as the Collector took three times the cash rent of each village as the equivalent of the rent paid in kind. I have calculated, by taking the produce rent area and the average cash rent in each revenue thana, that this means an average produce rent rate of Rs. 14 per acre. I should say from my own experience of Monghyr that this is about double the true value. The Cess Revaluation Final Reports do not give a clear indication of the rates actually adopted. Produce rent lands cover 285,000 acres out of a net cropped area of 1,469,000 acres or about 20 per cent.

The true figure for Rs. 32 must lie between 78,602 and 34,060. It will probably be about 70,000, giving a total of about 78,000 rural voters.

The true figure for Rs. 64 will probably be about 30,000, or 39,000 rural voters, and that for Rs. 96 about 19,000, or 27,000 rural voters.

67. *Purnea*.—Produce rents are comparatively rare and cash rents low, but the Collector says that there has been a good deal of new settlement at high rates since the record-of-rights was prepared about 12 years ago. This will of course raise the number of raiyati voters on each standard of franchise.

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A feature of the district is the comparatively large number of tenure-holders. Even so the number of rural voters on Rs. 32 franchise will be not more than about 29,000 and on Rs. 64 franchise 10,000.

68. *Santal Parganas*.—Produce rents are rare and cash rents very low. The conditions are much more like Chota Nagpur than Bihar. The aboriginal element is stronger than in any other district of the province. It is a Scheduled district and will probably be administered by the Head of the Province. If an electorate is constituted at all it may perhaps be based on the village headman system, at any rate in parts of the district. Rural voters on a cess basis would number about 9,000 on Rs. 32 basis. The Deputy Commissioner thinks they might be about 50,000 to 55,000 on Rs. 16 basis.

69. *Bhagalpur Division*.—The division consists of two exceptional districts, Purnea and Santal Parganas, and of two fairly similar districts, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, both lying partly north and partly south of the Ganges. The northern portions resemble Tirhut and the southern Patna Division.

If the Santal Parganas is to have no rural electorate, then the Tirhut Division franchise of Rs. 48 can be adopted for Bhagalpur and Purnea, giving rural electorates of 40,000 and 23,000, while the Patna Division franchise of Rs. 64 may be adopted for Monghyr, giving an electorate of 39,000. South Monghyr closely resembles Patna and Gaya districts in many respects.

70. *Cuttack*.—Produce rents are not very important. Rupees 16 basis will give a rural electorate of about 25,000. Rupees 32 will only give about 7,000 of whom scarcely half will be raiyats.

71. *Balasore*.—Produce rents are not very important. As there is not a complete record-of-rights for the district some of the figures are more conjectural than in other districts. Rupees 16 basis will give a rural electorate of a little less than 13,000. Rupees 32 will scarcely give 4,000 of whom hardly a third will be raiyats.

72. *Angul*.—About half the district is inhabited by exceedingly primitive aborigines, who could not in any circumstances vote. This part has been excluded from the compilation of figures. The rest is also backward. Rupees 16 will give a rural electorate of barely 2,000 votes, but it is proposed that this district should be completely excluded.

73. *Puri*.—Produce rents are rare. Rupees 16 will give a rural electorate of about 17,000 and Rs. 32 about 7,000.

74. *Sambalpur*.—Produce rents are rare. The form of land tenure is unique in the province and the cess legislation peculiar to the district, which was only taken over from the Central Provinces in 1905. Special instructions were given for the enquiries in this district and special forms used. The raiyati figures include "gaontias," who are revenue collectors for the other cultivators, but have proprietary rights in some of the lands in their own possession. The figures also include "bhogra bhogi" tenures, which are grants from the proprietary lands of gaontias to the younger branches of their families, and a few rent-free tenancies mainly of a religious character. Parts of the district are, however, held by raiyats direct from Government and other parts are cultivated by raiyats under proprietors, who have a semi-feudal position or under temporary tenure-holders, who hold under such proprietors.

Rupees 16 basis will give a rural electorate of about 6,000 and Rs. 32 scarcely 3,000.

75. *Orissa Division*.—The division contains 3 normal districts, Cuttack, Balasore and Puri. Angul is scarcely fit for any franchise, and will probably be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed Council, though representatives might be nominated. Sambalpur is also backward but perhaps not so backward as to justify complete exclusion.

Any franchise higher than Rs. 16 will give in the Orissa Division very small electorates, and, though the variation between this standard and the standard of Rs. 64 proposed for the Patna Division is wide, it is necessary to secure a reasonable number of voters in all parts of the Province.

76. *Ranchi*.—Produce rents are rare.

The district is notable for the number of Animists and Christians nearly 60 per cent. of the population. The bulk of the Hindus, too, are of aboriginal descent.

Rupees 16 franchise would give a rural electorate of about 12,000 and Rs. 32 less than 4,000.

77. *Hazaribagh*.—Produce rents are rare.

The number of Animists is important, and many of the Hindus are of the castes recruited from aborigines.

Rupees 16 franchise would give a rural electorate of about 24,000 and Rs. 32 about 8,000.

78. *Palamau*.—Produce rents are rare. A considerable part of the district is held by raiyats direct from Government. The aboriginal and semi-aboriginal element is strong and generally the district is very backward. There is a fairly strong case for exclusion from the jurisdiction of the reformed council, especially as both the Deputy Commissioner and the Settlement Officer agree that the interests of the big raiyats who would form the bulk of the electorate are by no means identical with those of the small raiyats. This feature is, however, by no means peculiar to Palamau, and the argument is weakened as long as agrarian questions are reserved.

Rupees 16 franchise would give 15,000 rural electors and Rs. 32, 6,000.

79. *Manbhum*.—Produce rents are unimportant. The aboriginal and semi-aboriginal element is strong. The district is peculiar in having a large proportion, nearly three quarters, who speak Bengali. Education is more advanced than in the rest of the Chota Nagpur Division, but there is a considerable tract in the district which is as backward as any part of the province except Angul. Rs. 16 franchise would give about 14,000 rural electors, and Rs. 32 about 6,000 of whom less than one-third would be raiyats.

80. *Singhbhum*.—Produce rents are unimportant. The aboriginal element is stronger than in any district of the province except Santal Parganas and Ranchi and is relatively stronger than these. For most of the district the only electorate possible would be the village headmen, who are elected by the villagers subject to the Deputy Commissioner's approval. Rs. 16 franchise would give a rural electorate of about 8,000 and Rs. 32 barely 3,000.

81. *Chota Nagpur Division*.—The districts are all different. If they are all to be included in the scheme, then Rs. 16 will give a fairly wide rural electorate, but Singhbhum will require special treatment, both as regards the Hoe and possibly as regards the industrial area. The coal mining areas of Manbhum and Hazaribagh may also require special treatment. A higher standard than Rs. 16 would swamp the raiyats' vote with landlord electors.

82. (15) Apart from the franchise for raiyats, there must be in the rural constituencies a franchise for the smaller proprietors and the tenure-holders, and possibly also a franchise which will bring in the small traders and professional men in the larger villages. These last do not ordinarily pay anything for the maintenance of the administration except chauthidari tax, unless they pay income-tax. Chauthidari tax is of course paid by raiyats as well as local cess. As long as local traders, etc., escape both income-tax and local cess, it seems inequitable to give them a vote. Some few, however, are assessed for the maintenance of Unions under the Local Self-Government Act, and those who make a contribution comparable to that which will qualify for the franchise in the Municipalities might get the rural franchise. It is likely that Unions will develop rapidly now. (In Gaya about 10 are already in existence or being formed.) When every village of population exceeding 2,000 has its Union, the great majority of this class will be enfranchised.

83. (16) The District Board and Local Board electorates should be as a rule the same as those for the Legislative Council, as it will not be possible to poll a larger electorate at present. This will result in disenfranchising some people in the Patna Division, but I doubt if one of them will care. Elections have been more or less of a farce, and have only been possible because so many constituencies have been left uncontested by arrangement. The electorates

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proposed will secure that all intelligent persons will have votes, and local bodies will only administer subjects in which all classes of the same locality have the same interests, except (a big exception) primary education. Nothing, however, except the British element in the administration is likely, at present, to secure to the lower classes a fair distribution of educational facilities.

84. (17) As to the Union franchise, there seems to be no reason why this should not remain quite low, only the persons who pay fairly large Union cesses being entitled to vote for the Council and Local and District Boards. Unions will contain, even after the utmost possible expansion of them, only a small fraction of the rural population, and it will not be an alarming task to prepare and maintain their electoral rolls and to conduct their elections. It will also be an advantage to give training in the use of a vote to a lower class than it is possible to enfranchise at present for the Council elections.

85. (18) The Municipal franchise at Re. 1-8 and Rs. 3 will give electorates as shown in columns 19 and 20. Of the Patna Division figures about one-third represent the electors of Patna City.

86. (19) The following statement shows the probable number of voters in each constituency on the assumption that Muhammadans have a separate electorate, and the lowest practicable franchise, for which figures have been collected, is adopted:—

Statement of the probable number (in thousands) of electors on the franchise proposed.

Constituency.	Franchise proposed.	Raiyats.	RURAL ELECTORS.						URBAN ELECTORS.	
			Proprietors and rent-free holders.	Tenure holders paying rent.	Others.	TOTAL.	Non-Muhammadian.	Muhammadian.	Non-Muhammadian.	Muhammadian.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Patna Gaya Shahabad	Raiyats Rs. 64 rental	30	10	5	1	46	38	8		
	Proprietors and rent-free holders Rs. 12 cess.	47	7	5	1	60	54	6		
	Tenure-holders Rs. 100 valuation.	32	8	5	1	46	43	3		
PATNA DIVISION EXCLUDING PATNA CITY.	Re. 1-8 Municipal rates . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	
PATNA CITY	Re. 1-8 Municipal rates . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6½	
Muzaffarpur	Re. 1-8 Municipal rates	26	10	1	1	38	33	5		
Saran	Raiyats Rs. 48 rental.	25	6	1	1	33	29	4		
Champaran	Proprietors, etc., as in Patna.	15	1	2	1	19	16	3		
Darbhanga	Proprietors, etc., as in Patna.	28	6	3	1	38	33	5		
TIRHUT DIVISION	Re. 1-8 Municipal rates . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	6
Bhagalpur	As in Muzaffarpur	34	4	1	1	40	36	4		
Monghyr	As in Patna.	30	5	3	1	39	35	4		
Purnea	As in Muzaffarpur	16	1	5	1	23	13	10		
Santal Parganas	Excluded except Municipalities. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BHAGALPUR DIVISION	Re. 1-8 Municipal rates . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13½	4½
Cuttack	Raiyats Rs. 16 rental	22	2	..	1	25	24	1		
Balasore	Proprietors, etc., as in Patna.	11	1	..	1	13	12½	½		
Puri	Proprietors, etc., as in Patna.	15	1	..	1	17	16½	½		
Sambalpur	Proprietors, etc., as in Patna.	5	0	..	1	6	6	..		
Angul	Wholly excluded . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ORISSA DIVISION	Re. 1-8 Municipal rates . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	2
Ranchi	As in Cuttack	9	1	1	1	12	11½	½		
Hazaribagh	As in Cuttack	20	0	3	1	24	21½	2½		
Palamu	As in Cuttack	12	1	1	1	15	14	1		
Manbhum	As in Cuttack	10	0	3	1	14	13	1		
Singhbhum	As in Cuttack	8	0	1	1	10	8	..		
CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION	Re. 1-8 Municipal rates . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	1
PROVINCIAL TOTAL . . . . .	.....	393	64	40	19	516	457	62*	69	20†
Number of Constituencies . . . . .	.....	..	..	..	..	..	32	12	6	3
Average number of Electors per constituency . . . . .	.....	..	..	..	..	..	14.3	5.2	11.5	6.7

* Including 3,000 Muhammadan urban electors in the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions.
† Excluding 3,000 Muhammadan urban electors in the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions.

Note by Mr. J. A. Hubback, I.C.S., on the probable results of adopting an area basis for the franchise.

87. (1) In accordance with the orders on the case I have examined the probable result of substituting an area qualification, as a basis of the raiyats' franchise, for a qualification of rental.

88. Statement I attached shows, district by district, the average acreage on which the rents previously selected as standards are paid. These figures have been obtained from the average rent per acre of each district for occupancy raiyats, which has been ascertained by dividing the total area held by such raiyats into the sum of the cash rents, recorded in the course of the preparation of the last record-of-rights and of the value of the produce rents, arrived at by multiplying the total area held by occupancy raiyats on produce rent by the rate adopted by the District Officer in the course of the enquiries into the franchise question during August 1918. (This has necessitated some corrections in the figures given in column 5 of Statement II of Mr. McPherson's note, dated the 26th January 1918). The next step was to see what rentals might be taken as paid for areas of 10 and 15 acres, and then, using the figures in columns 10 to 14 and 20 to 28 of the big statement compiled after the August enquiries, to arrive at an estimate of the total number of electors, which might be expected, in each district, if the franchise were fixed at 10 or 15 acres for raiyats, and at corresponding levels for tenure-holders, rent-free tenants and proprietors. This estimate is given in Statement II attached.

89. (2) The estimate is a very rough one. There appear to be two factors, which may go far to vitiate the figures. In the first place it is almost certainly the case in the Bihar districts that well-to-do raiyats who hold large areas generally hold them at lower rates than the average rate of the district. In the second place in Chota Nagpur, where lands vary in value immensely more than they do in Bihar, I understand that the well-to-do raiyats usually hold comparatively small areas of the finest land at high rates, while the poorer raiyats hold large tracts of extremely inferior land, for which they pay very little rent. The former factor would tend to make the number of electors larger than is shown in statement II. For example in Patna a rent payment of Rs. 64 would indicate a holding of 10 acres instead of 7.6 acres, and thus on the 10 acre basis the number of raiyati voters alone would be about 30,000 with perhaps another 12,000 of others, as against 30,000 in all. The second factor would operate to diminish the number of voters of a certain standard from the number shown in Statement II. It is difficult to decide as to the magnitude of the probable error, and how far these two factors would in any particular district cancel one another. Nam by no means certain, that these are the only sources of error, which the method employed might introduce, and the figures which are bracketed in the statement are particularly conjectural owing to the fact that the area standard adopted is equivalent to a rental standard which falls either below or above the standards adopted for the enquiries already made.

90. (3) At the same time a glance at the figures in Statement II shows at once that if any reliance at all can be put on them, the plan of an area qualification will do away with practically all the variations in the standard of franchise between districts. A standard of 12½ acres would give an electorate not very far removed from 2 per cent. of the total population of the district, in all except the Orissa districts, where it might be fixed at 8 acres. The only other exceptional districts are Patna, Shahabad, and Ranchi.

91. (4) The adoption of an area standard, as has been pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Maude, does away with any question of the correctness of the entries of rent in the record-of-rights, and avoids the complication of produce rents. It would probably be possible to prepare draft lists of raiyati voters from the Settlement records, even where they are not of recent date. On the other hand the rental or cess qualification is more in accordance with the principle, that franchise should be based on contribution towards the expenses of Government.

92. (5) I submit that, in respect of rent paying tenureholders, it will be best to adhere to cess valuation which can be ascertained without much difficulty from the Cess Register. I would fix a cess valuation of Rs. 100 as the standard throughout the province. For proprietors and rent-free holders I would fix as the qualification a cess payment of Rs. 12.

STATEMENT I.

93. The average area in acres on which the rent paid is—

	Rs. 16.	Rs. 32.	Rs. 48.	Rs. 64.	Rs. 96.
Patna	1.9	3.8	5.7	7.6	11.4
Gaya	2.7	5.3	8.0	10.7	16.0
Shahabad	4.7	9.4	14.1	18.8	28.2
Muzaffarpur	6.4	12.8	19.2	25.6	38.4
Naran	3.7	7.4	10.2	14.9	20.4
Champaran	7.6	15.2	22.9	30.5	45.8
Darbhanga	4.2	8.4	12.6	16.8	25.3
Bhagalpur	4.5	9.1	13.6	18.1	27.2
Monghyr	3.1	6.2	9.2	12.3	18.5
Purnea	8.4	16.8	25.3	33.6	50.6
Santal Parganas	17.8	35.6	53.4	71.0	106.8
Cuttack	6.2	12.3	18.4	24.6	36.9
Balsore	6.7	13.3	19.0	26.7	38
Angul	20	40	60	80	120
Puri	6.7	13.3	19.0	26.7	38
Sambalpur	53.3	106.7	160.0	213.4	320.0
Ranchi	49	98	120	160	240
Hazaribagh	14.5	29.1	43.1	58.2	86.2
Palamau	17.3	35.5	53.4	71.0	106.8
Manbhum			Not available.		
Singhbhum	27	53.3	60.3	106.6	160.6

Continued.]

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STATEMENT II.

Probable number of voters for rural constituencies, including Muhammadan rural constituencies if an area basis is adopted for raiyats and standards for tenureholders, rent-free holders and proprietors as proposed in paragraph 5.

1	10 acre basis.	15 acre basis.	Total population, in thousands.
	2	3	4
Patna	38,000	(26,000)	1,609
Gaya	85,000	40,000	2,159
Shahabad	84,000	74,000	1,886
Muzaffarpur	(70,000)	32,000	2,846
Saran	30,000	15,000	2,290
Champaran	(35,000)	25,000	1,908
Darbhanga	45,000	25,000	2,930
Bhagalpur	45,000	36,000	2,139
Monghyr	48,000	33,000	2,133
Purnea	(43,000)	32,000	1,099
Cuttack	15,000	5,000	2,109
Balasore	10,000	3,000	1,056
Puri	14,000	5,000	1,023
Sambalpur	(30,000)	(15,000)	744
Ranchi	(40,000)	(25,000)	1,388
Hazaribagh	(40,000)	24,000	1,289
Palamu	(20,000)	14,000	687
Manbhum	(20,000)	(10,000)	1,645
Singbhum	(20,000)	(11,000)	694

The figures enclosed in brackets are exceedingly conjectural.

PROPOSED QUALIFICATIONS FOR FRANCHISE.

94. The following tentative scheme is put forward for the consideration of the Franchise Committee :—

Qualifications for the exercise of the franchise in rural constituencies, whether general or Muhammadan.

95. Every male person of the full age of 21 years, resident within the territorial limits of the constituency, who is qualified in one of the manners following, that is to say :—

- (1) Has, during the year immediately preceding the election, held as a raiyat land on which a local cess of Re. 1-8-0 is payable (arnas eight in the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions and Re. 2 in the Patna Division and the district of Monghyr).
- (2) Has, during the year immediately preceding the election, held a tenure, whether rent-paying or rent-free, assessed for the purpose of local cess at not less than Re. 100 per annum.
- (3) Has, during the year immediately preceding the election, held an estate or estates or portion of an estate or portions of estates, for which a separate account or accounts have been opened, whether revenue-paying or revenue-free, or rent-free land, for which an aggregate amount of not less than Re. 12 is payable direct to the treasury as local cess.
- (4) Has, during the year immediately preceding the election, paid an assessment of not less than Re. 1-8-0 to a Union Committee established under Chapter III of the Local Self-Government Act [Act III (B. C.) of 1885].
- (5) Has passed the Matriculation Examination of a recognized Indian University or obtained the school-leaving certificate from a recognized high school or has passed the Vernacular Mastership Examination.
- (6) Has, during the year immediately preceding the election, paid income-tax.

In cases where property is held or payments made jointly by the members of a family, the family shall be adopted as the unit for deciding whether the qualification exists, and, if it does, the vote shall be exercised by such member of the family as the officer, entrusted with the preparation of the electoral roll, may decide.

Qualifications for the exercise of the franchise in urban constituencies, whether general or Muhammadan.

96. Every male person of the full age of 21 years, resident within one of the municipalities, which together make up a constituency, and who is qualified in one of the manners following, that is to say :—

- (1) Has, during the year immediately preceding the election, paid in respect of any rates an aggregate amount of not less than Re. 1-8-0.
- (2) Has, during the year aforesaid, paid income-tax.
- (3) Has passed the Matriculation Examination of a recognized Indian University or who has obtained the school-leaving certificate from a recognized high school or has passed the Vernacular Mastership Examination.

97. Muhammadans, who are thus qualified in municipalities of Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions, will be qualified to vote for the election of the Muhammadan rural members of the district in which they reside.

98. Persons other than Muhammadans thus qualified in the district of the Santal Parganas will be qualified to vote for the urban constituency of the Bhagalpur Division. Muhammadans in the Santal Parganas municipalities will be qualified to vote for the urban Muhammadan constituency of the Bhagalpur Division.

Qualifications for the exercise of the franchise in the constituency for the large landowners.

99. Landholders of the full age of 21 years, having a place of residence within the Division or part of the Division which forms the constituency and who—

(a) Pay either land revenue or local cess as follows, namely:—

- (i) In the case of the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions, pay land revenue amounting to not less than four thousand rupees or local cess amounting to not less than one thousand rupees per annum.
- (ii) In case of the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions pay land revenue amounting to not less than six thousand rupees or local cess amounting to not less than five hundred rupees per annum.

(b) Hold titles conferred or recognized by the Government not lower in rank than that of Raja or Nawab.

Qualifications for the exercise of franchise in the constituency of the Patna University.

100. Persons (i) Who are authorities or officers of the University; or
(ii) Whose names appear on the current Register of Graduates maintained under section 14 (1) (i) (d) of the Patna University Act; or
(iii) Whose names appear on the current Register of College Teachers, maintained under Chapter XIII, section 1, of the Patna University Regulations; or
(iv) Whose names appear on the current Register of School Teachers maintained under Chapter XIII, section 1, of the Patna University Regulations.

101. The elections for the Patna University should be carried out on the lines of the elections for the British Universities, voting by proxy being permitted.

Qualifications for the exercise of the franchise in the constituency of the Planting Community.

102. The members of the Bihar Planters' Association, Limited, qualified to vote and for the time being resident in India.

Qualifications for the exercise of the franchise in the constituency of the Mining Community.

I.—Constituency for the Mining Firms and Companies—

The members of the Indian Mining Association voting at a special general meeting.

II.—Constituency for persons employed in the mining areas—

Every person of the full age of 21 years, not being a Member of the Indian Mining Association,

- (i) who is the owner of a mine situated in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, which is subject to the operation of the whole or any part of the Indian Mines Act, 1901, or
- (ii) whom the authority, appointed in this behalf by Government, shall certify to be employed and to have been employed, during the year preceding the election, in such a mine on a salary of not less than Rs. 100 per mensem, and to hold a certificate of competency granted under the provisions of section 20 (2) (c) of the Indian Mines Act, 1901.

General.

103. No person shall exercise more than one vote at a general election for the Legislative Council, except that persons who are qualified to vote in any of the special electorates other than Muhammadan may vote in the election for that constituency in addition to voting for one other constituency for which they are also qualified.

Qualifications for the exercise of the franchise for the constituency of the Legislative Assembly.

Raiyats	Cess payment of Rs. 6 in the Bihar Divisions and Rs. 3 in Chota Nagpur and Orissa.
Proprietors and rent-free holders paying direct to the treasury.	Cess payment of Rs. 50 per annum.
Tenure-holders	Cess valuation of Rs. 400 per annum.
Income-tax payers	Assessment on an income of Rs. 2,000 or over.
Municipal rate payers	Payment of Rs. 10 per annum.

104. It is impossible to form an accurate estimate of the number of voters that would be obtained by these standards, and further enquiries will be made in the districts. But, at a rough guess, it is expected that no constituency would have more than 10,000 voters.

APPENDIX IV.

Note on Local Board Elections at Dinapore in June 1915, by Mr. W. B. Brett, I.C.S. (late Subdivisional Officer of Dinapore).

105. The Local Board elections in the Patna Division are the only instance in Bihar of direct election on a wide franchise held in a rural area. An examination of the methods used and the results obtained may therefore be of use for the purposes of the present constitutional enquiry. At the last general election in 1915 I supervised the elections in the Dinapore Subdivision and I have lately had an opportunity of examining and analyzing the papers.

106. (2) The area is somewhat interesting for this purpose since it contains two very dissimilar tracts. The northern portion, consisting of Dinapore, Khagaul and Maner police stations is usually regarded as an advanced tract. The inhabitants are in fairly close touch with the towns and are more sophisticated than the average Bihar rustic. There are no very large estates and few persons whose influence extends over more than a limited number of villages. As compared with other Bihar areas the prevailing influences are village and caste cliques, whose leaders are small resident zamindars and large cultivators. The direct influence of great zamindars is not strong and though it would give a wrong impression to say that the raiyats of this area are accustomed to think and act for themselves, the influences which sway them are very much more decentralized and varied than those prevailing in the southern part of the subdivision. The *Diara* tracts to the north especially are inhabited by a particularly independent body of tenants. The southern portion of the subdivision is absolutely typical of the ordinary social system of south Bihar. The population is entirely rural and the whole area is parcelled out among several great estates whose owners exercise immense power over the people. As an example of the length to which this power extends, I may mention the fact

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

that less than 10 years ago the authority of the criminal and civil courts in practice hardly extended to the estates of the chief family of this area. They held their own courts and imposed fines, and any of their tenants who dared to approach the authorities risked total ruin and often in fact met with that fate. At the present time, this power is exercised with moderation. Raiyats are seldom ill-treated unless they have given considerable provocation, but practically nothing of importance is done in these areas without the consent of one or other of the great zamindars.

107. (3) Some importance attaches to these elections, because they are the primary basis on which the election of the member who represents the District Boards in the Legislative Council ultimately depends. The Local Boards elect a certain number of their members to sit on the District Board and the District Boards themselves elect for the Council. The aspect on which Mr. Whitty laid stress in his note on the Gaya Local Board elections—the keen interest taken by persons who intended to stand for Council—was as far as I could judge wholly absent in Dinapore. Influence from outside the subdivision played no part in the elections, and, as far as I remember, when the Board elected members for the District Board I had to propose the members myself, since none of the members cared to propose anyone until he knew my wishes on the subject.

108. (4) The system of election is simple. Any person who pays one rupee a year in cess is entitled to have his name registered as a voter by presenting a petition to the Magistrate. Taking the average cash rent for these areas at something over seven rupees an acre, this means that any raiyat who holds two and a quarter acres and over is entitled to vote if he takes the trouble to have his name recorded. The average area of occupancy holdings in Dinapore Sub-division is 1.38 acres. Each police station forms a constituency returning one or two members according to its population. The police stations of Bikram and Maner return two members each, and Dinapore, Khagaul, Nauhatpur and Paliganj one each. An electoral roll is formed by publishing the existing list of voters. Objections, if any, and fresh applications for registration are then decided and the election is held on the roll which results from these enquiries. The election takes place on the same day at the head-quarters of each police station under the presidency of a gazetted officer or Honorary Magistrate.

109. (5) Before dealing with the general aspects of the elections, I will describe what occurred at each election.

110. *Dinapore*.—The constituency contains about 12,000 male inhabitants of whom 1,500 would be literates over the age of 20. The great majority are substantial cultivators. It must be remembered that the urban area of the police station was excluded, the Local Board being a rural institution. The old electoral roll contained 156 names and as the result of new applications 245 names were added to the list.

There was originally to have been a contest, four candidates coming forward. Two were bankers and two pleaders. Neither of the former had any land, save what they had acquired as a result of money-lending transactions, while one of the pleaders had a small share in an estate just outside the town.

One of the bankers and one of the pleaders were rejected as candidates because their applications were out of order. The other pleader withdrew at the last moment because he did not expect to be successful and the remaining candidate was therefore elected unopposed. On the polling day 167 persons appeared to vote. They represented about 40 per cent. of the registered electors.

111. *Khagaul*.—This is a very small constituency containing 637 male inhabitants. Almost the whole of this police station is an urban area and is therefore excluded. The original electoral roll contained 17 names and no new names were added for the purpose of this election. The candidates were 'A' a retired Sub-Inspector of Police who had come into an estate; 'B' a zamindar and Honorary Magistrate, and 'C' a zamindari manager. 'B' was rejected because he lived in the town and 'A' because he applied after the proper date. At the election no one appeared. Some hours later one voter, a railway clerk, appeared and complained that candidate 'A' had intimidated him and the remaining 16 voters, in the hope that the election would fail. This actually occurred as less than 10 per cent. of the voters appeared.

112. *Maner*.—A real contest took place for the two seats in this constituency. Eleven candidates originally expressed their intention of standing, five being zamindars, one a mukhtear and one the banker who failed to secure nomination for Dinapore. The mukhtear was rejected as unqualified. The contest finally narrowed down into a struggle between A, a zamindar of old family who stood with B, his banker; and C, a low caste zamindar of small influence and D, his son. C was one of the previous members and had done a certain amount of good work as a member. He was, however, regarded as a social upstart by the higher castes.

The election turned almost entirely on caste questions. A and B were both men of good caste, the former being a Babhan, while C and D were Kurmis. At the polling, seeing that the Babhans had turned up in force, C and D tried to withdraw but were persuaded to stand and were defeated.

The voting was—

A	196	votes.
B	182	"
C	144	"
D	124	"

The organization of C and D was good and they registered and brought to the poll nearly all the men of their own villages whom they could trust. B however, had large money lending connections with the Babhans of the area and these naturally supported him and A.

An analysis of the figures is instructive. The male population is about 40,000 nearly 3,500 being literates over 20 years of age. The old voting list was exceptionally large, containing 728 voters. This was, I believe, the result of vigorous electioneering conducted by candidate C at the previous election, when he was successful.

When the electoral roll was revised for the present elections 96 new names were added. Out of the total of 82 voters, 326 voted (each having two votes). But whereas 86 per cent. of the new voters appeared, only 33 per cent. of the old voters appeared.

113. *Bikram*.—This constituency belongs to the southern parts of the area. It contains 41,732 male inhabitants and the list of voters contained 330 names. 180 new names were added, of whom 61 per cent. voted, only 39 per cent. of the old voters appearing. The total number of voters who attended was 241.

Four zamindars and one mukhtear were candidates. Two of the zamindars were disqualified for presenting forged nomination petition and the contest was between A, the greatest landlord of the area together with B, his agent, and C a smaller zamindar of allied family. There were no disturbing influences in the shape of low caste candidates and the election was a pure matter of zamindari influence and prestige. Candidates A and B were successful polling 213 and 171 votes, while C only secured 69 votes.

Candidate B, though a poor man, owed his success entirely to the fact that A supported him for the second seat. By himself he could not have polled a dozen votes.

114. *Nauhatpur*.—The male population is 21,000 and of these 530 were voters. No new names were added and of the voters only 126 appeared at the poll. They all voted for the same candidate, a powerful resident zamindar of good

family, the chief man of this neighbourhood, completely illiterate and possessing a reputation for oppression. His opponent who had no real local influence, did not secure any votes.

115. *Paliganj*.—Male population 24,000. They were 199 old voters and preparations were evidently made for a contest because 82 new voters were registered. Two powerful resident zamindars stood but whereas one polled 132 votes, the other who was the more powerful of the two, only polled four. I never found out what really happened over this contest, but probably the unsuccessful candidate was too late to get his supporters registered. His opponent was an experienced electioneer and was said to have spent thousands of rupees in the Patna City elections.

116. (6) The following table collects the statistical results :—

Constituency.	Male population.	Literates over 20.	ELECTORAL ROLL.		Poll.	PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS ACTUALLY VOTING.	
			Old.	New.		Old list.	New list.
Dinapore	12,057	1,500	156	245	167	..	..
Khagaul	637	80 (estimated).	17	..	1	6	..
Maner	40,169	3,439	728	96	326	33	86
Bikram	41,732	6,268	330	180	241	39	61
Naubatpur	21,212		530	..	120	22	..
Paliganj	24,269		189	82	136	39	70
	1,40,096	11,287	1,960	603	991	..	..

The general result of this is that only 38 per cent. of the registered voters appeared at the poll. It is difficult to work out the proportion which the electoral roll bears to the total number of persons eligible for a vote, but it can hardly be more than one in fifteen.

The outstanding criticism which must be made of this system is that though it exhibits the form of an election the spirit was entirely absent. Not only was there a complete absence of any interest on the part of the general population, but also the reasons why candidates stood and the reasons why voters supported them appeared to be entirely divorced from the purposes for which the election was held. In the first place nobody applied of his own accord to be registered as a voter. Six hundred applications were made by agents of the prospective candidates. On examination these turned out to consist of three or four batches in each constituency, each batch being in the same handwriting. It was clear that the voters themselves took no part in securing their registration. Each candidate collected the names of persons of the necessary qualifications in his own villages who could be relied upon to obey orders and prepared and presented the necessary applications. I much doubt whether most of the voters themselves ever heard anything of the matter beyond receiving an order to go to the polling station and vote.

117. (7) The artificiality of the electoral roll is borne out by the fact that whereas almost all the new voters appeared, little more than a third of the old voters took the trouble to come. They had fulfilled their purpose at past elections, and were only required in cases where the interests seeking election were the same as in the past. It was noticeable that there was no attempt on the part of candidates to question the qualifications of their opponents' supporters. In the absence of any effective machinery for the purpose of examining the claims, it is probable that a good many unqualified persons, were registered as voters. It was not however worth the candidates, while to attempt to disfranchise these persons, since it was simpler to collect a few more names among their own supporters. The clearest example of this artificiality of the electoral roll is to be found in the contested election at Maner. An examination of the figures would convey the impression that the defeated party represented considerable interests in the constituency. As a matter of fact the strength of their poll was simply the result of intensive electioneering of the type described above in not more than half a dozen villages where the candidates were landlords. It bore no sort of relationship to their real position in the area. Had there been any general interest in the election, they would with difficulty have polled 5 per cent. of the votes.

It will be observed that this lack of interest was not confined to the southern or more primitive part of the subdivision. Out of the six constituencies there was no real contest in four, two of these lying in each half of the subdivision.

118. (8) I do not know of any case in which a candidate made any announcement of what he would do if he were elected, or even held out any promise that he would secure any material advantages for his supporters. The issues on which the contested elections were fought were in three cases the question of zamindari prestige and in the fourth zamindari prestige combined with caste questions. And throughout their period of membership none of the elected members gave any indication that they considered that their work on the Board had any relation to the question of their re-election. In fact, what indications there were pointed to the opposite conclusion. Candidate C at the Maner election had served for three years as an elected member of the Board and had also been a member of the District Board. He had taken a prominent part in the management of the local dispensary and had done what he could to secure the improvement of communications. He was defeated at the election mainly because he was of low caste. Neither of his successors resided in the constituency, one of them hardly attended one meeting in a year, while the other did nothing of any value.

Candidate C at the Bikram election had been a nominated member of the Board. I subsequently nominated him in a vacancy and he proved to be the only mufassal member who attended with any regularity or took any interest in the Local Board work which went on near his residence. He was defeated at the election because his tenants were fewer than those of candidate A.

119. (9) This indifference of the elected members, and the total absence of any opinion on the part of their constituents that they could exercise any control or influence over them, was the more striking because there was much work to be done. I had no reliable supervising staff and had much reason to suspect that large sums of money were being paid for work which was never done. I tried therefore to get members to send me reports as to the progress of work which was being done in their neighbourhoods. I hardly ever got a report.

The 26th October 1913.

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Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

Supplementary Note on Local Board Elections at Dinapore by Mr. W. B. Brett, I.C.S.

120. The triennial elections for the Local Board were held again in 1918. As I left the sub-division in 1917 and was not in touch with local affairs at the time of the election I am unable to do more than quote the figures.

121. (2) I append an analysis of the figures on the same systems as that employed in my note on the 1915 elections.

Constituency.	Male population.	Literates over 20.	ELECTORAL ROLL.		Poll.	PERCENTAGE OF VOTES.	
			Old.	New.		Old.	New.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Dinapore	12,057	1,500	401	5	224	56%	20%
Khagaul	637	80	17	17	13	..	..
Maner	40,169	3,439	823	614	308	17%	26%
Bikram	41,732	6,268	510	..	85	16%	..
Naubatpur	21,212		530	..	122	23%	..
Paliganj	24,289	281	..	..	24	9%	..
TOTAL	140,096	11,287	2,563	636	776	..	..

122. (3) There were contests in Dinapore, Maner and Bikram. At Khagaul and Naubatpur two candidates appeared, but in neither case did the defeated candidate secure any votes. In the two-member constituency of Bikram, though three candidates stood, all the voters who came to the poll gave their first vote to one candidate, the chief zamindar of the area, who thus secured a poll of 100 per cent., 73 of them gave their second vote to another zamindar, who was thus elected to the second seat, while the remaining 12 voters gave their second vote to the mukhtear who was elected for the second seat in 1915.

123. (4) It was only at Maner that there was any appreciable enrolment of new voters, 614 names being added. The applications were contained in six batches, each batch being in the same handwriting. Nearly one quarter of these new voters came to the poll, as against only 17 per cent. of the old voters. The drop in attendance is partly due to the fact that the party which was defeated in 1915 did not run a candidate in 1918.

124. (5) Of the eight successful candidates six were zamindars, one a mukhtear, and one a banker. By caste, four were Bhumihar Brahmans, one a Brahman, one a Rauniar, one a Sundhi and one a Kayetha. The defeated candidates were members of one or other of these three latter castes. There appears to have been a paucity of candidates. Three stood at Dinapore, of whom one withdrew, four at Maner, three at Bikram, two each at Khagaul and Naubatpur and one at Paliganj. One man however stood for three constituencies, and was defeated at each, while another stood for two constituencies. For the eight seats there were therefore only twelve separate candidates or if the candidate who withdrew before election is excluded eleven only.

The 5th November 1918.

APPENDIX V.

Note by Mr. J. A. Hubback, I.C.S., on the conduct of a general election.

125. (1) The first task will be to prepare the electoral roll. It may be possible to utilize the presidents of the chaukidari panchayats in the work of framing a draft roll, giving them a remuneration based on the population of their union. It may, however, be necessary to depend on an official staff from the beginning, and employ some such agency as the Inspectors of the Survey-Settlement Department. Whatever agency is employed, their work will have to be supervised and checked by an officer of the rank of a Sub-Deputy Collector, and in districts where the number of electors is likely to be large two or more such officers will be required. It will be their duty to go through the draft roll with the people calling them into centres, which should not be much more than 3 miles or so from the villages concerned. The work of the Sub-Deputy Collectors again must be supervised by Deputy Collectors, one for each Division, and a member of the Indian Civil Service will probably be required to organize and co-ordinate the whole work. If the task is imposed on over-worked Collectors; it will in some districts at any rate be done without proper care and system. At the same time the staff should be instructed to work in close co-operation with the Collectors and the Sub-divisional Officers. After the rolls are complete they should be printed and published widely and objections invited and heard by the same staff, possibly with a provision for a final appeal to the Collectors of the districts. The preparation of the draft rolls in urban constituencies, or at any rate in large Municipalities, could be carried out by the municipal staff, but the official staff must hear objections and generally exercise control and must have powers to obtain information. There will of course be little difficulty in preparing the rolls for Muhammadan electorates simultaneously with those for the general electorates and in selecting, from the electoral rolls for the Provincial Legislative Council, the persons qualified to vote for the Indian Legislative Assembly.

126. (2) When the rolls have been revised after objection, arrangements should be made to secure the signature or thumb impression of every person on the roll. The need for this is explained later. Some little time before the actual poll is taken "authorities to vote," showing the names of candidates and the time and place of polling should be distributed to qualified voters through the chaukidars. On the day of election these "authorities" should be exchanged at the polling station for actual voting papers, which will of course bear no indication of the person to whom they are given. This exchange could be carried out very quickly by clerks working under the supervision of a Gazetted officer. The clerks would have copies of the electoral roll arranged in the most convenient way which would probably be alphabetical order of names in each village, the villages being grouped together by chaukidari unions. There would probably be attempts, mainly innocent, to vote by proxy. These could be checked only by challenge from the candidates' representatives, who would be sworn to secrecy as in the United Kingdom. A voter, whose identity is challenged

would have to give his thumb impression or signature; his voting paper would be marked with a number, and the question of his identity would be examined after the close of the poll. Penalties for personation must be prescribed, and also for frivolous objections to voters.

127. (3) The actual voting would be by ballot. As soon as a voter got his voting paper, he would place it unmarked in the box provided for the candidate he selected, in the sight of the Polling officer but screened from the view of all other persons. The boxes would be coloured and numbered to indicate to what candidate they belonged, in order to help illiterate and semi-literate voters. The Polling officer himself would have to assist blind electors to vote. To prevent fraudulent insertion of extra voting papers, the official voting papers should be marked with a secret mark, a device adopted in the United Kingdom. This mark could be put on the voting papers by the Press, at the final printing off, and the papers securely sealed up thereafter. The Polling officers would have to keep a strict account of voting papers issued, showing the numbers actually used, including a separate account of those used by challenged and incapacitated voters, and the number spoilt, returned without being used, etc. This account would be checked with the total number of votes actually cast for the candidates. The ballot boxes would be brought into the headquarters of the district and kept in safe custody until the poll is declared and for a period thereafter.

128. (4) The electoral rolls will have to be revised before each election and for this reason it will be convenient to have all elections, i.e., for the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Council, the District and Local Boards, the Municipalities and the Union Committees in a single year. On the other hand, that will mean a large expenditure of time in that year on the elections. The staff required for revising the rolls should be similar to that employed on preparing them in the first instance, but need not be so large. The thana registers of vital statistics could be used for the revision of the rolls.

THE REFORMS COMMITTEE (FRANCHISE).

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

THE REFORMS COMMITTEE
(FRANCHISE)

At Patna, Monday, November 18th, 1918.

PRESENT :

Sir FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Sahibzada AFTAB AHMAD KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

W. M. HAILLY, Esq., C.S.I., C.L.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members :—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPHERSON, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur KRISHNA SAHAI.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).

J. A. HUBBACK, Esq., I.C.S., representing the Government of Bihar and Orissa, called and examined.

129. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) The Province consisted of 5 Commissioners' Divisions, three in Bihar, one in Orissa and one in Chota Nagpur. Bihar was divided into two tracts according as it lay north and south of the Ganges. In the northern tract was the Tirhut Division and half of Bhagalpur Division and in the southern tract the other half of the Bhagalpur Division and the Patna Division. The northern tract was flat and densely populated by a population mainly agricultural in character. There were no really large towns and no important industry worth mentioning, except the indigo industry which was now-a-days being replaced in part by sugar. There was a substantial European planting community. The southern tract, except for the Santal Parganas, was densely populated and was predominantly agricultural in character, except for large cities like Patna city, Gaya and Monghyr. The latter cities were really trading centres, although Gaya had religious associations and was a centre of pilgrimage. (The incidence of rent was higher in the southern than in the northern tract, chiefly for historical reasons. In the southern tract rent was in many cases paid in kind or the cash rent paid was based on a valuation of the produce. In Bihar the rural population was largely Hindu. Muhammadans numbered approximately 10 per cent., except in Purneah where they numbered 4ths of the whole. In towns Muhammadans numbered approximately 25 per cent.)

130. Chota Nagpur was hilly and largely inhabited by aboriginals. Many of these retained their aboriginal customs, many were semi-Hinduized, and a good many had become Christians. In education they were very backward, except for such instruction as they had received from missionaries. The Muhammadan population was insignificant. There were no large towns. There were three industries worthy of mention. The coal industry was of great importance. At Sakchi there were

the Tata Iron and Steel Works which were of increasing importance and were throwing out subsidiary industries. There was also the mica industry of less but still of considerable importance.

131. Orissa was mainly deltaic with considerable tracts of hills; in the Angul District where the population was probably more backward than anywhere else in the Province. The largest town was Cuttack with a population of 50,000, which was really a market town. Another important town was Puri, which (like Gaya) was a religious centre. The population was almost entirely engaged in agriculture, and there were no large industries.

132. The Local Government proposed to exclude from their franchise scheme the Angul District and also the Santal Parganas District, but to include municipal towns of the latter district. The scheme was to apply to the rest of the province, with reservations as regards its application to the scheduled districts other than the Santal Parganas and Angul.

133. There was no recognised panchayat system in the province. So far as the local boards were concerned, there was no election system except in the Patna Division. Elsewhere members of local boards were nominated.

134. The proposed property qualification for the rural franchise differed from tract to tract owing to a real distinction in the property and position connoted. The incidence of rent varied considerably in different parts of the province for historical reasons; for instance it was high in Patna district. He would try to work out an estimate of the gross and net income connoted by the rent qualifications proposed in the different areas.

135. (*Mr. Hailly.*) There was a very rough relation between the amount of rent paid and the area of holdings. He referred to his note in Appendix III to

18 November 1918.]

Mr. J. A. HUBBACK.

[Continued.]

Mr. McPherson's letter containing the Local Government's scheme.*

136. (Sir Frank Sly.) Under-riayats were excluded because their tenure was uncertain; they were liable to be turned out at will and they were of a distinctly lower class than the riyats. Occupancy rights were acquired by 12 years' cultivation in a village. The Local Government's scheme drew no distinction between occupancy and non-occupancy rights.

137. He would supply further information with regard to Singhbhum where the franchise might be based on a system of village headmen.

138. The term "union" as used in connection with rural constituencies meant a "union" under the Local Self-Government Act. These unions were large villages or small towns and represented the first stage towards municipal administration.

139. The Local Government proposed in the case of large landholders that the existing system should be maintained. At present 5 members were returned by 321 voters. The intention was to secure representation for the leading landholders of the province who might really be described as "noblemen." (The Local Government did not wish, by lowering the franchise, to include all landholders and to emphasise the antagonism between landlord and the tenant.) The smaller landlords had therefore been included in the same electorate as the tenants, though the latter had the predominance. He did not think that what he might call the "nobleman" class would care to enter the electoral arena and face a contested election. He could not say whether there was any particular reason for including persons on whom the title of "Raja" or "Nawab" had been conferred. This was an existing qualification.

140. (As regards urban electorates he would prepare a statement showing what status or income was connoted by a municipal tax of Rs. 1-8. The most common form of municipal taxation in the province was the rate on holdings, that is to say an assessment on the annual value of the holding occupied. The ordinary rate was 7½% of the annual value. A latrine tax was also commonly levied and also a water rate where there was a municipal water supply. Some municipalities levied a personal tax instead of a rate on holdings. This was ordinarily from 1 to 1½% on income.) Patna City, which it was proposed to constitute into a separate constituency, had a population of 136,000. It was by far the largest town in the province. Other large towns were Bhagalpur 74,000, Darbhanga 72,000, and Gaya 70,000. Patna was the capital and probably contained the largest number of educated persons.

141. The other municipalities were grouped for the purposes of the franchise. The Local Government did not recommend the merging of the towns in the general constituencies. The standard of education was different. In his opinion there would be more community of interest between, for instance, residents of Gaya and Arrah towns than there would be between the residents of Gaya town and villages in the district of Gaya. The proposal was based on the existing arrangement whereby municipalities returned members to the Legislative Council. The vote of the urban constituencies was deliberately overweighted.

142. The Local Government considered that the Bihar Planters' Association should continue to elect a representative of the planting community. The Local Government did not consider that it would be an improvement to give a direct franchise to the planters as such.

143. The Indian Mining Association included all the important firms and was mainly European in character. Its organization was somewhat similar to that of a Chamber of Commerce. The Indian Mining Federation consisted mainly of Indian mine-owners who worked on a small scale and had not joined the Association. At present the Federation did not return a member to the Council. The Local Government proposed indirect election through the Association in the first case and direct election in the other.

144. The Local Government had come to the conclusion that the European and Anglo-Indian communities of the province were so scattered that there would be difficulty in constituting them into an electorate. They therefore favoured nomination. Sakchi was the only closely concentrated industrial locality in the province. It was likely to develop rapidly. As such, it deserved some special consideration.

145. As regards the aboriginals, nomination was proposed because, at all events to begin with, they would not understand the method of election. The depressed classes were, generally speaking, day labourers who held no land and would not come into the electorates. They had expressed no desire for representation. Further information would be supplied with regard to the numbers and position of the community.

146. The Government of Bihar and Orissa decided against election in the case of the domiciled Bengali community, chiefly because the community had hitherto secured seats on the Council with the existing electorates. At present two elected members belonged to this community, which was also very scattered. He would supply details so far as he could obtain them with regard to their numbers. Their numerical importance was not sufficient to justify giving them 5 seats.

147. The Local Government accepted certain educational attainments as a separate qualification for the franchise, although the cases in which a person who held these qualifications without being qualified in other ways would be few. There were, however, a certain number of cases owing to the Hindu joint-family system. (The Local Government had decided against recognizing any educational standard lower than the matriculation owing to the difficulty of procuring definite evidence that the examination had been passed. It was suggested by certain Muhammadans that Maulvis and other persons similarly qualified should be admitted. These persons' claims had been rejected by the Local Government because such vernacular examinations entailed a shorter period of study than the matriculation.)

148. Mukhtears were not recognized as such because it was thought that they would all be qualified in some other way.

149. No person would be eligible to vote who was not 21 years of age. This was the existing limit for local board elections.

150. It was not proposed to give votes to women.

151. The Local Government had not considered whether electors should be required to reside in their constituencies for any fixed period.

152. There was no particular community of interests between Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, and it was by mistake that they were mentioned together in para. 21(4) of Mr. McPherson's letter No. 4110 P., dated the 10th November. He would supply the census figures of these communities.

153. Bihar was overweighted on a strictly population basis. This was because of the number of towns and of Muhammadans. The Oriyas' claim to a larger proportion of members had been carefully considered by the Local Government.

154. As regards electoral machinery he thought that one polling officer could poll a maximum of a thousand votes in one day. The average number of voters in the general constituencies was about 30,000. Therefore 30 polling officers would be required.

155. The Local Government had considered the objections to elections extending over more than one day, namely personation and the upsetting of official business. He thought that it would be possible to finish every constituency in a single day. When the Local Government spoke of elections extending over more than one day, they meant the elections in any particular district.

156. The Local Government had considered the question of employing non-official agency at the polling stations but they had given up the idea because they were anxious to avoid a breakdown in the polling arrangements thereby prejudicing the scheme at the beginning. He

* Vide page 11 ante.

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[Continued.]

had carried through the Gaya municipal election last March. All the polling officers were either Government officers or quasi-Government officers, for instance district board officials. There had been at least one Government officer at each polling station. He would supply a further note on the subject to the Committee. Objections had been numerous. They related chiefly to undue influence, failure to conduct the poll properly, technical points with regard to nominations, and personation. It was to prevent the last of these that he proposed that the electoral paper should contain the thumb impression of every voter. The authorities to vote which he proposed would be distributed two or three days before the election. They were to facilitate matters at the polling station.

157. The Local Government had recommended direct instead of indirect election to the Indian Legislative Assembly because of the general feeling against indirect election. To make direct election possible, the franchise must be raised. The idea was that the concerns of the propertied classes were considered by the Government of India rather than by the Local Government. The Local Government proposed that they should have one more member for the Indian Legislative Assembly than was suggested in the Report.

158. As regards the Council of State the views of the Local Government would be submitted later.

159. (Mr. Banerjee.) The residents in the towns of the Santal Parganas would vote in the urban districts of the Bhagalpore division.

160. A considerable number of the members of the local boards in the Patna division were elected. The elective system had not been extended to any other areas of the province. The system had been in force in the Patna division for about six years.

161. The Bengalis represented about 6 per cent of the total population of the province including the indigenous Bengali population of certain tracts, for instance Manbhum.

162. The objection to forming additional urban constituencies of other large towns in addition to Patna city was that the urban vote was already weighted and it was a question how far this could be extended. The Local Government would consider this further.

163. It might be possible to arrange for polling the votes of the domiciled Bengali community, scattered as it was, according to the system followed in the Calcutta University, but the number of voters in the latter case would be much smaller and they were all men of education and position which would not be the case with the whole domiciled community. The Local Government would consider further whether this community should not be allowed to elect its member. They would also have to consider the question of utilizing non-official agency at the polls, for instance Honorary Magistrates, members of district boards or municipal commissioners.

164. The Local Government proposed that the voting should be by ballot.

165. (Mr. Sastri.) His statement that the big landlord would be unwilling to face a contested election did not conflict with the statement made in para. 21 (3) of Mr. McPherson's letter to the effect that this class would have at present little difficulty in securing representation in the general rural electorates. Big landlords would not, in his opinion, like to contest the seats, but if they did, they would be in a position to come out successful. Although three-fourths of the voters of the proposed rural constituencies would be tenants, at all events during the transition stage the landlords would still be dominant. He did not think that the town-vote had been weighted in order to counteract this, but because generally speaking men of light and leading were to be found in the towns.

166. The Local Government had decided against arranging constituencies by the number of voters rather than by total population.

167. It was not intended that a proprietor who was not qualified as a proprietor but only in some other way should be deprived of his vote.

168. By urban areas was meant municipal towns. In the Patna division apart from Patna City there were

13 such towns. It would not be a difficult thing to canvass this constituency as all such towns would be accessible by railway.

169. The suggested number of officials was required for the constitution of the Grand Committee and there would be great risk unless there was a margin of officials. Six heads of departments were proposed in order to make the total number of 20. He thought that the Vice-Chancellor of the University was a desirable member owing to the great knowledge of education he would possess. It was proposed to have 12 nominated representatives of the special classes mentioned in the concluding part of para. 21 of Mr. McPherson's letter.

170. (Mr. Hogg.) He thought the number of Indians and Europeans in the proposed second mining constituency would be about equal.

171. The Local Government would consider the possibility of adding a representative of the European community under a system of direct election.

172. There was no representative association of the Anglo-Indians in Bihar and Orissa. He would supply figures showing the number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the province.

173. He was doubtful but he thought that the intention was that European officials who were qualified would be allowed to vote.

174. Although he did not suppose that the percentage of voters who would record their vote at an election would be high throughout the province, it might happen that, owing for instance to the influence of a landlord, a large percentage of votes might be polled in a particular constituency. As it would be impossible to say where such a contingency might arise, it was necessary to be prepared for it by adequate preparations in all. He did not consider that the traffic in "authorities to vote" was a serious danger.

175. (Mr. Hailey.) In assigning seven members to the large land-holders constituency the Local Government had started with the existing five and added another two owing to the increase in the numbers of the Council. On general considerations the extra seats had been allotted to the Bhagalpur and Tirhut Divisions.

176. The proposal to give a vote to matriculates was made in response to the general demand that votes should be given to the educated class. It was true that the proposal did not satisfy the general principle that a vote should be given to persons who made some contribution to the public revenues.

177. The Local Government had accepted the Congress League concordat whereby 25 per cent. of the Indian elected members were given to the Muhammadans, partly because it had been accepted by the Congress and the League, and partly because it was generally accepted by non-officials, for instance by the non-official members of the local Legislative Council.

178. It was intended that each constituency should be a single member constituency.

179. (Mr. Krishna Sahai.) As regards the proposal to add license-holders to the classes of voters, he thought that most of such men would be enfranchised in the urban electorates and there was no evidence that there were many of them in rural constituencies.

180. He did not think that under the scheme as drafted many members of the medical, teaching and legal professions, would be excluded.

181. He doubted whether the size of some of the constituencies would discourage intending candidates from standing.

182. The reason why the Local Government had not proposed election in the case of the domiciled community was not so much that they were a scattered community as that they already occupied several seats in the general constituencies and that the authors of the Joint Report had pronounced definitely against extending the principle of communal electorates.

183. There was a community of interest between the big and small land-holders in so far as they were both land-holders, but to lump the small and the big land-holders

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together would destroy the character of the land-holders electorate which was really a noblemen's electorate.

184. Presumably missionaries such as Dr. Campbell or gentlemen like Mr. S. C. Roy who were specially interested in the aboriginal and depressed classes would ordinarily be nominated to represent them, but there were not many such persons.

185. He did not know that, before Bihar and Orissa was constituted into a province, the non-official element had been associated with the officials in conducting elections.

In his opinion it was undesirable that non-officials should be left in charge of polling stations, although the majority of them might discharge their functions satisfactorily. Many such persons would either be taking part in the election or be interested in some candidate.

186. (*Mr. McPherson.*) The Local Government full intended to associate non-officials as far as possible, but they wished to insist on a responsible officer being in charge.

● Pandit LAKSHMI MISRA, called and examined.

187. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a Deputy Magistrate. He had experience of Local Board elections in Shahabad in 1916 and municipal elections at Arrah in 1918. He had been a polling officer at the Local Board elections. Non-officials were not associated with the election. The polling was under the old system and not by ballot. There was a list of voters and candidates and the polling officer made a distinctive mark against each. Each polling officer polled from 50 to 75 votes in an hour. The questioning of illiterate villagers took some time. A series of objections had been raised with regard to identity, because a number of voters had come with no dishonest intentions to represent their relatives.

188. At the municipal election in Arrah the ballot system had been adopted. Owing to the greater intelligence of the town people a polling officer could record 100 to 150 votes in an hour. Each voter was given as many voting papers as he had votes, and these he placed in the boxes of the candidates for whom he wished to vote.

189. (*Mr. Hailey.*) The polling officer pointed out the boxes of the different candidates; but if others had assisted in this matter it might have been possible

to quicken up the polling slightly.

190. In his written statement he had recommended recording the names of voters in rural constituencies. He had since changed his mind in favour of the ballot system.

191. In his opinion two assistants would suffice for each polling officer. If possible they should be men of the stamp of honorary magistrates or ministerial officers of higher ranks. They would assist in distributing the voting papers, taking thumb impressions and so on, but he thought it desirable that the polling officer himself should point out the boxes. In this manner a maximum number of 100 votes an hour could be recorded.

192. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He would not like to leave the polling station in charge of a non-official committee even if appointed by Government, but the committee might assist in recording votes and in deciding objections particularly in regard to identity. He had known no case in which a non-official had been appointed as polling officer and was not speaking from experience when he said he thought they would be unsuitable. His election experience was confined to Shahabad.

Khan Bahadur ASHFAQ HUSSAIN, called and examined.

193. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a Deputy Magistrate. He had experience of the elections for Local Boards in Gaya five or six years ago and he had also experience of the elections as a resident of Jahanabad. He was not himself actually a polling officer but had been in charge of the elections. All the polling officers were officials; he had no experience of non-officials in that capacity. He could not say definitely how many votes could be recorded in a day but at a contested election he did not think more than 150 could be recorded in an hour. Most objections were in regard to personation, because many people came to vote by proxy with no dishonest intentions. If the polling station was properly organized there was no fear of a breach of the peace.

194. Some municipal commissioners and honorary magistrates whom he knew might well be appointed as polling officers but he would not express an opinion with regard to these persons as a class.

195. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) Non-official committees might usefully be associated with polling officers in order to establish identity. He proposed that the sirpanch

and chaukidar should assist at the elections. In one election in which he took part, the polling officers worked from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M., and he thought about a thousand votes had been recorded.

196. (*Mr. Hailey.*) The preparation of the electoral roll would be a very difficult business. The chaukidari assessment roll might be used for the purpose; it was revised from year to year but was not so trustworthy as the record of rights prepared by Government. The voters, if left to themselves, would probably be indifferent, but if the land-lords' influence was brought to bear, there would be no difficulty in obtaining their attendance at convenient centres, for the purpose of writing up the roll.

197. (*Mr. Sahai.*) He would by no means restrict the non-officials, whose assistance he would enlist, to honorary magistrates or municipal commissioners.

198. It was not necessary that would-be voters should appear in person at the preparation of the roll. They might well be represented by their relatives.

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[Continued.]

At Patna, Tuesday, November 19th, 1918.

PRESENT:

Sir FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Sahibzada APTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.L.W., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, I.C.S. Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur KRISHNA SARAL.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).

THE BIHAR PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement.

199. In the opinion of the Bihar Provincial Association it is desirable that the Provincial Legislative Council should consist of 125 members of whom at least four-fifths, that is, 100 should be elected, and the remaining one-fifth, that is, 25 should be nominated by the Government. The latter twenty-five should include both officials and non-officials.

200. The Association, while recognising that special electorates for certain communities and interests have been created and are existing, suggest that there should be no further extension of the system. Bearing this in mind it is suggested that the various constituencies should be as follows:—

Special Constituencies	40
Musalmans (by special electorates) as fixed by the Congress-League Scheme for the Province of Bihar and Orissa	25
Landholders	7
Planting Community	1
Mining Interest	2
University	5
	40

General Electorates:—[persons participating in constituencies representing communal or special interests (viz., Musalmans), Landholders, Planting and Mining interests) should be excluded from participation in the General Electorate.]

60

100

201. The General Electorates should be divided into three classes, Rural, Urban and an Electorate comprising Income Tax assesses and non-student Matriculates, and the seats should be distributed as follows:—

Rural	29
Patna	2
Gaya	2
Shahabad	2

PATNA DIVISION

6

Saran	2
Muzafferpore	2
Darbhanga	2
Champaran	2

TIRHUT DIVISION

8

Bhagalpur	2
Monghyr	2
Purnea	1
Santal Perganas	1

BHAGALPORE DIVISION

6

Cuttack	2
Balasore	1
Puri	1
Sambalpur and Angul	1

ORISSA DIVISION

5

Hazaribagh	1
Ranchi	1
Palamanu	1
Singhbhum	1
Manbhbum	1

CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION

4

Urban	21
Patna Division	5
Tirhut Division	5
Bhagalpur Division	4
Orissa Division	4
Chota Nagpur Division	3

Income Tax Assesseees and non-Student Matriculates

21

10

60

202. It will be noticed that the distribution of votes in the rural areas above suggested will be more or less fair having regard to the population, literacy and the general conditions of the people in the Provinces. The number of seats allotted to the urban population is no doubt in excess of what their mere numbers would entitle them to. But it must be remembered that the urban population have been exercising the franchise for now over thirty years and are not only familiar with the process of voting but are better fitted to appreciate and understand their rights, duties and responsibilities than the rural population who in this Province have almost forgotten their old Panchayets and have hardly been able to acquire experience of the modern system of voting at elections.

203. With regard to the third constituency suggested above it is submitted that the income tax assesses will comprise very largely the traders and business men and also the representatives of the industries in the Province, and all these interests should be adequately represented. The non-student matriculates, a very important class, will include the large number of men in services, and also professional men, such as Barristers, Medical Practitioners, Engineers, School teachers and others who, not coming under the category of registered graduates of the University, will not be entitled to vote in the University Electorate.

204. With regard to the representation of the University the Association believes that for a long time to come the University with its graduates will represent

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[Continued.]

the light and culture of the province, and it is meet and proper that due representation should be allowed to a body which by reason of its position as representing the most intellectual and intelligent section of the community is able to influence and mould not only the educational policy but the whole trend of public opinion in the Province. It need hardly be pointed out that what the intelligent section think today, the masses will feel tomorrow, and it will be wise to permit it a voice in the shaping of the policy of the Government of the Province.

205. It is difficult to make any definite suggestions with regard to the qualification of voters. In the absence of any accurate and reliable figures available to the public, which would enable the Provincial Association to draw up a complete scheme that will be both just and practicable, having regard to the interests involved and the fact that the electoral machinery will have to be set up for the first time for rural electorates, it is proposed that the franchise in the rural areas should be such as to allow about 2 p. c. of the population to be enrolled as voters. Considering that until the recent extension of the franchise in England the voting population of the country was about 16 p. c. of the total population, the Provincial Association think 2 p. c. would be a very fair standard at which to fix the voting population to begin with in this Province. It should further be borne in mind that conditions differ very materially in the various districts of this Province and the franchise should not be the same in all districts, but attempts should be made to include in each constituency of the General Electorate, as far as practicable, an equal number of electors. The franchise may be based on property qualification but illiteracy should be regarded as a disqualification.

206. In the urban area the voting qualification should be the same as that now required for Municipal Voters. Each District should be divided into as many rural constituencies as there are seats allotted to it. It will be very inconvenient to voters if they are required to go to long distances for getting their votes recorded, and in many cases it may even amount to a denial of franchise to the rural elector. Polling stations should therefore be established at convenient places. Panchayat unions, where they exist, will be very convenient groups, and the voters of each union may vote at a place within the union. Where they do not exist, the thanas, or if they are far distant from each other as in some tracts of Chota-Nagpur or even in Tirhut and Patna Divisions, polling stations will have to be established for the purpose.

207. With regard to the Special Electorate for Zamindars the Association is of opinion that the property qualification should be so lowered as to include a larger number of persons holding land than are under the existing rules entitled to take part in the elections. (It is therefore submitted that a person paying Rs. 62-8-0 as Road Cess which is payable at the rate of 1 anna per rupee of the income and the payment of which would therefore ensure an annual income of Rs. 1,000 approximately should be given the right of voting.) The payment of Land Revenue which is not fixed on the basis of existing assets of the estate but is permanently settled and presents great variations is no sure criterion. Besides, it altogether leaves out of account all Ikhrajidars, mafidars

and jagirdars who are exempt from payment of Government Revenue.)

208. With regard to the qualification of candidates the Association is of opinion that no restriction should be placed on a constituency in the matter of choosing a candidate except perhaps that the candidate must himself be a voter in that constituency.

209. On the question of the constitution of the Indian Legislative Assembly the Association is of opinion that it should consist of 150 members of whom four-fifths should be elected and the remaining one-fifth nominated. The Association think that under existing conditions it will be difficult, if not impossible, to form constituencies, other than those already existing, which will elect members directly to the Indian Legislative Assembly. It is, therefore, suggested that the members of that assembly should continue, as heretofore, to be elected by the Legislative Councils of the Provinces and by the special electorates now existing, but the latter may be so expanded as to include a larger number of voters. (For the constituency of Zamindars returning members to the Imperial Council the voting qualification may be fixed as the payment of Rs. 500-0-0 as Road Cess which would be on an income of Rs. 8,000-0-0 a year.) The Association would also suggest that the various Universities should be represented in the Indian Assembly and that representatives of special electorates (such as, the Zamindari, Musalmans, Trades and Commerce) on the Provincial Council should not be allowed to vote in the election of the members of the Indian Assembly by the Provincial Council. The number of 150 seats may be distributed as follows:—

Elected	120
Nominated including Officials	30
The elected members shall be distributed as follows:—	
Special Electorates—	
Musalmans	40
Trades Associations and Chambers of Commerce	5
Landlords	7
Universities	7
	59
General Electorates—	
Bengal, Bombay and Madras—10 each	30
Bihar and United Provinces—8 each	16
Punjab	7
The Central Provinces and Berar	4
Burma	2
Assam and Delhi—1 each	2
	61

210. As regards the election of members from the Provincial to the Imperial Legislative Assembly, the rules at present in force should continue in the matter of the qualification of candidates and it should not be necessary for the candidate to be himself a member of the Provincial Council.

211. The Association is of opinion that there should be no Council of State and that consent to legislation relating to reserved subjects which the Government think should be passed, must be obtained by the Grand Committee procedure provided for the Provincial Councils.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha and Babu Rajendra Prasad, representing the Bihar Provincial Association, called and examined.

212. (Sir Frank Sly.) Mr. SINHA.—The Association was the executive body of the Bihar Provincial Conference and expressed the political views of the educated classes. The Association consisted of 450 members of Bihar who paid a fee of Rs. 3 a year.

213. They proposed a Council of 125, with 100 elected members.

214. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Singh, the leader of the Bengali community, was a member of their Association. (They opposed communal representation for domiciled Bengalis, because in the eastern tracts there was an indigenous population which

numbered 6 per cent. of the whole. These would find representation in the ordinary course. In other cases also domiciled Bengalis had found their way on to the Council, as in the case of Purnendu Babu. At present there were three domiciled Bengalis in the Provincial Council, two elected and one nominated. In the previous Council there had been one elected and one nominated.)

215. The Association did not consider the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the aborigines or the depressed classes at present of sufficient importance to require special representation in the Council, but in their

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[Continued.]

scheme they had provided a margin to the Local Government for nominated members and these classes might be provided for in this way:

216. As regards Muhammadans, the Association adhered to the Congress-League concordat. They allowed 25 seats, that is to say 25 per cent. of 97, viz., 100 minus two members representing the mining interests and one representing the planting community.

217. At present out of 21 seats, 5 were allotted to landholders. The Association proposed to give 7 out of 100 seats. They were unwilling to admit any communal constituency, but in this case the arrangement was already in force and they considered that some addition was necessary in view of the proposed increase in the total number of members. The Association proposed that the property qualification for landholders should be lowered, because they considered 321 too small an electorate to return 5 or 7 members. If the community was recognized as such, it should be recognized on a liberal scale.

218. Babu RAJENDRA PRASAD.—The Association's proposals would not mean a large electorate of landlords. There would still be a community of interest between the electors. It might be that the existing figure of 321 would be increased about ten-fold.

219. Mr. SINHA.—The University did not require so many as 5 representatives to safeguard its particular interests, but the University was the only body in the province that represented its culture and higher ideals. There were objections to taking these voters out of the general constituencies, but the Association did not feel that this class of person would be returned for the general seats and they did not insist on the exact number of 5 seats.

220. The Association proposed 21 seats for the urban electorates which represented a population of 2 millions and 29 for the rural electorates. The interests of the urban and the rural populations were to all intents and purposes identical. It did not therefore matter very much whether more seats were given to constituencies of the one kind than to the other. Except in the Patna Division, the rural voters had had no political experience; the urban electorate was better trained.

221. Babu RAJENDRA PRASAD.—Objections would not be raised to the proposed differentiation of qualifications for the franchise from district to district. (It was not primarily the intention of the Association in varying the franchise to equalize the number of voters in the constituencies, but this would be a result. The chief consideration was that the rule of rent varied.)

222. Mr. SINHA.—The Association proposed that illiteracy should be a disqualification. The test should be capacity to sign one's name. If it would be impracticable to test this qualification, the Association would be prepared to withdraw this proposal.

223. Babu RAJENDRA PRASAD.—The Association considered it more suitable to include small towns in urban constituencies than to include them in the general rural constituencies. The townsmen were accustomed to voting whereas the rural population was not.

224. Mr. SINHA.—Income-tax assessors and non-student matriculates had been grouped together for convenience. It was not suggested that they had any community of interest, but they should be represented either jointly or separately. They had not been included in the general electorates because there was very little in common between such persons and the ordinary rural electorate. He realized the objection to withdrawing such persons from the general constituencies, but it would save them from being swamped.

225. The Association contemplated single-member constituencies.

226. The age qualification they recommended was 21 years.

227. They had not considered the question of sex.

228. As regards residence they would apply the present rule regarding election to the local Provincial Council. A member must have a "place of residence" in his constituency.

229. The Association followed the Congress-League scheme in recommending 150 members for the Indian Legislative Assembly. They did not consider the figure very carefully in the Association but it had been carefully considered at the joint session of the Congress-League. They proposed indirect election to that Assembly not because they were against direct election but as a matter of convenience.

230. The number of seats assigned to Bihar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur, in the Provincial Council was on the basis of population. Chota Nagpur might be regarded as an integral part of Bihar. The reason for giving 9 seats to Orissa as against 7 to Chota Nagpur, which had approximately the same population was that the Association wished to give the Oriyas all it could.

231. (Mr. Aftab.) At present Muhammadans had the right to stand for the general electorates. In the scheme proposed by the Association they would lose that right. So the figures had been revised. The Hindus in Bihar and Orissa had never objected to the existing proportion.

232. The Association feared that educated men would have less chance of being returned than at present. It was essential to get competent men on the Councils. Personally he would impose no restrictions as regards the qualifications of the candidates, but the zamindars could influence constituencies outside their own. To prevent this the Association proposed that candidates must be resident in their constituencies. They would still exercise moral persuasion from outside and run their own men but the opportunities for using such influence would be decreased. He did not think that really competent men would be excluded thereby.

233. (Mr. Banerjee.) Oriss was not represented on the Association; Chota Nagpura was.

234. The five members proposed for the University was an arbitrary figure which was considered fair. Senators and registered graduates, who must be of 6 years standing, would vote.

235. He thought that his Association would favour the idea of making some of the larger municipalities into separate constituencies.

236. Persons with higher educational qualifications than the matriculation would be entitled to vote in the matriculate constituencies. Registered graduates would however vote in the University electorate. In 1914 there were 1,192 matriculates in the Province; in 1915, 1,398; in 1916, 1,431. These figures did not include men who had passed the intermediate examination in arts.

237. As regards the proposed differentiation in the franchise in the different districts, the Association recognized that the qualifications for municipal franchise and also for local boards so far as they contained any elected element were at present uniform, but that they had selected the lesser of two evils.

238. The witness did not think that the Association would insist on candidates knowing English. He instance the Rajah of Jahangirabad.

239. In proposing that the candidates should be resident in their constituencies his Association wished to minimize the zamindars' influence as far as possible.

240. The Association would not object to direct election to the Imperial Assembly if the franchise was raised and a separate constituency formed.

241. The Association would certainly approve of non-officials being employed at the elections. Sufficient and competent persons could be found.

242. (Mr. Sastri.) The Association recommended 25 nominated members out of 125 in order to secure sufficient officials for the Grand Committee. If the Grand Committee consisted of 40 per cent. of the whole it would contain 50 members. Of these 25, 16 or 17 might be officials of varied experience. The witness did not think all the five Commissioners would be necessary as they all had the same experience. He would prefer experts from the different departments. Three Commissioners in all would suffice, one for Bihar, one for Chota Nagpur and one for Orissa. If there were 16 or 17 officials the margin would be provided for the Grand Committee.

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[Continued.]

The non-official nominated members should represent domiciled Bengalis and the Christian community and there was no objection to the Anglo-Indians and the Chota Nagpur is also being represented in this manner.

243. He was not aware of any depressed class problem in the province. There was no political movement amongst the "Untouchables" and therefore they need not be represented.

244. The Association was strongly in favour of 4-5ths of the whole being elected. The officials were required to supply information and experience.

245. The aboriginals and depressed classes should certainly be represented by one of their own community. There must be educated Chota Nagpuris.

246. The Association was strongly against extending communal representation even as a temporary measure. They would be strongly in favour of allowing members of special electorates the option of voting in the general electorates instead.

247. He agreed that the urban vote had been over-weighted but he did not think that there was any danger of the interests of the uneducated classes being prejudiced thereby. The educated classes were the best guardians of the general interests.

248. The voters in the special and communal electorates would not be allowed to vote in the general constituencies.

249. The electorates consisting of income tax assesses and non-student matriculates would be divided by Commissioners' divisions.

250. The Association would be prepared to constitute large towns into separate constituencies and the resulting seats would be included in the 21 assigned to urban electorates.

251. It was not sufficient merely to give a vote to matriculates. They must have a separate constituency. He agreed that they had no special separate interest.

252. The Association thought 2 per cent. of the population might fairly be enfranchised to begin with. The census figures showed that there was 9½ lakhs of literate males of over 21 years of age.

253. The qualification for the landlord franchise should be lowered. He had never heard of any objection on the part of any of the big landlords to competing with the smaller men.

254. (Mr. Hogg.) The Association was not opposed to the Grand Committee. If they had ever expressed any opinion against it, they had done so in a moment of excitement.

255. By "special" electorate the Association meant a constituency representing a race or a religion. The university had always been regarded as a special case. He did not think that there was any discrepancy between the Association's proposals and their recommendation against any further extension of the communal system in para. 2 of their memorandum. The university which was to be specially represented was altogether an exceptional case, and the relation between members of it was not the same as that between members of the mining and planting communities.

256. Outside the mining and planting communities there was no European population in the province of sufficient importance to justify a separate electorate. If

the mining and planting community was provided for then no important persons would be left out with the exception of a few missionaries. He was against the transfer of one nominated seat to a general European constituency because those men should vote in the general constituencies for the purpose of educating the other voters.

257. (Mr. Hailey.) Babu RAJENDRA PRASAD.—The distribution of seats in the rural electorates was based on guess work and the Association did not wish to insist on the exact distribution proposed, for instance they did not wish to insist on Sambalpur and Angul being joined together. The heavy overloading of the urban vote was intended to be purely temporary. It should be abandoned as the rural electors became educated.

258. The income tax assesses and non-student matriculates would be excluded from voting and standing in other constituencies.

259. The interests of the members of the landlord constituency both small and great were identical as against the tenants. This would be true even of a landlord with a Rs. 100 valuation, but the line must be drawn somewhere and it has been drawn at Rs. 1,000 because landlords with a smaller income than that were also tenants.

260. The university had been included in calculating the number of Indian elected members for the purposes of reckoning the number of seats from Muhammadans. He thought there would be something like 2,000 university voters.

261. (Mr. Sahai.) In distributing urban and rural seats the Association had no figures with regard to the number of voters in each. They had had to work on figures of total population.

262. There was no difference of interest between income tax assesses and the general electorate. On this ground it would not be necessary to give them a separate constituency.

263. Students had deliberately been excluded from the turmoil of elections. The non-student matriculates had been included in order to obtain intelligent voters and not to secure representatives of their special interest.

264. The Association would give votes to barristers, medical practitioners, engineers and so on, who were not matriculates. The witness would not reduce the 5 university seats even though men of that class could be returned by the general constituencies.

265. In some parts the Bengali speaking people predominated. If votes were given to these tracts, Bengalis would naturally be returned.

266. Mr. SINHA.—The statement that domiciled Bengalis had hitherto only been returned to the Council on condition that they would not advocate the interest of special classes was incorrect.

267. If the larger municipal towns were made into separate constituencies, the smaller might be included in the rural electorates.

268. The university and matriculate constituencies had been suggested not for fear of anything that the zamindars would do but for fear that they would do nothing. The educated classes were required to protect the interests of the tenants but their primary justification was that they gave intellectual status and general capacity to the Council.

THE BENGALIE SETTLEES' ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement.

SEPARATE ELECTORATE FOR THE BENGALIES IN BIHAR AND ORISSA.

269. My committee would in the first place respectfully urge that the Committees will be pleased to recommend for a separate electorate being granted to the Bengalees settled in the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

270. Besides the large number of Bengalees domiciled in the Province of Bihar and Orissa there is a considerable number of Bengalees who are either in Gov-

ernment or in private service, or are following different professions, or are engaged in Commerce or Industry. Majority of them are educated, and almost all of them are literate. (Their number will not be less than one-sixth of the total number of electors in the Province. But they being scattered all over the Province my committee fear that they will not be able to have an effective control over any particular constituency so as to return any member of their community to the council.)

271. The domiciled Bengalee Community being in the minority in this Province have hitherto failed to return any member of their choice to the Legislative Council.

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THE BENGALIEE SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

Those gentlemen of the Bengalee Community who have in the past succeeded in entering the local Legislative Council through the general electorate have done so either by giving an undertaking not to advocate in the Council the cause of any particular community or they have themselves refrained from ventilating in the Council the grievances of the Domiciled Bengalee Community.

272. Nor the members nominated by Government to represent the Domiciled Bengalee Community have from their peculiar position been able to express in the Council the views of the Domiciled Bengalee Community.

273. My committee would, therefore, suggest that a separate constituency be created for the Bengalees in this Province representing different interests, viz., Zemindari, Mining, Trade, Professions and Service. And 5 seats be allotted to them—one for each of the 5 Divisions of the Province.

OR SEATS BE RESERVED.

274. My committee beg further to submit that if separate electorate for the Bengalees be not practicable then 5 seats be reserved for them in plural constituencies.

275. Even if the latter be not possible then the Committee may be pleased to recommend for other expedients so that there may be a fair and adequate representation of the Bengalee Community and that they may have the opportunity of making their views known in the Council by the mouth of some member specially acquainted with them.

FRANCHISE FOR THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

Qualification of Electors for the General Electorate.

276. My committee would suggest the following qualifications of Electors:—

- (1) Every male person shall be eligible to vote who has attained the age of 21 years and is not subject to any legal incapacity, has been resident in the Province for not less than 12 months, immediately preceding the election, has been duly registered as a voter, and who—
 - (a) has passed the Entrance or Matriculation examination of an Indian University or the corresponding standard of any other University, or holds a license granted by any Medical School recognized by Government to practise medicine or by a recognized school of Engineering of having passed the examination of an overseer or of a sub-overseer or holds a certificate to practise as a Pleader, Mukhtear or Revenue Agent; or
 - (b) has, during the year aforesaid, paid or been assessed to income-tax under the Indian Income Tax Act; or
 - (c) owns any estate, holding, tenement or land in any city, town or village in the Province of clear yearly value of not less than Rs. 100; or
 - (d) has during the year aforesaid occupied any house or tenement as tenant thereof and has paid not less than Rs. 100 as rent in respect of occupation by him of the house or tenement or part of the holding or tenement.

Franchise for Special Electorates.

- For Zemindars—
 Any Zemindar who pays Road and P. W. Cesses annually to the extent of not less than Rs. 62-8.
- For Mahomedans—
 Same as for General Electorate.
- For Planting and Mining Interests—
 Same as at present.
- For Bengalee Community—
 Same as that of the General Electorate.

Restrictions on Voting.

Electors of any Special Electorate shall not be eligible to vote for or stand as a candidate at the General election, nor a voter of the General Electorate shall be eligible to vote for or stand as a candidate for any Special Electorate.

Qualifications of Candidate.

Any person qualified to vote and not disqualified under the rules, shall be qualified to be elected as a member of the Provincial Legislative Council or of the Indian Legislative Assembly by his respective constituency.

CONSTITUENCIES.

There should be two classes of Constituencies, viz.:—

- (1) Special constituencies, and
- (2) General constituencies.

Special constituencies should be subdivided into:—

- (1) Constituency of Mahomedan Electors.
- (2) Do. of Mining Interest.
- (3) Do. of Planting Interest.
- (4) Do. of Zemindari Interest.
- (5) Do. of Bengalee Community.
- (6) Do. of the General Electorate of non-special electors.

The General Constituency.

The General constituency should be divided into Urban and Rural.

There should be as many General Urban constituencies as there are Districts in the Province.

The same for Rural constituencies.

Special Constituencies.

Musalman Constituency should be divided into Urban and Rural Constituencies.

There should be as many Urban constituencies as there are Districts in the Province. Same for Rural.

Mining Interest.—There should be only one constituency for Mining Interest.

Planting Interest.—There should be only one constituency for Planting Interest.

Zemindari constituency.—There should be five special constituencies of the Zemindari special interest one for each of the Divisions of the Province.

Bengalee constituencies.—There should be five constituencies for the Bengalee community. Three for Bihar, one for Chota-Nagpur and one for Orissa.

Allotment of Seats.

The allotment of seats to each separate constituency is to depend upon the number of Electors in such constituency and not upon the number of people within the territorial jurisdiction of any constituency.

CONSTITUTION OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF BIHAR AND ORISSA ONLY.

The Legislative Council for this Province should consist of 125 members, of whom 75 or 100 should be elected and 50 or 25 should be nominated. Out of 100 elected seats 25 should be reserved for Mahomedans. The hundred elected seats should be distributed as follows:—

To	Urban—Rural
Mahomedan Special Electorate	25
Land-holders Separate Electorate	10
Planting Interest do.	2
Mining Interest do.	3
University do.	5
Bengalee Community do.	5
General do.	50
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THE BENGALIEE SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION.

[Continued

The 25 Nominated Seats should be distributed as follows:—

Ex-Officio	The Governor	1
	Executive Councillors	2
	Secretaries	6
	Commissioners of Divisions	5
	Heads of Departments	3
	Vice-Chancellor Patna University	1

18

Nominated by Governor:—

Anglo-Indian Community	1
Indian Christians	1
Aboriginals	1
Depressed classes	1
Experts	2
General	1

7

25

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Indian Legislative Assembly should consist of 150 members, of whom 40 or 120 should be elected and 10 or 30 should be officials and nominated members, viz., 20 officials and 10 nominated.

The 120 elected seats should be distributed thus:—

Bengal	20
Bombay	20
Madras	20
Behar & Orissa	16
United Provinces	16
Punjab	13
Central Provinces	7
Burma	5
Assam	3

120

The 16 members allotted to Behar and Orissa should be distributed as follows:—

2	should belong to the Mining and Planting Interest.
1	do. to the Bengalee Community.
1	do. to the University.
5	do. to the Mahomedan Community.
2	do. to the Zemindari Electorate.
5	do. to the General Electorate.

ELECTION TO THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The candidates from the General Electorate and those from Mahomedan Electorate are to be elected by their respective non-official members of the Provincial Council. Other members are to be returned by their respective Special Electorates direct.

Qualifications for Membership.

Any person whose name stands in the General Electoral Roll or in the Special Mahomedan Electoral Roll shall be eligible for being elected as a member of the Legislative Assembly by his representatives in the Provincial Legislative Council.

Any person whose name stands in the Special Electoral Roll shall be eligible for being elected by that Special Electorate.

Duration of Office.

Duration of office of members should be for five years. Any Elected member of the Provincial Council returned to the Indian Legislative Assembly should vacate his office in the Provincial Legislative Council.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

There should be no Council of State.

Babu Ram Lal Sinha, representing the Bengalee Settlers' Association, called and examined.

277. (*Sw Frank Sly.*) He appeared on behalf of the Bengalee Settlers' Association which represented the Bengalis permanently settled in Bihar and Orissa but not the indigenous Bengali population. There were branch associations in the different districts; in the central branch in Patna district there were 300 members. There was a fee of Re. 1 a year.

278. The Association pressed for a separate electorate for indigenous and domiciled Bengalis that is to say, men who spoke the Bengali language as their mother tongue. They wanted one seat in each division. The indigenous population was to be found in Purnea, the Santal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum. The Association had no branch in Manbhum because the Bengalis in that district wished to go back to Bengal and were not prepared to weaken their case by acknowledging that they were domiciled in Bihar. Including women and children there were 4,412 domiciled Bengalis in the Patna Division. The total number of electors in his proposed constituency was 230,000. The Bengali speaking population in Bihar and Orissa was 6.3 per cent. of the whole. The Muhammadan population was 10.7 per cent. of the whole.

279. On the existing council there was one Bengali from Manbhum. Another Bengali, Rai Bahadur Furnendu Narayan Sinha, had formerly been President of the Association. He had resigned because before being elected to the Council he had had to give a pledge that he would not urge the interests of any particular community. He now showed no interest in the community.

280. As regards electoral machinery he thought it would be possible to poll the votes of the domiciled community; failing that, he would have plural constituencies with seats reserved for the community; failing that any other expedient except nomination with which they were not satisfied.

281. The expression "clear yearly value" in (1) (c) of his Association's proposals for the qualifications of electors had been taken from English practice. They meant by it net annual income. He thought it could be calculated by allowing for instance 10 per cent. for cultivation charges and so on.

282. They proposed an equal number of urban and rural constituencies, one for each district. The number of seats in each would depend on the number of electors.

283. (*Mr. Hailey.*) His Association co-operated with the Orissa Association which was practically a branch. He admitted that there were a number of different languages in the province but Bengalis had special claims for communal representation. Their interests were not protected by the majority or by the state; for instance in regard to education. Previously they had had a monopoly of appointments in every department. As regards education the community was anxious for higher education but the Biharis were not. Consequently they had to send their sons to Bengal to be educated and thereby lost their domicile qualification. Hindi had been adopted in Dhanbad as the official language, Dhanbad being in a Bengali speaking district.

284. The Association intended that tenants should be included under Clause (1) (c) of the electoral qualifications.

285. (*Mr. Hogg.*) His Association represented the whole Bengali population of Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa except Manbhum. There had been an attempt at a compromise with the Orissa Association. Out of about 21 lakhs of Bengalis in the province Manbhum contained about 10 lakhs and Orissa just over one lakh.

286. (*Mr. Sastri.*) If there were two constituencies in Purnea where the Bengalis represented 37 per cent. of the population the community would be able to take care of itself. The number of seats claimed by the com-

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THE BENGALIAN SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

munity was justified by their peculiar position as foreigners. This justified a departure from the principle recommended in the Report that there should be no communal representation. He was aware of the large Bengali community in the United Provinces who provided themselves with schools. In this province 15.9 per cent. of schools were supported by them.

287. The nominations by Government had not proved satisfactory. (The present nominated member had not consulted the community's wishes nor shown any interest in them. At present there are 3 domiciled Bengali members out of 44. They proposed 5 only out of 96.

288. (Mr. Saha.) The resentment of the Biharis was legitimate. The Biharis felt it as a grievance that all the higher posts were monopolized by Bengalis after the separation of the province. The definition of "domicile" was contained in the rules with regard both to appointments and to admissions to educational institutions. The definition was too strict. Domiciled Bengalis were not on the same level as Biharis proper with regard to appointments. In South Bihar Bengalis numbered 1 per cent. of the population. He considered that this was sufficient to justify a separate constituency.

THE BIHAR LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement.

FRANCHISE SCHEME.

289. The Bihar Landholders' Association beg to suggest in connection with the Franchise as follows:—
The Provincial Council is to consist of 125 members.
Out of them the nominated members will be 25 and the elected 100.

Special Electorates.	
Mining	2
Planters	1
University	1
Landholders	25
(to be distributed in proportion to the importance of the districts).	
Medical Practitioners	1
Muhammadians	18
(Rural 15 and Urban 3).	
Rural	41
Urban	11

Rural 41.

Patna	3
Gaya	3
Shahabad	3
Saran	3
Muzaffarpur	3
Darbhanga	3
Champaran	2
Bhagalpur	3
Monghyr	3
Patna	2
Santal Parganas	1
Cuttack	3
Balasore	1
Puri	1
Sambalpur	1
Angul	1
Hazaribagh	1
Ranchi	1
Palaman	1
Singhbhum	1
Manbhum	1
	—
	41

Urban 11.

Patna Division	3
Tirhut Division	2
Bhagalpur Division	2
Orissa Division	2
Chota Nagpur Division	2
	—
	11

290. The Association suggest that in the rural area the qualification for voting should be the following:—

- (i) Payment of cess.
- (ii) Payment of Chaukidari Tax.
- (iii) Payment of Income Tax.
- (iv) Educational qualification.

291. The Association further suggest that there ought to be some difference in the qualification of the voters for Local Boards, District Boards, and the Provincial Council. When the qualification of the voters for Local Boards is payment of one rupee as cess, the qualification for District Boards ought to be the payment of the cess of Rs. 5, and that for the Provincial Council the payment of Rs. 10 or so as cess. Higher qualification is needed for representation in the Provincial Council. It will also be a check on the enormous increase in the number of voters which is likely to frustrate the aim and object of the reform and will make canvassing almost impossible.

292. As far as the special electorate of the landholders is concerned, the existing qualification for the voters may be retained.

Imperial Council.

293. The Imperial Council may consist of 160 members out of whom 30 will be nominated, and 120 elected.

Special Electorates.

University	2
Planters	2
Chamber of Commerce	2
Mining	2
Millowners and Industry	2
Landholders	30
Muhammadians	20
Bengal	10
Madras	10
Bombay	10
United Provinces	9
Punjab	6
Bihar and Orissa	6
Central Provinces	4
Burma	2
Assam	2
Delhi	1
	—
	120

294. The number of the landholder members may be distributed in proportion to the number of the landholders in the provinces.

295. In connection with the Imperial Council the Association suggest that if direct voting is allowed the qualification of voters should be made still higher, i.e. :—

- (a) Payment of Cess or Income Tax, Rs. 50.
- (b) Metric and other similar examinations in Sanskrit and Persian.
- (c) Payment of Chaukidari Tax, Rs. 12.

296. The Association approve of the principle of direct voting.

Council of State.

297. The landholders may be given adequate representation in the Council of State and the proposed number as given in paragraph 277 of the Report is not adequate.

298. The prevailing mode of election being very defective the Committees may also consider the question how it is to be improved.

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THE BIHAR LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

[Continued]

Babu Ganesh Datta Singh and Babu Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri representing the Bihar Landholders' Association, called and examined.

299. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) Babu GANESH DATTA SINGH. The Association represented all the big land-holders of Bihar. There was no fixed amount of income to qualify for admission to the Association, but the income was usually very large. The Association contained about 400 members.

300. The Association proposed a Council of 125 members, 100 to be elected and 25 of these to be elected by the landholders. The Council now consisted of 21 elected members of whom 5 were landholders, one for each division. With the increased Council he proposed increased representation for the landholders. He would be prepared to widen the franchise for the landholders' electorate from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 2,000 revenue with cess qualifications accordingly. This would give an electorate of not less than 3,000. He recommended single member constituencies.

301. He recommended direct election to the Indian Assembly, but in order that the electorates might be manageable a high qualification would be necessary. He would suggest Rs. 50 cess payment.

302. (*Mr. Hailey.*) There was some identity of interests between the towns and the villages.

303. As regards the raiyati qualifications he proposed that the qualifications for electing to the Local Boards should be low, that those for electing to the District Board should be higher and that those for electing to the Provincial Council should be higher again.

304. As regards educational qualifications, it would be easy to find out from the registers in the Inspectors' offices who were passed students of the Middle School examination. He would admit persons who had passed the Middle Vernacular, the First Sanskrit and the corresponding Persian examinations. In the Association scheme seats had not been allotted proportionately to population; the Association had also considered the educational standard, the number of the big landholders, and the status of the tenants. Districts had then been classed on these considerations.

305. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He had proposed a seat for medical practitioners because the profession was in a very neglected condition and medical men would not be returned

in any other way. Education was already represented on the Council as the members were educated men.

306. As regards the Muhammadans he thought there had been a misunderstanding of the Congress-League formula. The special electorates should be deducted in calculating the number.

307. The University member should be elected by the graduates who would form an electorate distinct from that which returned members to the Senate.

308. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) One member was sufficient for the University. The educated men should not be taken out of the general electorates. In their case he would make a special concession and allow members who were qualified to vote for the University candidate to vote in the general electorate also. He had given a single member to Ranchi and to Balasore because neither could get a seat and neither was of sufficient importance to get more.

309. (*Mr. Aftab.*) He would not include landholders with incomes of Rs. 1,000 a year, because they would have subsidiary occupations and would not be landholders pure and simple. He would only include men with an income of Rs. 6,000 a year. He admitted that sometimes there was conflict between landlords and tenants.

310. He did not approve of the Congress-League formula, but was not prepared to go behind it. There were a number of Muhammadans on his Association; Muhammadans would be returned from the other constituencies.

311. (*Mr. Sastri.*) Before the Morley-Minto reform the Association had nominated a member to the Bengal Council for the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor. Members of the Association paid a fee of Rs. 50 a year.

312. He did not think that rural seats would be captured by landholders. For the landholders' franchise he would propose Rs. 400 or 500 cess or Rs. 2,000 revenue. The cess test was the more reliable. This would give 3,000 voters.

313. (*Mr. McPherson.*) He would modify the proposed qualification of Rs. 10 cess payment for raiyats if it could be shown that no raiyati voters would be admitted on this basis in 10 out of the 20 districts.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. M. WATSON SMYTH.

Written Statement.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

314. *Paragraphs I and II.*—It is of course the object of this scheme to secure as broad a franchise as possible, but when this subject is examined it can be seen how very unrepresentative even the broadest possible franchise must necessarily be. The new electorates cannot be based on anything wider than those that already exist for local and municipal bodies. Nobody can suggest that the qualifications for local and municipal franchise are at present unreasonably high. It seems therefore to be quite impossible to suppose that persons unfitted for local or municipal franchise can be qualified for the heavier responsibilities of the vote whereby Members of the Provincial Legislative Council are to be elected. I have not the information to give the Committee as to the percentage which the local and municipal voters in the Province of Bihar and Orissa bear to the total population, both rural and urban, but I happen to know that in another Province, which is certainly more advanced in general and political education than Bihar and Orissa, the proportion of the electors to the total population varies from 1 per cent. to 3 per cent. in the rural areas and 2 per cent. and 5 per cent. in the urban areas. Assuming that these percentages apply to Bihar and Orissa, and also assuming that the qualification for a vote under the new Reform Scheme cannot be lower than the qualification for a municipal vote, I think it will be seen how impossible it is to base these reforms on a franchise that can by any stretch of imagination be deemed to represent

the will of the people, or be in any way representative of the millions which constitute the inhabitants of the Province. I can offer no scheme whereby the franchise can be made really representative. I can only say that in my opinion the proposed system is entirely unsuited to this country.

315. *Paragraph III (1).*—*Special or communal electorates.*—The report declares against communal representation except for Sikhs, and to a certain extent for Muhammadans. The authors definitely state that after giving the matter full consideration, especially as regards the British non-official community, they cannot see their way to recommend any further communal representation. Mr. Montagu, I believe, stated in a speech that if the British merchant wanted representation other than by nomination or limited election by specialized bodies, he must go to the poll and fight his way into Council by the will of the general electorate. Those who know India recognize how impossible this view is. If the British non-official community is left to get its representative elected by the general electorate, then it will have no representation by election at all. The chief argument which the authors of the report use appears to be that communal representation will hinder the development of Indian nationhood. Now India is composed of several nations, viz., the Muhammadan, the Brahmin, the non-Brahmin, the European and others, and these will never mingle into what can be called one nation. It is waste of time considering an idea so utopian. Consequently the best that can be hoped for is that these nations, separated one from another by the impassable barriers of colour

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Mr. R. M. WATSON SMYTH.

[Continued.]

creed and caste, will run side by side on terms of friendship with each other, for the good of the Indian Empire as a whole. The only way in which this can be achieved, in my opinion, is that each of these nations shall be content, and shall know that their own particular rights are respected and protected, and that they be given the opportunity of representing their several points of view in the Councils of the Empire. This cannot possibly be done by mixing them all up, giving one man one vote and saying that the result is a representative elected Council. The inevitable result of such a procedure will be the over-representation of the Brahmans, the under-representation of the Muhammadans and the non-Brahmins, and, as far as can be gathered, no representation at all for the Europeans. There is nothing which rouses the aggressive spirit, especially in a man of any fighting race such as the Muhammadan or the European, more than the idea that he is not receiving his full rights, and consequently, in my opinion, the withdrawal of communal representation would in no way make for the furtherance of Indian nationhood, but exactly the reverse, and would rouse inter-racial feeling to a point which would make any nationhood impossible. The European non-official community is numerically very small. Its economic interests, as is admitted in the report, are very large and out of all proportion to the size of the community. The European non-official must have his share in the direction of affairs. It is hopeless to ask him to go to the poll in a general electorate; he would be swamped by numbers. It is especially necessary for him to have full representation on the Council, because under this Reform Scheme the roll of European officials is to be continually restricted, and consequently the European non-official will become increasingly responsible for the protection of his own interests. The Reform Scheme only allows European representation through certain specialized bodies like the Chambers of Commerce and by nomination; the former is highly desirable and must be continued. The nominees of such specialized bodies have in the past been sufficient to represent European interests on Councils, both Provincial and Imperial. That, however, will not be the case in future. The nominee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, for instance, who is usually the President, finds it difficult even at present to carry out his political duties, and he will find it impossible to take the share which the representative of the European non-official community will be required to take in the new Legislative Assemblies. The nomination by Government is also of value, but at the same time is not always satisfactory. There are men who express opinions rather in conformity with what they think Government will like than in accordance with their own honest views, or those of the community they represent. These men are constantly in the Government eye, and it is these men whom Government would usually nominate. If the British non-official community is to be properly represented, the big firms at the great commercial centres must encourage those in their employ to study politics, and to give up a great deal of time to it, not merely when they have nothing else to do, but as part of their duty to their employers and to their community. These are the men that Government will never nominate, and it is representation by such men that we must have, and the only way of getting it is by a communal electorate. It is for these reasons that we lay such great stress on this point.

316. (2), (3), (4).—I have nothing to say on these headings except that in considering the importance of the franchise, the Committee should consider the danger of over-representation by urban voters as compared with the rural voters in a country like India which is mainly agricultural. Of the millions of raiyats who cultivate the

land there would be an infinitesimal percentage of men who could ever hope to obtain the franchise. The rural districts could of course be given a sufficient number of seats to bring them to their proper proportion in comparison with the urban districts, but rural India will have to be guaranteed that the men who sit in the seats allotted to the rural districts are such as the interests of the enormous majority who have no votes will require. There should be, in my opinion, some form of nomination for representation of these classes who cannot be enfranchised and who are not likely to become enfranchised, otherwise they will be entirely unrepresented. The poll would no doubt send to Council some professional politician from the city who would come down and get elected for some rural district, but he could not be said to represent the people. It could be done by nomination and the nominee might be the District Officer or some Missionary or retired Indian Civilian, not necessarily European in any of these cases, but one who knew the people and had lived amongst them.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

317. (1) *Constitution*.—I have not dealt with this subject because I am strongly in favour of leaving the Government of India alone until such time as the alterations in the Provincial Councils have been tried and found successful.

318. (2) *Direct elections*.—I can think of no method whereby there could be direct voting for the Imperial Legislative Council except in the representation of special bodies. Direct election to the Provincial Councils is difficult enough and the difficulties as regards direct election to the Indian Legislative Assembly are exactly the same, multiplied by the number of Provinces that there are in India. It can be well imagined what the difficulties of a candidate for the Indian Legislative Assembly would be to try and canvass his constituency which was spread over hundreds of thousands of square miles. I regret I cannot attempt to give the Committee any assistance in the solution of this problem.

319. *Council of State*.—As this constitutes a change in the constitution of the Government of India, to which I am very strongly opposed, I have not attempted to deal with this matter either.

320. I submit the above memorandum as I have been asked to do so, but I must, with the very greatest respect, protest against the way in which this enquiry is being hurried. The matters to be enquired into are of the very greatest importance and have been placed before us when our whole mind and attention is concentrated on what is happening in France, and when our energies are directed towards keeping our business going with largely depleted staffs, having combed out the last available man, at the request of Government for military purposes. The notice was sent to me on the 23rd of October, and I was asked to submit my memorandum by the 1st of November. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce have not had time to consider the question of franchise at all, nor have the Indian Mining Association whom I have the honour to represent. At the time that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce considered the question of the report as a whole, the question of franchise was not considered by them, as it was not dealt with in the report and we felt certain that we should be given ample time to consider the matter before the Franchise Committee started work. As stated above, I have been given 8 days in which to prepare a memorandum on this important subject. I have had no time or opportunity to consult either the Chamber or the Indian Mining Association, and the views I put forward must therefore be considered as my own, prepared in great haste and under the circumstances with great difficulty.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. M. Watson Smyth, called and examined.

321. (*Sir Frank Sly*.) His personal views had been invited by the Local Government and were contained in his written statement. The views of the Indian Mining Association, which he represented on the Legisla-

tive Council, had also been invited and they had been asked to send a witness. He had been selected as their witness by the Association and he believed that the Association accepted his views.

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Mr. R. M. WATSON SMYTH.

[Continued.]

322. The Mining Association represented practically the whole of the collieries managed by European firms and also some managed by Indian firms. It represented the mine-owners' interests. The Federation consisted entirely of Indian mine-owners. The Association represented the bulk of the industry, but he would send further information regarding the exact extent of the interests represented. Any mine-owner who was proposed and seconded and elected was eligible to join the Association.

323. In general the Association was in favour of communal representation, particularly in the case of Europeans, and, even in the case of Bihar and Orissa, quite apart from the representation of the mining interest. He admitted that the percentage was small and he could not give numbers, but it was the only way in which these people could get representation as Europeans; otherwise they would be swamped. The mining staff was not represented by the Association's representative.

324. The Local Government's proposals with regard to the mining interest were not acceptable. The Association would prefer that the owners (i.e., the Association) should have separate representatives apart from the Federation, while the employees should be separately represented in the general European electorate. He would propose 2 representatives for the Association and 1 for all other mine-owners. On the Council there should be about 90 members. He could not say if the general European community accepted the proposals he made on their behalf. There were 6,000 Europeans and 3,600 Anglo-Indians in the Province.

325. He had no knowledge of the province except with regard to the mining interest and the European employees on the mines, and would prefer not to be questioned on the general points mentioned in his memorandum.

326. (Mr. Banerja.) He would not give specific instances in which nominations had proved unsatisfactory. He used the term "professional politicians" in his statement in no offensive sense.

327. (Mr. Sastri.) He was elected by the Indian Mining Association to the Provincial Legislative Council and he had no experience of any other Council in India.

328. The European officials had been useful in safeguarding European interests. As their importance declined the power of the non-official Europeans should be increased.

329. He knew that a voter who was qualified in the special constituencies was debarred from voting in the general constituencies. This question did not arise in the case of members of the Association who were all residents in Calcutta.

330. European employees should have a vote.

331. (Mr. Hogg.) He recommended communal electorates not in any spirit of hostility but to ensure the success of the reforms. In fact he would go so far as to say that nothing else was possible.

332. Most of the mines were owned by limited companies. The owner was the firm in Calcutta, who represented the shareholders who in turn included a number of Indians. The Association's representative did not therefore represent Europeans only.

333. He recommended a special electorate for Europeans in the province because they would be swamped at the poll in the general constituencies, and because they had special interests for which they were entitled to ask for some representation.

334. In an electorate consisting of the Mining Federation and the European employees, the Indians would predominate. The seat would not be a European one. He would have no objection to this seat being given to the mine-owners other than members of the Association, and the employees being put into the general European electorate. Nomination was unsuitable because it limited the choice of the representative and the certainty of representation.

335. (Mr. Hailey.) He proposed two members for the Association partly to secure representation of the views of this interest and partly to secure voting power.

336. He would admit Anglo-Indians to the general European constituency.

337. (Mr. Sahai.) He had no experience of the province and could not say if the results they anticipated in Bengal would occur in Bihar and Orissa.

338. (Mr. McPherson.) He would not give a seat to the Federation as such but he would combine it in a constituency with other mine owners who belonged neither to the Association nor the federation.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. K. SAHAY.

Written Statement.

339. In the present state of Bihar and Orissa with unequal distribution of wealth and unequal dissemination of education in the different parts constituting the Province no single basis of election or electoral division can secure adequate and effective representation of all classes and interests. Special electorates will have to be provided in some cases but I am opposed to any further extension of the principle of communal representation. If special electorates have to be created they must be created for the representation of special interests not for any particular community. If circumstances permit I would like, however, to see the introduction of the principle of proportionate representation for minorities other than the Muhammadans, in case of which latter the Congress-League compromise should be adhered to.

340. I beg further to submit that the present division of the Province into divisions and districts would form an excellent basis for its division into territorial electorate. In some cases, however, it may be necessary to combine two or more districts or divisions to constitute an electoral division.

341. The system of direct election is certainly the best system of representation conceivable but I am afraid the present circumstances of some portions of this Province may hamper the supply of a good electoral college. This is specially so in the case of the rural tracts where education has not made much progress and the system

of election is practically unknown. It will be some time before the people of these tracts will be able to appreciate the advantage of and avoid the pitfalls generally attendant on, a system of representation by election. Nevertheless I would like to see the extension of this principle to all the towns of this Province where educated men and persons successful in different walks of life abound. The system may further be extended to the rural tracts of Bihar and Orissa but I am at present doubtful of its utility so far as my own division—the Chota Nagpur Division, which I have the honour to represent in the local Council—is concerned. Here I would like to see the continuation of the system of indirect election for some time more. I may suggest here that the representatives of the rural parts of this Division may be elected by the members of the District and Local Boards. But I may be allowed to submit here that this is subject to the proviso that the principle of election may be extended to all the districts and local Boards of this Division as a necessary antecedent to the continuance of the indirect system and that only elected members may be allowed to vote for the election of representatives to the Council.

342. On a close examination of all circumstances, the number of people that may be supposed to take an intelligent part in the elections, the maintenance of electoral rolls, the difficulties in registering voters, the number of voters that may have and may be expected to attend a particular polling station and other cognate

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Mr. S. K. SARAK.

[Continued.]

matters, I am of opinion that on an average not more than 2 per cent. of the population should be enfranchised, at any rate for the present. The total population of this province is 34,490,084. If two per cent. of the population be enfranchised the number of voters would be about 690,000 in round numbers and as the total adult male population is about 8,800,000 it would mean the enfranchisement of about 8 per cent. of these who may theoretically be held to be competent to exercise a vote. If considerations of education and possession of property be allowed to come in, it would mean a much larger percentage than what has been given above. This number, however, must be for the present taken to be the maximum. According to the scheme that I beg to suggest below about 500,000 persons would be enfranchised, which means the representation of 6 per cent. of the adult male population and 1½ per cent. of the total population of the Province. This number I regard as the minimum that ought to be enfranchised with a view to securing fair representation for all classes, and interests on a sufficiently broad basis and at the same time preventing any breakdown of the machinery through a sheer weight of numbers. On a close scrutiny of my scheme it would appear that the highest number of voters that may be expected to be enrolled in any particular district would be less than fifty thousand and as ordinarily about two-thirds of the registered voters actually take part in elections, the largest number of voters taking part in any election would be about 32,000. If there is a sufficient number of polling stations this would not be much for a large Indian district. In the case of the majority of districts, however, the number would be in fact, very much smaller.

343. As regards the qualifications of voters I beg leave to say that no uniform standard whether of wealth or education can be fixed for the Province as a whole. There are parts where the people are wealthier, there are parts where they are more educated. Again, there are certain parts where the rentals are higher but the soil comparatively less fertile. On a consideration of all these difficulties and on examination of the figures supplied by the Bihar and Orissa Government, I beg to suggest the following:—

RURAL AREAS.

344. For rural areas the qualification of a voter should be the payment of a certain amount of rent or an equivalent amount of cess. The amounts so fixed should vary from district to district, or division to division, for example for the Patna Division the amount should be Rs. 64 a year or an equivalent amount of cess and for Chota Nagpur Division the amount should be Rs. 16 or an equivalent amount of cess. In some districts or divisions it may be necessary to fix the amount at Rs. 32 or Rs. 48.

URBAN AREAS.

345. For towns the qualifications of a voter should be the same as at present prevails and the payment of a certain amount of municipal tax or an equivalent amount of house-rent. But here also the amounts fixed would vary from towns to towns. In some towns it may be necessary to fix the amount of municipal tax at Rs. 3 and in others at Rs. 1-8.

346. The same standard of qualification is to be fixed for all voters, Muhammadans or non-Muhammadans.

LANDHOLDERS, PLANTING, AND MINING COMMUNITIES.

347. For the Landholders, the Planting and the Mining Communities the qualifications should be the same as at present.

348. With a view to give effect to all the recommendations made above I beg to suggest the following scheme for the constitution of the Legislative Council of the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

349. The total strength of the Council should be 125 of whom not less than ½ths are to be elected, i.e., the distribution of members should be as hereunder:—

Ex-officio and nominated officials and non-officials	31
Elected	94
TOTAL	125

350. Of the 31 ex-officio and nominated members 18 should be officials (including the ex-officio members) and the rest non-officials as detailed below:—

EX-OFFICIO AND NOMINATED OFFICIALS.	
The Governor	1
Executive Councillors	2
Secretaries	5
Commissioners of Divisions	6
Heads of Departments	3
The Vice-Chancellor of Patna University	1
Secretary to Legislative Council	1
TOTAL	18
NOMINATED NON-OFFICIALS.	
General	3
Domiciles	2
Anglo-Indians	1
Indian Christians	1
NON-CHRISTIAN.	
Aboriginals	2
Experts	2
Depressed classes	2
TOTAL	13
GRAND TOTAL OF NOMINATED MEMBERS	31

N.B.—The word "Non-Christian" before the word "Aboriginals" above has been used deliberately because the seat allotted to Indian Christians would be practically a monopoly for aboriginals who form the bulk of the Indian Christian community of the Province.

351. The elected members might be distributed as follows:—

Rural Non-Muhammadans	31
Urban Non-Muhammadans	19
Rural Muhammadans	15
Urban Muhammadans	5
Landholders	7
Planters	1
Mining	2
Registered graduates of the Patna University	2
A mixed special electorate of Income-tax Assessors and those who have passed the Matriculation, School Final or other equivalent Examinations but are not students	12
Non-Muhammadans	9
Muhammadans	3
TOTAL	94

352. The distribution of seats for the different constituencies should be as shown below:—

Rural.			
	Districts.	Seats.	Seats.
		Non-Muhammadans.	Muhammadans.
Patna		2	1
Gaya		2	1
Shahabad		2	1
TOTAL FOR PATNA DIVISION		6	3

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[Continued.]

Rural—contd.			Urban—contd.		
Districts.	Seats. Non-Muhammadians.	Seats. Muhammadians.	Districts.	Seats. Non-Muhammadians.	Seats. Muhammadians.
Saran	2	1	Towns of—		
Champaran	2	1	Ranchi District	1	1
Muzaffarpur	3	1	Hazaribagh District	1	
Darbhanga	3	1	Palamau District	1	
TOTAL FOR TIRHUT DIVISION	10	4	Singhbhum and Manbhum District	1	
			TOTAL FOR CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION	4	
Monghyr	2	1	TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE	19	5
Bhagalpur	2	1			
Purnea	1	2	†Landholders—		
Santal Parganas	1	1	Patna Division		1
TOTAL FOR BHAGALPUR DIVISION	6	5	Tirhut Division		2
			Bhagalpur Division		2
Cuttack	2	} 1	Orissa Division		1
Balasore	1		Chota Nagpur Division		1
Puri	1		TOTAL		7
Sambalpur and Angul	1				
TOTAL FOR ORISSA DIVISION	5	1			
Hazaribagh	1	} 1	353. Special electorate of Income-Tax Assessors and Non-student Matriculates and persons possessing an equivalent or higher educational qualifications :—		
Ranchi	1				
Palamau	1				
Singhbhum	1				
Manbhum	1				
TOTAL FOR THE CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION	4	2	NON-MUHAMMADANS.		
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE	31	15	Constituencies. Seats.		
			Shahabad and Patna		1
			Muzaffarpur and Saran		1
			Champaran and Darbhanga		1
			Bhagalpur and Purnea		1
			Monghyr and Santal Parganas		1
			Cuttack and Balasore		1
			Ranchi, Manbhum and Singhbhum		1
			Gaya, Palamau and Hazaribagh		1
			Angul, Puri and Sambalpur		1
			TOTAL		9
			MUHAMMADANS.		
			In the three Divisions of Bihar Proper		2
			Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions		1
			TOTAL		3
			GRAND TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE		
			12		
			MINING INTEREST.		
			Indian Mining Association,		1
			" " Federation		1
			TOTAL		2
			NOTE.—In this scheme twenty-three seats have been reserved for the Muhammadans. Excluding the members representing the planting and mining interests who for the present must be Europeans, the total number of elected Indians would be 51. The Muhammadan members will thus be 25 per cent. of the elected Indian members which is in accord with the Congress-League compromise so far as the Province is concerned.		
			It is to be further noted here that no member of those classes and interests for whom special electorates have been provided (as for example, the Muhammadans, the landholders, the Mining Interests and the Planters) should be allowed to participate in the election of the representatives of the general or non-special electorates.		
			I would like further to add that Thanas or Police Stations should in no case be made the Polling Stations for the election of rural members. Rightly or wrongly our people are afraid to go to a Thana and would never do so at their own accord. It would be defeating the very object of the Reforms Scheme if thanas were to be converted into Polling Stations. I beg to suggest therefore that premises occupied by the Local Board offices, where such exist, and the offices of rural Sub-Registers, would be converted into Polling Stations at the time of these elections.		

†Landholders—

Patna Division	1
Tirhut Division	2
Bhagalpur Division	2
Orissa Division	1
Chota Nagpur Division	1
TOTAL	7

353. Special electorate of Income-Tax Assessors and Non-student Matriculates and persons possessing an equivalent or higher educational qualifications :—

NON-MUHAMMADANS.

Constituencies.	Seats.
Shahabad and Patna	1
Muzaffarpur and Saran	1
Champaran and Darbhanga	1
Bhagalpur and Purnea	1
Monghyr and Santal Parganas	1
Cuttack and Balasore	1
Ranchi, Manbhum and Singhbhum	1
Gaya, Palamau and Hazaribagh	1
Angul, Puri and Sambalpur	1
TOTAL	9

MUHAMMADANS.

In the three Divisions of Bihar Proper	2
Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions	1
TOTAL	3

GRAND TOTAL FOR THE PROVINCE

12

MINING INTEREST.

Indian Mining Association,	1
" " Federation	1
TOTAL	2

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Mr. S. K. SAHAY.

[Continued]

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

354. As I have said already some parts of this Province, especially the rural areas, are not quite ripe for a system of direct election. But I have recommended its introduction so far as the Constitution of the Provincial Council is concerned in view of the fact that the people can never be fit for it unless some sort of a beginning is made in this direction. Until the results of this experiment have clearly demonstrated the wisdom and expediency of the course adopted I would not like to recommend the extension of this system generally for the election of representatives to the Indian Legislative Assembly. I beg therefore to suggest that for the present the boon of voting directly should be conferred upon those people only who by reason of their education, touch with public affairs and general intelligence can be expected to appreciate and derive the fullest advantage from it. Others must continue, at least for some time more, to be represented indirectly as hitherto. But it must be clearly noted that these remarks are meant to apply only to my own province. They should, in no way, be taken to apply to other Provinces where circumstances might differ and where, for aught I know, the people may be fitter to enjoy the privilege of direct representation.

355. The Indian Legislative Assembly should consist of 150 members of whom 125 should be elected, the remainder to be made up by nomination. Of the nominated members only 125 should be officials. That is, the distribution should be as hereunder:—

Elected	113
Nominated officials and ex-officio members	25
Nominated non-officials	12
TOTAL	150

The Hon'ble Mr. S. K. Sahay, called and examined.

359. He was the Vice-Chairman of the Ranchi District Board.

360. Hitherto no Local Boards had been formed in Chota Nagpur and all members of the District Board were nominated. The inhabitants were very backward except for the Christian aborigines. In this division he would not introduce direct election to the Provincial Council at once, but would introduce it gradually by giving it to the Local Boards and District Boards in the first instance.

361. He was opposed to communal representation for domiciled Bengalis, but would accept nomination for Anglo-Indians, Native Christians, aborigines and the depressed classes. There were depressed classes who had a separate problem of their own and who were not represented on the Council.

362. He had no views as to whether constituencies should be single seated.

363. He would group municipal towns into urban constituencies and include the remaining towns in the rural electorates.

364. He proposed 16 members from Bihar and Orissa on the Indian Legislative Assembly because Bihar was as important as Bengal.

365. (Mr. Hailey.) He divided income-tax assesses into Muhammadans and others in order to get 25 per cent. Muhammadan seats. He thought assesses were

356. The elected members may be distributed as follows:—

Bengal	16
Bombay	16
Madras	16
United Provinces	16
Bihar and Orissa	16
Punjab	14
Central Provinces	9
Burma	5
Assam	4
Delhi	1
TOTAL	113

357. The 16 seats allotted to Bihar and Orissa may be distributed as follows:—

Elected members of the District and Municipal Boards (excluding Muhammadans, Landholders, and members of the Planting and Mining Interests) one from each division	5
Elected members of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council (excluding all members who have been returned by special electorates)	2
Muhammadans	4
Landholders	2
Income-tax Assesses and persons who have passed the I.A. or any other examination of an equivalent standard but are not students	1
Mining and Planting Interests	1
TOTAL	16

N.B.—Those who have been provided with a special electorate should not be allowed to participate in general elections, either as voters or as candidates. For the Muhammadans and Landholders the qualifications should be the same as at present.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

358. I am entirely opposed to the creation of a Council of State. I make no suggestions, therefore with regard to its constitution.

entitled to be treated as a special class because they would not make themselves felt in urban electorates.

366. He saw no objection to schools as polling places but it would be undesirable to select police stations.

367. (Mr. Hogg.) The non-official Europeans would be included in other electorates. They were a migratory population which did not require special representation.

368. He had no idea of the number of electors who would return members for the 12 seats which he proposed for the special electorates. He imagined that they would represent 20 or 30 thousand for the whole province.

369. (Mr. Sastri.) He would give 2 representatives to domiciled members of all communities wherever they came from.

370. There were untouchables in Bihar and Orissa and a memorial which was received against the Primary Education Bill had been signed by 10,000 such persons. They did not however nearly form a problem in this province.

371. As regards the University, he did not much care whether the member was returned by the Senate or by the registered graduates.

372. (Mr. Banerjee.) The depressed classes should be represented by one of their own members. There were aborigines who were qualified to sit on the Council.

373. (Mr. Sahai.) He had not realized that the landholders electorate was so small as 321.

THE NORTH BIHAR AGRICULTURISTS' ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement.

PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

374. In the opinion of this Association the Provincial Council should consist of 125 members of whom 25

should be nominated by the Government and 100 elected by the different constituencies. In our opinion there should be separate constituencies for Landholders, Agriculturists and the Muhammadans. The Agriculturists ought to have a separate constituency of their own,

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THE NORTH BIHAR AGRICULTURISTS' ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

the franchise being payment of Rs. 32 as yearly rental or an income-tax of Rs. 20.

REASONS FOR SEPARATE ELECTORATE FOR AGRICULTURISTS AND THEIR MEMBERS.

375. The interests of the Landholders and the Agriculturists are not the same but they differ fundamentally as two poles asunder. (The Agriculturists want that the occupancy holding should be made transferable as a matter of right in the same way as the Zamindari interest is and that there should be no enhancement of rents of occupancy holdings by landlords enjoying the boon of permanent settlement. The landlords oppose these rights.) As such the landlords cannot truly represent the Peasants and Agriculturists. Therefore we want that the Agriculturists should be allowed the right of electing their own representatives in Provincial Councils. There should be no restriction about the residence of the candidate. A man living in the town but following the occupation of an Agriculturist and having a house in the rural area should be deemed a qualified candidate provided he pays Rs. 32 as yearly rental or Rs. 20 as income-tax. In our opinion there should be 21 Agriculturists' representatives in the Bihar Council one from each district elected by the Agriculturists alone.

Zamindars' Electorate.

376. The Zamindars want separate electorates of their own. We have no mind to oppose. Let them have it. But in our opinion the franchise should be broad-based. There is no reason why a Zamindar should have to seek the votes of only 50 voters and an Agriculturist of 15,000 voters. In our opinion the payment of Rs. 62-8-0 as Road Cess or Rs. 250 as Government Revenue should be considered the minimum qualification for a voter and a candidate. Thus the franchise will be liberal and broad-based. Every body in Bihar is either an Agriculturist or a Zamindar. There should be no such restriction that a candidate should be a resident of the rural area. All that should be required of a candidate should be that he has lands and pays Revenue or Road Cess therefor. In our opinion 21 seats ought to be allotted to the Landholders one from each District with Reservation that the minimum qualification is Rs. 62-8-0 Road Cess or Rs. 125 as Government Revenue.

Municipal Areas.

377. The Municipal areas in the whole Province ought to get 22 seats. One for Patna town alone and one for the other Municipal areas in Patna District and 20 seats for other Districts of the Province, each District having one seat including the Subdivisional Municipal areas.

Muhammadan Electorate.

378. The Muhammadans are 8 per cent in this Province, but they require larger representation. Strictly

Babu Arikahan Sinha and Babu Madhu Lal, representing the North Bihar Agriculturists' Association, called and examined.

381. Babu ARIKSHAN SINHA.—He wished to make an alteration in the written statement. He would omit matriculates from the constituency of the graduates, income tax assesses, etc., and give the 12 of the 14 seats assigned to that constituency to agriculturists.

382. His Association represented men holding land from zamindars in the Tirhut Division. There were over 100 members who were tenants or peasant proprietors. He himself was a pleader as well as a tenant with an occupancy right. Babu Madhu Lal was a retired Government servant and cultivator.

383. Their Association did not see why if the Muhammadans got separate representation tenants should not get the same privilege. At present they would be forced to vote for the landlords. Therefore their electorates should be exclusive of landlords, including landlords who were also tenants. The landlords' interest was definitely hostile to the tenants. There would be no objection to pleaders or traders who had tenant land being included in the proposed electorate.

speaking in an elected Council of 100 members they are entitled to 8 seats. But as the Government is of opinion that their members should be increased and that they should not be allowed to take part in general electorates we are of opinion that their number be doubled that is the Muhammadans ought to get 16 seats out of 100 elected seats. (One seat should be reserved for the Muhammadans of Patna town and five for the Municipal areas in the whole Province. Each Division returning one member. As regards the rural areas, we are of opinion that 10 seats be allotted to Muhammadans of rural areas. Each Divisional rural area returning 2 members.) In this case also we are of opinion that there should be no restriction about the residence of a candidate. He may be living either in Municipal areas or in rural areas. All that is required is that he should pay Government Revenue or Road Cess of yearly rental as fixed by the Government.

Mining Industry.

379. Mining Industry ought to get 2 seats.
Planters one seat.
The Patna University should return 5 members to the Provincial Council.
The Matriculates, the under graduates and the graduates and the persons paying an annual income-tax of Rs. 20 should form one constituency and should have the right to return 14 members, 2 from Chota Nagpur Division and 3 from each of the Tirhut, Patna, Bhagalpur and Orissa Divisions.
Thus the full Council of 100 elected and 25 nominated members will be formed. Of the nominated members 16 should be officials and 9 non-officials. We are not in favour of the grand Committee. We have absolute faith in the people's representatives that they will cooperate with the Government.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

380. We are of opinion that it should consist of 150 members of whom 30 should be nominated and 120 elected. The President and the Vice-President of the Assembly should be elected by the members thereof. We approve of the Council of State for the present and in our opinion the Viceroy should be the President of the Council of State and he may appoint any body to be its Vice-President. As regards the constituencies we are of opinion that the different Provincial Councils should for the present be deemed the best constituencies. They should elect members to the Indian Assembly. There should be no such restriction that the candidate should be a member of the Provincial Council. Bihar and Orissa should be given 14 seats in the Indian Assembly and 3 in the Council of State. The Muhammadans' representation in Imperial Council should be one-third.

384. (Mr. Ahab.) He was a Bhumihar Brahman and could not touch a plough. Neither he nor his fellow witness had a proprietary interest in any land.

385. His Association had been in existence for three or four months. It had been formed in view of the proposed amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The Association had branches at Motihari and Darbhanga but he could not say how many members there were.

386. He proposed a minimum of 33 seats for his special electorate.

387. (Mr. Hailey.) He thought that all landholders were in the same category. There was no distinction between big and small landholders.

388. (Mr. McPherson.) He was not a tenureholder.

389. He would have no objection to the inclusion of under-riyats.

390. Doms and mehters were not allowed to touch the walls in the village, but the question of the depressed classes did not really arise in this province.

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Dr. CAMPBELL.

[Continued.]

At Patna, Wednesday, November 20th, 1918.

PRESENT:

Sir FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Sahibzada APTAS AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA.

Mr. W. M. HALEY, C.B.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur KRISHNA SAHAL.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).

The Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. CAMPBELL.

Written Statement.

391. The special interests of backward classes are mentioned as being included in the Reference to the Committee.

392. What I set out to prove is that the population of the Chota Nagpur Division must all be classed as backward.

AREA INCLUDED.

393. I. The area with which I propose to deal is the Chota Nagpur Division and the District of the Santal Parganas, in the Bhagalpur Division.

DISTRICTS AND POPULATION.

394. II. The following are the Districts and the population of each within the area specified above:—

Hazaribagh	1,298,609
Ranchi	1,387,516
Palamau	689,267
Singbhum	684,394
Manbhum	1,547,576
Santal Parganas	1,882,973
TOTAL	7,498,335

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION.

395. III. The total population is practically seven and a half millions. It has been divided into the following categories, precedence being accorded to numerical superiority.

(1) Aborigines	2,522,897
(2) Hindus	2,391,810
(3) Semi-Hinduized aborigines	1,867,513
(4) Mahomedans	609,216
(5) Christians	206,899
TOTAL	7,498,335

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ON THE ABOVE SECTIONS.

396. IV. (1) *Aborigines*.—From the above Table, given on the authority of Census Report for 1913, it will be seen that Aborigines constitute the most numerous Section of the population. In language, religion and social customs they are a people by themselves, having nothing in common with Hindus. They are agriculturists and are found in smaller or larger numbers in all the Districts of our area. The aborigines are not homogeneous. They embrace a large number of tribes speaking different languages with differing social customs. These

form an impassable barrier between the various tribes rendering each tribe exclusive.

397. (2) *Hindus*.—These account for a trifle less than one-third of the whole. They are mainly agriculturists, but they supply the traders, money lenders, landholders, clerks and the learned professions generally. The Brahman caste in our area does not occupy the position he does in other parts of the Province.

398. (3) *Semi-Hinduized Aborigines*.—These are the "Untouchables" of the higher Hindu castes. They number almost 2 millions and are aborigines who have taken on a veneer of Hinduism. They are the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the Hindus. They are without the pale of Hinduism and are only asserted to be Hindus when it is necessary to swell the Hindu ranks when some political purpose is in view.

399. (4) *Mohamadans*.—These number a little over half a million and about half of the number belong to the Jolaha section: The Jolahas are not far removed from the non-Hindu portion of the community.

400. (5) *Christians*.—These constitute one thirty-seventh of the entire population and are mainly of aboriginal extraction and follow agriculture.

LITERACY IN A VERNACULAR.

401. Taking the whole population with which we are dealing the number of literates in a vernacular of 20 years of age and upwards is—

Males	147,352
Females	6,520
TOTAL	153,872

LITERACY IN ENGLISH.

402. V. (1) With regard to persons of 20 years of age and upwards who are literate in English it will be suggestive to take District by District.

	Males.	Females.
Hazaribagh	1,844	144
Ranchi	2,560	150
Palamau	699	155
Singbhum	1,479	162
Manbhum	4,185	406
Santal Parganas	2,801	201
TOTAL	13,568	1,218

Out of a population of 5,454,232.

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Dr. CAMPBELL.

[Continued.]

(2) Taking the figures for animistic aborigines of 20 years of age and upwards District by District.

	Males.	Females.
Santal Parganas	63	..
Hazaribagh	7	..
Ranchi	58	4
Palamu	2	..
Manbhum	11	..
Singhbhum	39	..
TOTAL	180	4

Out of a population of 2,044,123 animistic aborigines.

The Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. Campbell, called and examined.

407. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a missionary and had resided in Chota Nagpur since 1872. He thus had special knowledge of the aboriginals and considered the Chota Nagpur population was backward and that it was impossible to introduce an electoral system. He considered that no man who had not obtained a knowledge of English could understand political business, though he would favour speeches in Council being allowed in the vernacular and was in favour of business being transacted in the Rural Boards, District Boards and Municipalities, etc., in the vernacular. Even, however, if the difficulties about knowledge of English were removed, he considered it would still be impossible to frame an electorate for the Chota Nagpur Division, where there were 27 living languages and six communities, namely, aboriginals 2½ millions, Hindus 2,381,000 semi-Hindus 1,867,000, Muhammadans 509,000 and Christians 206,000. He thought it would be possible to introduce a suitable electoral system in Ranchi town, but not in Hazaribagh.

408. Amongst the aboriginals there was a system of headmen, except where they were Hinduized or semi-Hinduized. He did not think it could be said that these headmen whose office was hereditary were representative of the aboriginals in the fullest sense of the term, because the villages were so very small.

409. There were no elected panchayats in the villages, but so far as he knew no one interested in a subject which was being discussed would be refused. There was no system of urban panchayats.

410. In his opinion the Christian community was entitled to representation, and he would favour election. The community was homogeneous, and it was much better educated than other similar classes. It was very difficult to suggest a suitable franchise, but he thought the head of the family might be given a vote. He thought the middle school examination was too high a franchise. (He would have a householders' qualification with a rent of so much, so that every person holding land and paying above a certain amount of rent should have a vote. He thought the Indian Christians should have votes because minorities required special protection.) The difficulty about fixing a general rent qualification in Chota Nagpur was that the representatives would be drawn from the Hindu community, who had little sympathy with other communities.

411. He thought it desirable to educate the classes in whom he was interested by giving them representation on the District Boards and other local bodies in which the business should be transacted in the vernacular. His position was that he would be prepared for a system of election among Indian Christians in the event of the system being applied in the case of the other non-Christian aboriginals. He would be prepared to accept the introduction of an electoral system into the Division based on rent paying capacity and other qualifications.

412. (Mr. Banerjee.) Ranchi town was an exception to his general proposition that an electoral system could not be introduced in the Chota Nagpur Division. The bulk of the boys attending the College at Hazaribagh

LANGUAGES.

403. VI. There are 26 living languages in use in the area under review.

SUMMING UP.

404. VII. Taking into consideration the facts as I have stated them, fairly accurate I trust, it will be evident that conditions for an intelligent electorate do not exist.

405. Among the literates in English are included all Indian Government servants employed in the Division. I have no means of ascertaining their number, but I should estimate that half at least belong to this class and have mainly come in from other Districts.

406. English is the only language possible for political purposes and as only an infinitesimal number of the people have any knowledge of it there does not seem to be any basis for an intelligent electorate.

belonged to the Bengali community, and were not typical of the indigenous population. The percentage of literacy among the Hindus was two per cent. of the total.

413. He had compiled a list of untouchable castes. When it was proposed to separate these non-Hindus from Hindus at the last Census, an objection was raised because it would have reduced the number of the Hindu community. The children of the lower castes were not allowed to enter a school in which higher caste children were taught. He was glad to hear that neither of the Hindu members of the Committee would object to members of the lower castes sitting with them, but this was not in accordance with his experience.

414. He did not think there was any substantial Indian Christian population in the province apart from the aboriginals, but if there were they should be included in the electorate.

415. (Mr. Hogg.) In his opinion the area to which he referred should be administered by the Head of the Province. If that was not accepted, then the aboriginals should have one or two representatives. For instance, there were a million Santals and seven or eight hundred thousand Mundas. If possible, he would have them represented by members of their own communities, but he was afraid that no suitable man would be available. He was in favour of these people, including semi-Hinduized aboriginals, being represented by the District Magistrate.

416. (Mr. Hailey.) If the Santal Parganas were entirely excluded from the scheme his difficulty with regard to finding adequate representatives would not disappear, because the other parts of Chota Nagpur were less educated than the Santal Parganas. The following were the figures of persons literate in English of 21 years of age and upwards:—

In Hazaribagh	1,841
„ Ranchi	2,560
„ Singhbhum	1,497
„ Manbhum	4,185
„ Santal Parganas	2,801

417. It might be true that income-tax payers were more numerous in Chota Nagpur than Orissa.

418. (Mr. Sahas.) Although the average literacy in English for Bihar was only 59, whereas in Chota Nagpur it was 86, he still adhered to the view that there was no case for giving election to the Chota Nagpur Division. If Manbhum was the second district in the province in point of literacy, parts of it might be suitable for an electoral system, but he had not considered whether that district, apart from the other districts of the Division, was ready for the franchise.

419. As regards the position of the untouchables in Bihar, he referred to a protest sent to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council by the Maharaja of Darbhanga and 9,000 others.

420. (Mr. McPherson.) There were not many headmen in the Santal Parganas paying a rent of Rs. 16. He was prepared to give the franchise to headmen who paid less as it was necessary to maintain their position within the village.

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Mr. MAZHUR-UL-HAQ.

[Continued.]

The Hon'ble Mr. MAZHUR-UL-HAQ.

Written Statement.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Franchise and Constituency.

421. (1) I have had the advantage of perusing Mr. Hubback's report to the Government of Bihar and Orissa and I accept his estimate of the number of voters as approximately correct. I agree with him as to the qualifications of voters to the Local Council except that the following should be added:—

- (a) He who pays a license tax of Rs. 20 per annum in respect of a trade or dealing in industry.
 (b) He who pays an income tax in the rural area.
 (c) All legal practitioners.

In my opinion any increase in the number of electors over the figures of Mr. Hubback will result in the breakdown of the machinery which will stultify the object of the reforms.

422. (2) Personally I do not agree with the principles of special electorates, either for the Mahomedans or for any other minorities, but as this principle has been conceded, though reluctantly, by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, there is no help but to recognise it. However, I see no reason whatever to extend this harmful principle to any other community than the Mahomedans. It is desirable in the interests of future generations to keep it down as much as possible. (Hence I do not see the necessity of giving any separate electorate to the Landholders of large estates. They by no means form a distinct class in the province of Bihar and Orissa, such as the *Taluqdars* of Oudh and the *Jagirdars* of Sindh) I believe there are not more than a dozen of old aristocratic houses which may be differentiated from the landholders in general. The rest merge gradually into small landlords without any line of demarcation. In my opinion it is not justifiable to divide the landlords into two different sections by a purely arbitrary line of certain fixed incomes.

423. (3) In the case of the so-called domiciled Bengalees, they have already secured seats in the Local Council by general competition and I do not think that it would be for the good of the Province to keep them aloof from the rest of the population. For better or worse they have cast their lot with the people of Bihar and Orissa and they must participate in all their activities.

424. (4) In the backward state of the Province certain special interests should be represented such as the Aborigines, Depressed classes and Indian Christians. They should be represented by nomination but their representatives must come from their own classes and not from outsiders such as Europeans, Brahmins, etc.

425. (5) There remain three more special interests and their representation should be secured by election. These are Mining, Planting and the University.

426. (6) Taking the compromise arrived at Lucknow in 1916, between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, as my basis, I propose the following scheme:—

The total number of members for the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council provided for by the Congress-League Scheme, treating the Province as a major province should be 125 of whom 45 should be elected and 80 nominated.

<i>Ex-officio</i>	13
Governor	1
Members of Executive Council	2
Secretaries	6
Heads of Departments	3
Vice-Chancellor	1
Nominated non-officials	12
Experts	2
Aborigines	2
VOL. I	

Depressed classes	2
Indian Christians	1
General	5
TOTAL	25

Elected—	
Planters	1
Mining	2
University	2
Rural non-Mahomedans	51
Urban ditto	19
Rural Mahomedans	17
Urban ditto	8
TOTAL	100

* A detailed statement of the elected members from the rural and urban areas is given in Appendix I.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

427. (7) Although the non-official members of the Imperial Council have agreed to paragraph 274 of the Report of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy, as to the strength of the Legislative Assembly, in my opinion to make it thoroughly representative of all classes the number should be 150 as adopted in the Congress-League Scheme. Four-fifths of which should be elected by the method of direct election as obtaining now in the Mahomedan electorates. Care should be taken that the franchise should be sufficiently high so that no constituency should contain more than 5,000 voters. Constituencies with larger numbers would become positively unwieldy and unmanageable.

428. (8) No figures are available to enable me to allot seats to different provinces but I give the following scheme as a tentative one which may be modified by a consideration of the actual figures:—

Universities	7	
Chambers of Commerce	4	
Constituency.		
	Non-Mahomedans.	Mahomedans.
Bengal	12	8
Bombay	12	5
Madras	12	4
Bihar and Orissa	8	4
United Provinces	10	6
Punjab	6	8
Central Provinces and Berar	5	2
Burma	2	1
Assam	1	1
Delhi	1	1
TOTAL	69	40

429. (9) The remaining 30 members are to be nominated officials and non-officials.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

430. (10) I am strongly of opinion that a Council of State should not find a place in the constitution of India. But if the Council be insisted upon, I would suggest that the constituencies for the members should consist of elected members of both the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Council.

431. (11) As regards special constituencies, Muhammadans and Landed members should be elected by the Assembly and the Council as suggested above.

:10 November 1918.]

MR. MAZHUR-UL-HAQ.

[Continued.]

APPENDIX I.

Constituency.	RURAL.				URBAN.				REMARKS.
	Number of Non-Muham-madan Ele-ctors.	Number of Non-Muham-madan mem-bers.	Number of Muham-madan Ele-ctors.	Number of Muham-madan mem-bers.	Number of Non-Muham-madan Ele-ctors.	Number of Non-Muham-madan mem-bers.	Number of Muham-madan Ele-ctors.	Number of Muham-madan mem-bers.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PATNA DIVISION.									
Patna	38,000	4	8,000	2	..	1	..	..
Gaya	54,000	6	6,000	2	..	1	..	..
Shehabad	42,000	4	3,000	1	..	1	..	..
PATNA DIVISION (EXCLUDING PATNA CITY.)	135,000	14	17,000	5	15,000	3	9,300	3	
PATNA CITY									
	..	..	..	..	6,500	2	..	..
TIRHUT DIVISION.									
Muzaffarpur	33,000	4	6,000	2	..	1	..	..
Saran	29,000	3	4,000	1	..	1	..	..
Champaran	16,000	2	3,000	1	..	1	..	..
Darbhanga	33,000	4	5,000	2	..	1	..	..
TIRHUT DIVISION	111,000	13	17,000	6	17,000	4	6,000	2	
BHAGALPUR DIVISION.									
Santal Parganas . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Bhagalpur	36,000	4	4,000	1	..	2	..	..
Monghyr	35,000	4	4,000	1	..	1	..	..
Furness	13,000	2	10,000	2	..	1	..	..
BHAGALPUR DIVISION	84,000	10	18,000	4	13,500	5	4,500	2	
CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION.									
Ranchi	11,500	1	500	..	..	1	..	..
Hazratibagh	21,500	2	2,500	1	..	..	..	..
Palamu	14,000	2	1,000	..	..	1	..	..
Manbhum	13,000	1	1,000	..	..	..	..	..
Singbhum	8,000	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION	68,000	7	5,000	1	6,000	3	1,000	..	Urban Muham-madan 1.
ORISSA DIVISION.									
Cuttack	24,000	3	1,000	..	..	1	..	..
Balasore	12,500	1	500	..	..	..	..	..
Puri	16,500	2	500	..	..	1	..	..
Angul . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sambalpur	6,000	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
ORISSA DIVISION	59,000	7	2,000	..	11,000	2	2,000	..	

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haq, called and examined.

432. (Sir Frank Sly.) He represented the Muhammadan interest in Bihar on the Imperial Council and was by profession a barrister.

433. By 'persons who paid a license tax of Rs. 20 a year in respect of trade' he meant people who dealt in kerosine oil, and so on. His personal experience as Vice-Chairman of the Chapra Municipality showed that such a tax was paid. Excise licenses would also be included. Such persons contributed to the maintenance of Government and were influential.

434. He did not think that all mukhtears of the old school would be included in the franchise as matriculates.

435. He accepted communal representation for Muhammadans as a settled fact. He had always been against it in principle.

436. He would deprive the landholders of their communal representation. In his opinion there were very few, say 8 or 9 historical zamindar families in the province. He would not accept the alternative of extending this electorate so as to include a much larger body of landholders.

437. There was need for separate representation of the depressed classes, for instance the Chamars. He had no objection to nomination.

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Mr. MAHJUB-UL-HAQ.

[Continued.]

438. The number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the province was small, and their interests were not sufficiently great to justify separate representation.
439. He contemplated single member constituencies. For instance, Patna district would be divided into four different rural electorates.
440. Patna City was of sufficient importance to have a separate member. He provided one urban member in other cases for the towns of each district. He welcomed the proposal to give a separate member to other large towns such as Gaya or Bhagalpur.
441. The present system of indirect election to the Imperial Council was not representation at all because the members of the Provincial Council could not properly be regarded as were representatives of the people.
442. He admitted communal representation in the case of the Muhammadans and objected to it in the case of the landholders, because in the latter case there was no compromise. In the case of the Muhammadans the compromise had been accepted by the whole of India. He was certain that it would not break down although it meant that the Muhammadan vote was over-weighted.
443. (Mr. Hailey.) If the principle of communal representation was accepted he thought the Muhammadan vote should be weighted to the extent proposed. He did not think that this compromise would break down as in the case of the compromise regarding the Muhammadan representation under the United Provinces Municipal Act. He accepted the formula as a tentative measure.
444. The urban vote was over-weighted at the expense of the rural vote, because in the former case the voters were better educated. He recommended an average of about 4,000 voters in the urban non-Muhammadan electorates.
445. (Mr. Hogg.) The aboriginal and depressed classes should be represented by members of their own community. He could not say if suitable men were available.
446. He had no accurate idea of the number of Europeans outside the mining and planting communities.
447. (Mr. Sastri.) Personal experience had convinced him that non-official agency could be used in running the elections. When he was a polling officer at a municipal election, he had between 7 A.M. and 6 P.M. polled about 3,000 votes. Most of the voters were illiterate and the voting was not done by ballot. He favoured the ballot as being easier and quicker.
448. As regards the Indian Legislative Assembly he would divide Bihar and Orissa into 12 constituencies. He would not insist on candidates being qualified by residence in their constituencies, but would take the best men available.
449. (Mr. Bannerjee.) He was against the landlords' separate electorate, but if it had to come he would lower the franchise.
450. He thought it impracticable to arrange for direct elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly by fixing the qualifications so as to secure a fairly wide electorate. If the electorate consisted of more than 5,000 it would become unwieldy.
451. He proposed 19 urban electorates. He lumped the minor municipalities in sub-divisions with the larger municipalities at head quarters. He saw no conflict of interests between them.
452. He would not give a separate electorate to the domiciled Bengalis. Assuming that the proportion of Bengali speakers to the total population was 6 per cent. he considered 3 members out of 44 more than sufficient even when compared with other communities.
453. (Mr. Aftab.) If it was in his discretion he would put an end to the Congress League Concordat as soon as possible. He only accepted it for so long as he was forced to.
454. If a Council of State was necessary he would give a third of the seats to Muhammadans.
455. As regards qualifications for candidates he would only require them to reside somewhere in the province.
456. (Mr. Saha.) Legal practitioners should be defined as in the Act.
457. It was monstrous to give 7 seats to 321 landlords. He would lower the franchise so as to include nearly all the landlords in the province.
458. It was probable that the Bengali speaking tracts would return Bengalees.
459. He was confident that there would be no difficulty in finding reliable non-officials to assist at the elections.
460. (Mr. McPherson.) If several of the large towns were constituted into separate constituencies, he would amalgamate smaller municipalities in the districts with the rural electorates.
461. Under his proposals the Patna Division received more than twice the number of seats allowed to the Orissa Division although the populations were approximately the same. He had no definite proposal for compensating Orissas for this grievance.

The Hon'ble Babu PURNENDU NARAYAN SINHA.

Written Statement.

PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE TO POPULATION.

462. The India Government Resolution dated the 16th May, 1918, on Local Self-Government, says:—

"So far as information is at present available, it would appear that the average electorate in Municipalities in India represents some 6 per cent. of the population and the electorate in District Boards some 5 per cent. It is recognised that a full elective system analogous to that which obtains in the West (such as the Municipal franchise in England which is understood to include some 16 per cent. of the population concerned) cannot be immediately or universally applied, but it should be regarded as the end to be kept in view and worked up to." (Para. 6.)

463. The Resolution relates to franchise for local bodies, but the underlying principle may be generally accepted for purposes of election to provincial legislatures.

464. In deciding the percentage of electorates to population, it is necessary to consider the rural population and the town population separately.

The entire population of the Province of Bihar and Orissa is 34,490,684. The entire town population of the Province is 1,187,759 (B. & O. Gazette, 24 Oct., 1917). As the two figures are not of quite the same period, we may roughly take the rural population to be 33,302,325.

We may raise the average percentage of 6 for the rural population to 2 per cent., and we get the figure of 666,046.

And if we keep the percentage of 6 for the town population, we get 72,262 as the strength of the Municipal electorate.

Adding the two figures we get 738,308.

Two per cent. of the population gives the figure of 689,300 which is a little below the above figure.

We may take this to be the percentage of our Province, viz., 2 per cent. for the rural population and 6 per cent. for the urban population. This must be deemed to be a moderate percentage to begin with. Considering the fact that the machinery for counting votes will have to be brought into existence for the first time, with considerable difficulty, we must accept this percentage for the present. This only gives us a rough idea, for we cannot apply a percentage of 2 to every rural population nor a percentage of 6 to every urban population. But they are indicators. The following are instances in point.

In Patna Division, the entire population is 5,634,789. Two per cent. of that population is 112,694. But the Local Board electorate is already 130,944, which is a little over 2 per cent.

Similarly the total Municipal population of the Patna Division is 405,298 (B. & O. Gazette, 24 Oct., 1917).

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Babu PURNENDU NARAYAN SINHA.

[Continued.

At 6 per cent. the total electorate will come to 24,212. On a franchise 1½ rupees Municipal rate, the electorate will come to 31,340 and on a franchise of 3 rupees rate 20,361. We have therefore to accept either 3 rupees rate or something near it. In this way the qualification of voters has to be found out for each division, with reference to the figures given in the official table.

STRENGTH OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

465. Under the Congress Resolution, the strength of the Legislative Council should be in each major Province 125, of whom four-fifths should be elected and one-fifth nominated. The Province of Bihar and Orissa is a Major Province and we must have therefore 125 members. According to the Congress proportion, 100 should be elected and 25 nominated. According to the Official Scheme, the number required is 30. The details are given below:—

The Governor	1
Executive Councillors	2
Secretaries	6
Commissioners	5
Heads of Departments	3
Vice-Chancellor Patna University	1
General	3
Domiciled	2
Anglo-Indian	1
Indian Christian	1
Aboriginals	2
Depressed classes	1
Experts	2
	30

466. Considering the number of Minority Communities and the want of communal representation except for Mahommadans, and the evident fairness of the details, I am not prepared to dissent from this figure.

467. I would therefore have 95 elected and thirty nominated. Practically the nomination in the case of the Domiciled, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian populations should come through representative Associations and it will be a case of indirect election as in the case of the Planting and Mining interests.

CONSTITUENCIES.

468. I propose the following Constituencies for this Province:—

- I. Rural.
- II. Urban.
- III. Landlords.
- IV. University.
- V. Mining.
- VI. Planting.
- VII. Industrial and Educational.

LANDLORDS.

469. A special electorate is conceded in favour of the Landlords, in consideration of their special position as a class in the Province and also in consideration of the fact that it is undesirable to have a clash with them in the general electorate. It must be understood however that the Landlords will not interfere with the general election, under any circumstance.

470. At present the special electorate of the Landlords does not consist I believe of even three hundred voters. Yet they have seven votes in the Legislative Council. This is unfair both to the Landlords and to the general public. (In all fairness, the franchise should be extended, to make a decent electorate for an important special interest. I therefore propose that those that pay a Road Cess of Rs. 125 a year or more should be included in the special constituency. This will guarantee an annual income of about Rs. 2,000 a year. The Government Revenue is not a sure criterion of income and besides it excludes the holders of Revenue free estates. People having an income up to Rs. 5,000 may have the option

of waiving their right under the special electorate and coming under the general electorate, but those that have an income of Rs. 5,000 or more shall not have this option.)

MAHOMMADANS.

471. We are bound to give under the Lucknow compact 25 per cent. of the elected whole to the Mahommadans. This gives them 24 out of 95. This should be placed entirely under Rural and Urban, or be distributed under other heads, at the option of the Mahommadans.

INDUSTRIAL AND EDUCATIONAL.

472. Leaving out the special interests under the heads of Landlords, University, Mining and Planting, we have got Rural and Urban electorates. Now these electorates go by property standard, such as Rent, Road Cess, Chowkidari Tax or Municipal Rate. They do not include a large number of men, who may be brought under the head of Industrial and Educational. They do not include Income Tax Assessee, Tradesmen, Labourers, Graduates, not registered in the University, Under-Graduates, Matrikulates, Teachers, Pandits, Moulvis, and men who have received some sort of technical or special education. The problem of the unemployed has to be solved with regard to a large portion of people coming under this head. They are the people most interested in the creation of new industries and in the industrial future of the Province. The potencies of an industrial development are in them. They are deeply concerned with our educational policy and with the spread of education in all possible channels. The constituency will consist of people paying income tax upon a certain amount of income, and of people having a certain educational standard. This class will exclude men already registered under some other constituency and students.

DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS BY ELECTION.

473. We have got the total number of 95. Out of this 24 go to Mahommadans. Then seven should go to Landlords, 2 to Mining, 1 to Planting and 5 to University. This leaves a balance of 59 seats to be distributed under the 1st, 2nd and 7th heads. The official scheme of rural distribution is not open to any objection. It is based upon rational data. I accept the same. This gives 29 distributed as follows:—Patna 2, Gaya 2, Shahabad 2, Saran 2, Champaran 2, Mozaffarpore 2, Darbhanga 2, Monghyr 2, Bhagalpur 2, Purnea 1, Santhal Parganah 1, Cuttack 2, Balasore 1, Puri 1, Sambalpur 1, Angul 1, Hazaribagh 1, Palamu and Singhbhum 1 and Manbhum 1.

474. Then for urban distribution of seats, I propose as follows:—

Patna City Municipality	1
Municipalities in Patna other than the City Municipality	1
Gaya Town	1
Other Gaya Municipalities	1
Shahabad do.	1
Saran do.	1
Champaran do.	1
Mozaffarpore do.	1
Darbhanga do.	1
Monghyr do.	1
Bhagalpore Town do.	1
Other Bhagalpur Municipalities	1
Purnea do.	1
Santhal Parganah do.	1
Cuttack do.	1
Balasore do.	1
Puri do.	1
Hazaribagh do.	1
Ranchi do.	1
Palamu do.	1
Manbhum do.	1
Singhbhum do.	1

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Babu PURNENDU NARAYAN SINHA.

[Continued.]

475. Patna City has got a population of 136,153, Gaya Town a population of 70,423 and Bhagalpur Town a population of 74,349. I have therefore given one seat to each of these towns.

476. The balance of seven seats I give under the head of Industrial and Educational.

I. Rural	29
II. Urban	20
III. Landlords	7
IV. University	5
V. Mining	2
VI. Planting	1
VII. Industrial and Educational	7
VIII. Mohammadans	24
	95

478. I place now the figures of election under each Province:—

✓ Bengal	20
Bombay	20
Madras	20
United Provinces	15
Bihar and Orissa	15
Punjab	13
Central Provinces	9
Burma	5
Assam	2
Delhi	1
	120

479. In the Province of Bihar and Orissa, the 15 seats should be divided as follows:—Mahommadans 5, Landlords 2 and General 8.

480. The Mahommadans and Landlords will come by special electorate as now. The general election will be made as now by the non-official members of the Provincial Council, excluding Mahommadans and Landlords. Till the Provincial electorates are properly formed, and till they get experience, no other form of election is possible for the present.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

477. We want 150 Members for the Indian Legislative Assembly. Out of this 120 should be elected and 30 nominated.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha, called and examined.

481. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a vakil of the Patna High Court and the representative of the municipalities of the Patna Division in the provincial Council.

482. He proposed a Council of 125 because that was the figure proposed by the Congress-League.

483. In the domiciled community he would include others besides Bengalis. In his personal opinion there should be one Bengali for each of the 5 divisions. The central association of the domiciled Bengalis in the province was at Bankipur. Orissa had a separate association.

484. The Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians had no association. He thought that election should only be made by an association when the association was really representative.

485. As regards the landlords' electorate he would base it on a fairly broad franchise so as to include the majority of the landlords in the province, that is to say all men of a respectable income and a reasonable status.

486. He provided an industrial and educational electorate to meet the difficulty of the Hindu joint family system which made it possible that such persons might not be qualified under the property qualification and also to meet the case of persons who had no permanent town residence but carried on business in the town. The educational standard he proposed was the matriculation examination. For pandits and maulvis it should be a standard recognised by Government. He proposed a joint industrial and educational electorate not because there was community of interest between them but in order that the educated classes should be brought into touch with and should influence the trading community.

487. He accepted the Congress-League formula for Muhammadan representation.

488. He considered no towns other than Patna, Bhagalpur, and Gaya, as worthy of a separate constituency.

489. (Mr. A/fab.) He had no objection to the presence of "untouchables" in the Council. There was a growing feeling on this subject in accordance with his own ideas and he did not think his fellow members would object either.

490. He gave no pledge regarding the Bengali domiciled community when he stood as a candidate for the Council.

491. (Mr. Banerjee.) He had been President of the Bengali Settlers' Association. He had been in the province for about 40 years, and did not regard himself as a foreigner; he was on intimate terms with the Biharis.

This was the general feeling of his community. At present the domiciled Bengalis held 3 seats out of 44.

(492. He would like 5 seats for the community. This should be effected by plural constituencies or by having Bengalis elected by general electorates. He was against special electorates and would prefer nomination. Bengali candidates would be returned for Manbhūm. In Purnea they would have a fair chance and also in Bhagalpur. The other two of his 5 seats should be filled by nomination after consulting the Bengal Settlers' Association and the corresponding association in Orissa. The present nominated member had not given satisfaction to his community.)

493. He had included the 5 commissioners of divisions each to represent his own division. Personally he would like to abolish the post of commissioner altogether. He would agree to the number of Commissioners in the Council being reduced to 3.

494. He did not wish to press the claims of the depressed classes. There were however a substantial number of Domes in North Bihar.

495. The university candidates should be returned by the registered graduates, including females of whom there were at present possibly 3 or 4. He would however include them even if they were more numerous. The senate and the registered graduates might vote together.

496. He only proposed that the industrial and educational interests should be combined as a temporary measure.

497. He would prefer the use of non-official agency at the elections if competent men could be found. It made much difference whether the voting was to be secret or open.

498. (Mr. Sastri.) He had not given details with regard to the domiciled Bengali community in his printed memorandum because he did not represent their interests. He had not specially debarred himself from acting on behalf of that community.

499. (Mr. Sahai.) He resigned the Bengali Settlers' Association after being elected to the Council. He had not received a communication from the community about that time asking him to espouse their cause. It was not usual for a Bengali to be returned for the Patna Municipalities where most of the voters were Biharis. This however showed that Bengalis had a chance in all constituencies.

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BABU PURNANU NARAYAN SINGH.

[Continued.]

500. If the landlords were given a special electorate they must be excluded from the general electorates, nor must they be allowed to run their own candidates in those electorates. He would accept a cess payment qualification corresponding to Rs. 5,000 income.

501. The number of seats which he recommended for the urban constituencies had not been fixed after considering the numbers of voters in the constituencies. If it was shown that the numbers were very disproportionate he would alter his proposals.

THE ORISSA ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement.

1. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—FRANCHISE.

502. (1) That in the Provincial Legislative Council the qualification of a voter should be on the basis of Education and property as shown below.

Education.—Persons who have passed the Middle Vernacular or Middle English Examination or any examinations higher in standard than those stated above and recognized by Government. Title-holders in any public examination in any oriental classic.

Property.—Zemindars, tenure-holders and tenants paying a revenue or rent of not less than Rs. 16 and in the case of persons holding revenue-free lands paying a cess of rupee one only.

Persons living in the municipal areas paying a tax of not less than Rs. 3 and all persons paying an income-tax under the Income-Tax Act.

NOTE.—Every voter should not be below the age of 21 and should be of sound mind.

2. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—CONSTITUTION.

503. (1) That the number of members in the Provincial Legislative Council should not be less than 100 (nominated officials 20 and elected non-officials 80) and the

share of Orissa should be 23 (excluding the nominated officials) which may be distributed as follows:—

Urban non-Muhammadans	8
Rural non-Muhammadans	12
Urban Muhammadans	1
Rural Muhammadans	2
Landholders	2

NOTE.—The Association is of opinion that the urban and rural non-Muhammadans should include persons domiciled in the Province and Native Christians and there is no necessity for any separate election from amongst them.

(2) That the number of members in the Indian Legislative Council should be 150 instead of 100 as suggested in the report.

(3) The Association is not in favour of formation of a State Council.

The Association ventures to bring to the notice of the Committee that as regards the creation of a Sub-Province so far as Orissa is concerned as suggested in paragraph 246 of the Report, the Association proposes that the Oriya-speaking tracts be brought under one administration and formed into a Sub-Province and be placed under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University and Calcutta High Court.

Babu Suresh Chandra Chakravarti, representing the Orissa Association, called and examined.

504. (*Sir Frenck Sty.*) His Association represented all communities in Orissa. It contained about 100 members. There were no branches. There was a subscription of Rs. 2 a year.

505. His Association proposed that the Middle School Examination should be taken as the educational standard. He could not say if Government had kept any authoritative record of students who had passed the examination but it could be arranged for.

506. Out of the 80 seats reserved for elected candidates he proposed to give 25 to Orissa. They were a different people and their importance represented one quarter of the importance of Bihar and Orissa. He would accept 20 instead of 25 however. There was a higher proportion of educated persons in Orissa. Puri was a centre of Sanskrit learning. Jajpur also had been a celebrated seat of learning.

507. The only reason why he proposed two seats for the landlords of Orissa was that they were accustomed to receive separate treatment. Under the present arrangement, there were about fifty voters for this electorate in Orissa, where the land revenue settlement was temporary and the standard of revenue paid was higher.

508. He proposed 150 members for the Indian Legislative Assembly because that was the number proposed in the Congress-League Scheme.

509. (*Mr. Hailey.*) It might be true that they are fewer Income Tax assesses and fewer raiyati voters in Orissa than in Chota Nagpur, but Orissa should be regarded equivalent to two Commissioners' divisions.

510. (*Mr. Hogg.*) He had been instructed to oppose claims for separate representation for all communities except Muhammadans. It never occurred to the Association that Europeans needed separate representation.

511. (*Mr. Soetri.*) His Association included many Bengalis but the Bengalis had a separate Association of their own. He himself was a Bengali who had long been settled in Orissa.

512. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) If he was assured of twenty seats for Orissa he would not demand two seats for the Orissa landholders' electorate. The interests of the landholders, big and small, in Orissa were identical; they were already well represented in the general electorate. Three seats were claimed for the Muhammadan population although they numbered only about 48,000 out of a total population of a little over five millions.

513. (*Mr. Affab.*) His Association accepted the Congress-League formula for Muhammadan representation for Bihar and Orissa as a whole.

514. (*Mr. Sahas.*) In laying claim to 25 seats for Orissa they had considered the requirements of other parts of the Province.

515. They would not include under-raiyats in the tenants electorate.

516. (*Mr. McPherson.*) The big landholders formed a distinct class.

517. His own family had been settled in Orissa for about seventy years. Some of the Bengalis claimed to have been there for about three hundred years.

518. He had not attempted to distribute the 25 seats amongst the districts of Orissa.

The Hon'ble SAJIYD NURUL HASAN.

Written Statement.

FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

519. (4) The following classes of persons should be given the right of voting provided they have attained the

age of 21 years and are not students of any College or School:—

(1) All persons holding land and paying a cess of Rs. 3 per annum. (Refers both to rural and urban areas.)

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[Continued.]

It is to be noted that in the class mentioned above should be included all proprietors, tenants of all classes including tenure-holders, under tenure-holders, raiyats, under-raiyats, and persons holding properties as trustees, e.g., Motawallis of Waqf properties.

I would further suggest that in areas where a lower standard, if adopted, will not make the number of voters much more than 2 per cent. of the total population and make the scheme unworkable, a lower standard may be adopted.

- (2) All persons paying Income-tax. (Refers both to rural and urban areas.)
- (3) All persons not coming under classes 1 and 2 but paying a Chaukidari tax of Rs. 3 per annum. (Refers both to rural and urban areas.)
- (4) All persons who have passed the Matriculation or Entrance Examination of any of the Indian Universities or any other equivalent examination of any of the Indian Universities or of any of the Universities of Great Britain or Ireland and are not otherwise disqualified. (Refers both to rural and urban areas.)
- (5) All Maulavis and Pandits who have passed a Final Examination from any of the Madrassas or other Institution recognized by the Government. (Refers both to rural and urban areas.)
- (6) All Title-holders from the Government. (Refers both to rural and urban areas.)
- (7) All Honorary Magistrates. (Refers both to rural and urban areas.)
- (8) All certificated Mukhtars.
- (9) All Barristers.

520. (B) In the case of voters of the Imperial Council the standard of pecuniary and educational qualifications should be made higher than that required for the Provincial. By doing so we shall have direct representation; at the same time we shall be able to avoid breakdown.

This principle is being followed in the existing system of the Moslem electorate.

CLASSIFICATION OF ELECTORATES.

521. 1. (A) The following communities should have special electorates:—

- (1) Moslem community in all the Provinces.
- (2) The Sikhs in the Punjab only.

522. (B) There should be separate electorate representing the following special interests:—

- (1) Mining interests.
- (2) Planters' interests.
- (3) The Chamber of Commerce
- (4) The Universities.

523. (C) General electorate or electorates for non-Moslems.

In the Province of Bihar and Orissa. Special electorates described under head (A) should be confined to 1 only, and the separate electorates representing special interests described under head (B) should be confined to 1, 2 and 4.

As to the landlords, in my opinion there is no need for a separate electorate inasmuch as in the general electorate as well as the Muhammadan electorate the majority of the voters will be from the class of tenants and proprietors who will naturally support the landlords. However if the landlords insist upon having a separate electorate of their own, I have no objection to separate electorate being given to them, as this will avoid bad feeling and unnecessary dispute. Separate electorate can be claimed by landlords, as representing a special interest and not for a particular community and therefore if separate electorate is given to them, it should be classed under head (B). In case a separate electorate be given to landlords, I would suggest that the standard of qualification should be much lower than that existing at present so that the representation of this interest may be on as broad a basis as possible and may include ordinary landlords also, and the privilege may not be confined to the few big landlords.

It is the collective interest of the landlords that has to be protected in the Council and not of the few. The landlords paying a cess of at least Rs. 50 should be qualified as voters.

Then there are certain backward classes such as Domes, Chamars, Dusadhs, etc., in our Province and other backward and untouchable classes of people in the other Provinces. In the case of such classes it is impracticable to fix any minority or educational qualification of voters inasmuch as they as a class have practically no education and no property worth the name. In order that the interest of such persons may be protected I would suggest some seats in proportion to their number be set apart to be given by nomination.

As to the domiciled community my idea is that they without any prejudice to their interest can participate in the general electorate with the other Hindus. That they will not suffer in the general electorate is clear from the fact that even at present, there are two Bengali members in our Provincial Council returned by the general electorate, viz., the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Purmendu Narayan Sinha and the Hon'ble Sharat Chandra Sen. Further giving them separate electorate will be carrying the principle of separate electorate too far. Then again there will be a great practical difficulty in preparing a list of voters for this community.

If the domiciled community be very much insistent for having a separate representation then some seats may be reserved for them by nomination. I suggest the following scheme as to the constitution of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa:—

Total strength	125
Ex-officio and nominated Officials:—	
The Governor	1
Executive Councillors	2
Secretaries	6
Commissioners	5
Heads of Departments	3
The Vice-Chancellor of Patna University	1

TOTAL . . . 18

Nominated non-Official members	16
Elected—	
Rural Mussalmans	18
Urban Mussalmans	5
University	2
Mining interest	2
Planters' interest	1
Landlords (if separate electorate be given to landlords)	9

It is to be noted that these 9 seats are suggested for the landlords if the strength of the Council be 125. If the strength of the Council be less than there should be proportionate reduction as in the case of other electorates.

Rural non-Muslems	45
Urban non-Muslems	10
TOTAL	125

DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS OVER THE DIFFERENT AREAS OF THE PROVINCE.

Towns	Div. a area. Number of Non-Moslem members.	Number of Moslem members. a
1	2	3
Patna City	2	1
Patna Division less Patna City	2	1
Firhut Division	2	1
Bhagalpur Division	2	1
Orissa Division	1	1
Chota-Nagpur Division	1	1
TOTAL	10	6

To be given to each of the two divisions alternately.

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The Hon'ble SAIIYD NURUL HASAN.

[Continued.]

In distributing the seats between the non-Moslems of the different urban areas the approximate proportion of the non-Moslem population has been taken into consideration and similarly in distributing the seats among the Moslems of the different areas the approximate proportion of the Moslem population of the different areas has been taken into consideration as far as possible. In assigning a seat to Patna City, its special importance as the seat of Government and the place of residence of a considerable number of important persons of the different Divisions, has also been taken into consideration.

DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS AS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT RURAL AREAS OF THE PROVINCE.

District.	Non-Muslman members.	Muslman members.
Patna	4	2
Gaya	4	2
Shahabad	3	1
PATNA DIVISION TOTAL	11	5
Saran	4	1
Champanan	3	1
Muzaffarpur	4	2
Darbhanga	4	1
TREBUT DIVISION TOTAL	15	5
Monghyr	3	1
Bhagalpur	3	2
Furnea	2	2
Santal Parganas	2	1
BHAGALPUR DIVISION TOTAL	10	6
Cuttack	2	} 1
Balasore	1	
Puri	1	
Sambalpur	1	
ORISSA DIVISION TOTAL	5	1

District.	Non-Muslman members.	Muslman members.
Hazaribagh	1	} 1
Ranchi	1	
Palamanu	1	
Singhbhum	1	
Manbhum	1	
CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION TOTAL	5	1
GRAND TOTAL	46	18

524. In making the above distribution I have taken the approximate population as far as possible as the basis. It is quite possible that an area having a larger population may have a smaller number of qualified voters. As I have not got the material for finding out the number of qualified voters in each of the areas I could not make this the basis for the distribution, but in my opinion the real basis for the distribution of seats should be the proportion of qualified voters and not population. Under the existing system in the Moslem electorate the district of Patna has got a larger number of qualified voters than those of the Gaya and Shahabad districts put together. Similar thing may likely happen under new scheme.

525. Every person who is qualified as a voter should be eligible as a candidate for the Council.

526. The Planters should continue on the present basis.

527. There are two mining associations at present.

Each may be given one seat.

528. For the University graduates in order to be qualified as voters should be of at least five years' standing. Moslems should have the right of participation in the electorates representing special interest but not in the general electorate of the non-Moslems, if they are qualified to represent such interests. Landlords, if given a separate electorate should not have the right of participation in the general electorates. Domiciled community, the Christian community of the backward races for whom seats are reserved by nomination should not have the right of participation in the general electorate.

529. The proportion of Musalman members should not be less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total number of the elected members.

The Hon'ble Saiyid Nurul Hasan, called and examined.

530. (Si. Frank Sly.) He was a wakil and represented the Moslem community of the Patna division in the Legislative Council.

531. He did not think that the differentiation of the qualifications for the franchise from district to district would be regarded as a grievance. If a uniform standard was adopted it would be difficult to form suitable electorates in some cases.

532. He did not think that title-holders and Honorary Magistrates would, in every case, be included in other electorates.

533. He accepted the Congress-League formula.

534. He would like to abolish the separate landholder electorate. If however it had to be accepted as a fact, he would have a lower franchise and suggested Rs. 50 cess payment. A qualification of say Rs. 5 cess payment would give an unmanageable electorate. It was on this ground that he would not introduce such a qualification. He did not distinguish between big and small landholders; the one class merged gradually into the other.

535. With regard to the "untouchables" his fear was that their circumstances would not be improved unless they were represented on the Council.

536. The domiciled electorate should include Marwaris as well as Bengalis. He did not wish this class to be separately represented.

537. He proposed direct election to the Indian Legislative Assembly because candidates would thus be in touch with the voters. If the qualification was raised the constituencies could be reduced to a manageable size. They would still be scattered but could be canvassed. Moreover the Report was against indirect election.

538. (Mr. Aftab.) A list of passed maulvis and pandits would have to be kept—such voters would be excluded from other electorates.

539. He would not insist on candidates residing in their constituencies.

540. (Mr. Banerjee.) He proposed that the province should be divided up for the purpose of elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly into as many constituencies as there were seats allotted to the general and Muhammadan electorates respectively. He did not propose any specific property qualification because he had not the necessary material.

541. He thought there would be difficulty in obtaining suitable non-officials to assist at the elections.

542. He would like to include the members of the domiciled community in the general electorates. Failing this he would propose nomination. He would favour the proposal that Government in making their nomination should consult representative Associations. He was not aware that the Marwaris had made any claim for

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The Hon'ble SAHYID, NURUJ HASAN.

[Continued.]

separate representation but they were a substantial community.

543. He could not say if there was any competent person belonging to the "untouchable" community, but if possible he thought that they should be represented by one of their own members. Cases might occur in which their interests and those of the general community diverged. He could remember cases of oppression.

544. He would not earmark any of the 15 seats which he proposed for nominated members for any particular community.

545. (Mr. Hogg.) If the European or Anglo-Indian community was sufficiently strong, he would allow them

nominated members and if they wanted it he would give them election instead of nomination.

546. Subject to the necessary reservations about the special electorates he would impose no restrictions on the qualification of candidates.

547. (Mr. Hailey.) He had distributed the seats between the different rural areas of the Province roughly. Seats should be given in proportion to the number of voters.

548. (Mr. Sahai.) It was possible that some Honorary Magistrates would not be included in other electorates. For instance, there might be cases of Honorary Magistrates whose property stood in their wives' names.

P. KENNEDY, Esq.

Written Statement.

549. As regards Franchise, I think it a great pity that the indirect system is abandoned. There might be properly elected constituencies which would give an intelligible vote as regards local matters, but as regards Provincial matters, I do not believe it possible. The certain result of large electorates will be the election of the local landlords. North Behar is absolutely landlord-ridden and will be so until education is universal. (The persons returned are sure to be landlords and these, it is very unlikely, of the class described as the Intelligencia. They will found to be (save where land is concerned) without much opinion of their own and ruled mainly by their Amla.)

550. The only constituency under the scheme which is likely to return a number of the Intelligencia is the University and I should like to see two members. So I

think it immaterial what the Franchise may be. Large or small they will vote as they are told, and the contest will be between the Maliks. Bribery on a large scale (bribery of the Maliks to support special candidates) is sure to exist.

551. Save I would increase the University representation, I agree with the Bihar Planters' scheme. The European candidate should be elected.

552. I advocate no change at present in the Indian Legislative Council. The Council of State might be in abeyance—a second chamber on the basis of the French and American Senates will always be found necessary but for years to come its functions might well be performed by the Executive Government.

P.S.—As regards Municipalities, the landlords' place would largely be taken by the Mahajans, but otherwise what I have said as to District refers to them.

Mr. F. Kennedy, called and examined.

558. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a vakil of the High Court. He had resided at Muzaffarpur for 32 years and his experience was confined to the Tirhut division.

554. He advocated an indirect system of election for the Provincial Legislative Council. Tirhut was landlord-ridden. If the raiyats elected members to small bodies such as panchayats which supplied their daily needs they would choose men who would represent their interests and in this way the influence of the landlords would be minimised. Panchayats did not exist officially but bodies of this kind were often constituted unofficially *ad hoc*. Elections to these small "unions" should be direct, and the unions would elect to the Council. He feared that under a broad franchise in which the raiyats predominated they would only vote as their landlords told them. He did not think that in North Bihar indirect election by unions would mean that the members of the unions were selected on political grounds to the detriment of the unions.

555. (Mr. Hogg.) He would give more than two votes to the University if possible.

556. He saw no reason why officials should not vote.
557. He advocated separate representation for Europeans. Apart from the Planters' Community they represented large interests who had certain wants and

necessities *qua* Europeans. The Bihar Planters' Association represented concerns and not individuals. There were in the Province a number of European railway servants, barristers, zamindars, etc. They were not numerous but they represented large interests. In the European electorate he would include all Europeans paying income tax and would have one constituency for the whole Province, votes being recorded through the post.

558. The members of the Bihar Planters' Association were the proprietors of the various concerns. The voters were the managers. There was a considerable European population employed in the Bihar factories who could not be said to have any sort of representation through the Association. The men of the various sugar factories did not for instance belong.

✓ 559. He would prefer that the Anglo-Indian Community should be kept separate from the general European constituency. He had no knowledge of their wishes in the matter.

✓ 560. (Mr. Atab.) It was important to secure adequate representation of the educated classes. He would only include B.A.'s but they need not be of any particular standing.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur KHWAJA MUHAMMAD NUR.

Written Statement.

I. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

561. I suggest that the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa should consist of 125 members of whom 32 should be nominated.

Nominated—

1 Governor	1
2 Executive Councillors	2
6 Secretaries	6
5 Commissioners	5
7 Heads of the Departments	7
1 Excise and Registration.	
2 Education.	

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3 Civil Hospitals.	
4 Jail.	
5 Co-operative.	
6 Agriculture.	
7 Police.	

The Vice-Chancellor of the University	1
Nominated non-officials	22
Expert	9
	31
	1
	32

B

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The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur KHAWAJA MUHAMMAD NUR.

[Continued.]

562. Ninety-three members should be elected as follows:—

Planters	2
Mining	3
University	2
Landholders	10
(Two from each division.)	
Muhammadan Rural	17
Do. Urban	5
(One from each division.)	
Rural non-Muhammadans	39
Urban do.	15
(Three from each division except Chota-Nagpur where two seats should be assigned and one seat be given to the Patna City Municipality.)	
	93

563. As to the distribution of the seats of the Muhammadans and the non Muhammadans to the rural areas, my view is that it should be based on population.

Muhammadan Rural.

1. Patna Division	4
2. Tirhut "	5
3. Bhagalpore "	6
4. Chota Nagpore "	1
5. Orissa "	1
	17

Non-Muhammadan Rural.

1. Patna Division	7
2. Tirhut "	10
3. Bhagalpore "	9
4. Chota Nagpore "	6
5. Orissa "	7
	39

564. On the same principles the seats may be distributed to the Districts and Sub-districts, so that no constituency may have more than one seat allotted to it. As to the franchise, I suggest that the following class of persons should have a vote.

1. All Pleaders, Vakils, Barristers, Mokhtars, etc.
2. All income tax payers.
3. All medical practitioners who are registered under the Medical Registration Act.
4. All those persons who have passed any public examination provided that their age is not below 30 years. (This is to exclude students.)
5. All graduates.
6. All those who pay a certain amount of local rates (in rural areas).
7. All those who pay a certain amount of Municipal rate or tax (in urban areas).

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad Nur, called and examined.

576. He represented the Muhammadans of Chota Nagpur and Orissa on the Council. He was a resident of Gaya and by profession a zemindar.

577. He proposed to retain the existing landholders' franchise. The small landholders were middle class men probably engaged in other professions who would come into the general electorates. He did not think there was any conflict of interests between the middle class and the small landlords.

578. He supported the Congress-League formula for Muhammadan representation.

579. He was in favour of single member constituencies and he was also in favour of direct election to the Indian Legislative assembly. He objected to the present system of indirect election because only the highly educated

565. The amount to be paid for the qualification under 5 and 6, should vary from division to division and perhaps from district to district, the principle being that about 2 per cent. of the population should have a vote. But in any one locality the qualification for Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans should be the same.

566. The candidate from a constituency need not himself be a voter in that constituency.

Landholders.

567. The qualification should be the same as at present. They should not be allowed to participate in the general election. Muhammadans should participate in the Landholders' election.

University.

568. Fellows and registered graduates should vote.

569. Electors qualified under this head may also take part in the general election, if qualified. Muhammadans should also participate in this election.

570. Domiciled community, Depressed classes and Aborigines should be represented by nomination, or by reserving seats for them in the plural constituencies with a general electoral roll.

II. INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

571. It should consist of 150 members, 1/3 elected 1/3 officials and 1/3 nominated non-officials. One-third of the seats open to elected Indians be reserved for Muhammadans.

572. Direct election is possible by making the qualification much higher. I have not worked out the details but discussing the principle only, I think that seats should be distributed territorially, so that each constituency should have about 2,000 votes and should be entitled to send one member. A few seats should also be reserved for being returned from the Legislative Councils.

III. COUNCIL OF STATE.

573. If it is decided to create a council of state, the scheme of its formation suggested in the report has my general support; but it does not seem to me that the Muhammadan seat can be secured under the proposal in spite of the presence of the Muhammadans in the Provincial Legislative Councils and each member having 2 votes. The non-Muhammadan must predominate in all the councils. I would, therefore, suggest that out of the 15 seats to be filled up by election from the Provincial Legislative Councils, four seats should be reserved for Muhammadans to be elected by Muhammadan members of the Legislative Council. They should be assigned to the provinces by rotation or by grouping the provinces.

574. The two seats to be filled up by direct election should be assigned to provinces or groups of provinces by rotation, where electoral colleges should be created requiring very high intellectual and wealth qualification.

575. I am in favour of the last sentence of paragraph 277 of the report. Effort should however be made that everyone of the major provinces should be represented by a Muhammadan member.

men took part and he wished the general public also to take part.

580. As regards the Council of State he accepted the Congress-League formula. Non-official Muhammadan members should be elected by Muhammadans only.

581. (Mr. Aftab.) He would not restrict candidates to residents in the constituency. He wanted to get the best candidates available.

582. (Mr. Banerjee.) All the 5 commissioners of divisions should be at hand in the Council as they all possessed first-hand knowledge of the conditions in their divisions. He recommended that "Jails" should be a transferred subject and was therefore certainly in favour of having the Inspector General of that department on the Council.

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The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur KHWAJA MUHAMMAD NUR.

[Continued.]

583. (Mr. McPherson.) He did not know if there was likely to be any resentment in Orissa at the number of seats provided for them under his scheme. He represented the Muhammadans only and he thought that they would have no occasion for complaint.

THE BIHAR PROVINCIAL MOSLEM LEAGUE.

Written Statement.

QUALIFICATIONS OF VOTERS.

- (1) Barristers.
- (2) Mukhtears.
- (3) Persons who have passed the Matriculation Examination or any other Examination of equal standard of any of the Indian Universities or of any of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland.
- (4) Persons paying a cess of at least Rs. 3 a year.
- (5) Title-holders.
- (6) Honorary Magistrates.
- (7) Maulavis and Pandits serving in any of the institutions recognized by the Government.
- (8) Maulavis and Pandits not serving in any Institution recognized by the Government but who have passed the Final Examination from any such Institution.
- (9) Persons who do not come under any of the other classes enumerated above but pay a house tax or chaukidari tax of at least Rs. 3 a year.
- (10) Voters in order to be qualified as such should always be over 21 years of age and should not be a student of any college or school except a Law College.
- (11) All voters except those who are students should be eligible as a candidate for the Council.

CLASSIFICATION OF CONSTITUENCIES.

- (a) Electorates representing special interests:—
- (1) Landlords.
 - (2) Mining.

- (3) Planters.
 - (4) University.
 - (5) Commerce.
- (b) Special Electorates for particular communities:—
- (1) Moslem Electorate.
 - (2) Electorate for Indian Christians.
 - (3) Sikhs.
- (c) Non-Muhammadan General Electorate.

COMPOSITION OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Non-Muhammadan General Electorate	52
Special Electorates for particular communities	24
Moslem Electorate	23
Electorate for Indian Christians	1
Electorates representing special interests	18
(1) University	3
(2) Planters	1
(3) Mining	2
(4) Landlords	10
Total number of non-Official elected Members	92
Officials	18
Nominated non-Officials	15
GRAND TOTAL	125

584. The proportion of the Muhammadans in the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Legislative Council should under no circumstance be less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total number of the elected Members.

Mr. Yunus and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, representing the Bihar Provincial Moslem League, called and examined.

585. (Sir Frank Sly.) Mr. YUNUS. There were over 15 members of their League which was an affiliated branch of the All-Indian Moslem League.

586. It was proposed to give the franchise to maulvis and pandits especially, because other classes of teachers would come in under other qualifications, for instance as graduates.

587. He did not consider that there was any commerce in the province of sufficient importance to justify separate representation.

588. So far as Bihar and Orissa was concerned the representatives for commerce and the Sikh community should be eliminated.

589. There was a considerable number of Indian Christians in Orissa. His League was in favour of safeguarding special interests and therefore they proposed a member for this community.

590. As regards the aboriginals they considered that for the present it would be very difficult to secure any real representative. One might be secured later if necessary.

591. His League accepted the Lucknow compact. In their scheme the 25 per cent. had been calculated on the total of elected members. They had included the planting and mining members because they might be Indians. The Muhammadan community would lose the right of voting in the general constituencies which it at present enjoyed in addition to having $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the elected seats.

592. They proposed 10 seats for the landlords because they represented very important interests. The qualification they proposed would be a cess payment of Rs. 62-8-0, thereby lowering the present franchise to the level of the existing Muhammadan franchise.

593. The 3 seats proposed for the university were not intended to represent the university as such, but to secure the presence of a number of intelligent men on the Council.

594. (Mr. Sastri.) They had no special reason for recommending 18 nominated officials. They would have no objection to adding a small margin to the bare minimum necessary for the purposes of the Grand Committee but he did not see where the seats could be obtained from. The 15 seats proposed for nominated non-officials represented the balance of 125.

595. (Mr. Banerjee.) It was not proposed to fix any period of service which would be required in the case of maulavis and pandits serving in institutions recognised by Government. Most teachers were qualified in other ways being at least matriculates.

596. (Mr. Sahai.) Rural and urban electorates, although not distinguished in their printed memorandum, were both included in the non-Muhammadan general electorates. The League agreed with other associations as to the actual distribution.

597. He thought that landlords of the proposed qualifications might be elected by electorates other than the special one.

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The Hon'ble Babu GOPABANDHU DASS.

[Continued.]

At Patna, Thursday, November 21st, 1918.

PRESENT:

Sir FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Sahibzada AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa.
The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur KRISHNA SAHAI.P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).

The Hon'ble Babu GOPABANDHU DAS.

Written Statement.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

598. (1) *Franchise and constituencies.*—Franchise should be determined on the basis of property and education which should be different in different provinces as also in different parts of the same province, where the degree of advancement and distribution of property are so different and unequal that a uniform standard cannot secure a fairly equal broad electorate. My examination on this point may be confined to Bihar and Orissa and particularly to Orissa, which, differing, as it does from Bihar, in several particulars, e.g., its land tenure, origin and character of its zamindari and in the identity and distinctness of its interest, needs a different treatment for its proper and adequate representation.

There will be generally two constituencies, one to represent the town and the other the country, as they have in England in boroughs and in counties. Special or communal electorates cannot be entirely done away with. The University should form a separate constituency.

599. (2) *Direct election.*—I am entirely in favour of direct election which will bring the people in actual touch with the administration of the country. I may be examined as to the procedure to be followed in direct election.

600. (3) *Means of adequate and effective representation.*—Territorial electorates would be the best. But that will not satisfy all the requirements. Special and communal electorates are under the present state of the country unavoidable. But with regard to the representation of some minority I would suggest that reservation of elective seats in plural constituencies would be satisfactory to all parties concerned. I think the system of nomination of members may be discontinued, so far as the Provincial Legislative Council is concerned. The backward class for whom such system is intended do not get any such real benefit as would enable them better to move towards responsible Government.

601. (4) *Number of Official members.*—The number of such members should not be more than one-fifth of the whole number. This proportion will fairly represent the official views with regard to the various departments under the Provincial Government.

602. (5) *Size and composition of Provincial Council.*—I would suggest the following scheme for the constitution of the Legislative Council for Bihar and Orissa:—

Ex Officio and nominated officials—

Executive Councillors	2
Ministers	2
Secretaries	6
Commissioners	5
Vice-Chancellor, Patna University	1
Secretary to the Legislative Council	1
Heads of Departments	3
TOTAL	20 ✓

Elected—

Rural non-Muhammadans	33
Urban ditto	15
Rural Muhammadans	12
Urban ditto	4
Landholders	8
Planting class	1
Mining	1
University	1
Domiciled	2
Indian Christians	2
Anglo-Indian	1
TOTAL	80 ✓
TOTAL	100 ✓

or including the Governor, the President, 101. In the allotments of seats in the Provincial Legislative Council, Orissa should not be treated as a mere division; its special interest and peculiar position should be looked to. Already a suggestion has been made in the Report for the creation of a sub-province for Orissa. Its franchises, constituencies and representation in the Council, should be settled in anticipation of its sub-province to be instituted. I shall give a scheme for Orissa at the time of my examination.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

603. Direct election to the Imperial Legislative Assembly would be most desirable and feasible if the

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The Hon'ble Babu GOPABANDHU DASS.

[Continued.]

number of members in the Assembly can be largely increased, say, to 250. I have not with me the necessary figures to outline a scheme which I shall attempt to do in the course of my examination. I need mention here that some safeguards should be provided for the representation of Orissa in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The dismemberment of the Oriyas under different administration which has often been a source of constant complaint and has placed them at a disadvantage under each Government where they are in a minority calls for some device for their representation as a distinct com-

munity among the Indian people. The mode as how this representation can be effected in the Imperial Legislative Assembly will be stated in the examination.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

614. Contingencies may no doubt arise when the powers of the Council of State may be called into exercise. The object for which it is to be instituted may justify its constitution. About its composition, etc., I shall submit my views in the examination.

The Hon'ble Babu Gopabandhu Das, called and examined.

605. He was an Oriyas and represented the municipalities of Orissa on the Legislative Council.

606. He wished to make a modification in the scheme which he had submitted. The total number of members in the Council should be 100 and $\frac{1}{4}$ th of this, viz., 20 should be nominated as follows:—

the Governor	1
the Executive Councillors	2
the Secretaries	6
the Secretary to the Legislative Council	1
the Vice-Chancellor to the University	1
the Heads of Departments	3
the Commissioner of the Division in which the Council was meeting	1
nominated official (or non-official)	1
nominated members of classes not represented by election	4

607. The electoral roll in the first instance would have to be prepared by a Deputy Collector specially appointed by Government in that behalf with the assistance of the village revenue officers. Ordinarily there would be one polling station for each constituency which should not be too close to the police station. The polling officer should be a gazetted officer assisted by a non-official specially selected by Government for the purpose. The voting should be by ballot, each man having one vote. A special court should be constituted to dispose of electoral petitions. This court should consist of a lawyer of 10 years' standing or a barrister who should not ordinarily be a Government servant. He would not object to a munsiff being deputed by the Government for the purpose but a district magistrate should not be appointed because he was an Executive officer.

608. The number of seats which he proposed for Orissa was disproportionate to the population but his reason was that the population in the towns of Orissa was already accustomed to elections.

609. He did not accept the Lucknow compact. He was prepared to allow the Muhammadans 20 per cent. or 16 out of 80 seats.

610. In the domiciled community he would include Telugas, Madrasis and Europeans. He would be prepared to give one of the two seats proposed for this community to the Anglo-Indians.

611. He proposed two seats for the Indian Christians, because they were a rising and well-educated community.

612. The special interests and the special position of Orissa justified special treatment. Orissa was quite distinct from Bihar and had its own language, history and traditions. In Orissa the setates were temporarily settled and the land tenures were different from those obtaining in Bihar. Again, the political importance of Orissa was increased by the feudatory states, though they were outside British India and had no concern with the provincial council. The union of Orissa with Bihar was against the wishes of the Oriyas people. He thought that Government accepted the position that Orissa should not be treated merely as a commissioner's division. Orissa was more literate than Bihar.

613. He proposed that 25 out of 80 seats should be given to the 5 million Oriyas and the remaining 55 seats to the rest of the province. He considered this reason-

able. The manner in which he proposed to distribute the seats for Orissa was as follows:—

Rural non-Muhammadans	11
Urban do.	7
Urban Muhammadans	1
Rural do.	2
Landholders	2
Domiciled community	1
Indian Christians for the whole province excluding Chota Nagpur	1
TOTAL	25

615. As regards the landholders he was prepared to see the franchise reduced from a revenue payment of Rs. 6000 to one of Rs. 4,000 or even less. At present a cess payment of Rs. 500 was a qualification for this electorate. This he would reduce to Rs. 350 or Rs. 200. He would include all landholders having a decent income.

616. If a system of direct election to the Legislative Assembly was introduced, the Oriyas, both those resident in Orissa proper and those resident outside, should form a constituency and return 3 members. There were Oriyas in Madras and in the Central Provinces. For the purposes of electing to the Assembly 10 members from Orissa, 1 from Bengal (Midnapur), 5 from Madras, 1 from Ganjam, and 1 from the Central Provinces should vote. The members should be Oriyas by birth.

617. (Mr. Banerjee.) He would not dispense with nomination altogether; he would modify the views expressed in his printed statement.

618. He did not think it was necessary that all 5 commissioners should be on the Council.

619. Both the domiciled members need not be Bengalis. 620. He could give no reason why the qualifications for the electorates for the Assembly should be higher than those for the provincial council.

621. (Mr. Sastri.) He would employ men like sub-registrars and head masters of Government schools and tahsildars as polling officers. He thought non-officials also might be employed as polling officers.

622. (Mr. Hogg.) Most of the Europeans were employed in the mining industry. By "Anglo-Indians" he meant Europeans and not Eurasians.

623. At the last elections the Oriyas had elected to the Council a domiciled Bengali.

624. As regards the general electorates, the property qualification he would propose was for small landlords and tenure-holders a revenue or rent of Rs. 16, for quit-rent tenure-holders Rs. 3 cess, and for under-riyats 5 acres of cultivated land held under registered lease. He would also recognize payment of income tax. This was in the rural areas. As regards the urban areas he considered the existing municipal franchise satisfactory. As regards education he would admit non-student matriculates. But no Government servant should vote. He would also admit title-holders and those who had taken high degrees in Oriental classics.

625. (Mr. McPherson.) He would only give one seat to Commissioners. The Secretaries to Government could obtain and supply the local knowledge required.

626. He would exclude the voters in the special landlord electorate from the general electorates.

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THE INDIAN MINING FEDERATION.

[Continued.]

THE INDIAN MINING FEDERATION.

Written Statement.

THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

627. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State have proposed in paragraph 225 of the Report on the Reforms Scheme that "there shall be in each Province an enlarged 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." In pursuance of the proposal we suggest that general electorates be formed of rural and municipal areas separately for the representation of the people at large in the Provincial Legislative Council and also that steps be taken for the representation of important special interests such as those of the landholders and of commerce and industry on the lines indicated hereinafter.

628. (2) With the above view we propose that the municipal and the rural areas of a Province be divided into suitable groups, each group having the right to elect one representative to the Provincial Council. Those persons in a group who will have the requisite qualifications of a voter will form the electorate of the group. Each of such persons will have one vote. Amongst the candidates for election to the Provincial Council from a group, one who might secure the highest number of votes of the group should be elected.

Municipal electorates.

629. (3) It would be expedient to form the electoral groups on the basis of population with however different minimum for municipal and rural areas, the minimum for a municipal group being for obvious reasons much below that for a rural group. Contiguous municipalities be so grouped that each group may contain a minimum population of not more than 70 thousands. Each of such group should elect one representative to the Provincial Legislative Council.

630. (4) The Patna Municipality on account of its large population and other importance, should be divided into two groups and each group should elect one representative. The Municipal areas of Gaya, Cuttack and Darbhanga may conveniently form each a separate group and elect each one representative to the Council.

Qualifications of a voter in the municipal electorate.

631. (5) In consideration of the general and great difference in the advancement of the people in the municipal areas over those in the rural areas we suggest that the qualification of a voter for municipal areas be male, adult, literate and (i) having a yearly income of not less than Rs. 800 from any moral source, or (ii) being a householder or a lodger of an annual value of Rs. 120, or (iii) being a licence-holder paying a licence fee of the amount of Rs. 50 or more.

Rural electorates.

632. (6) The rural area should be so grouped that each group may contain a population of about 5 lakhs. Each of such group should elect one representative to the Provincial Council.

633. (7) Contiguous thanas, that is, areas under the several police-stations, should be grouped together, whenever and so far as practicable round the headquarters of a Sub-division, to form a group of rural electorate. The area should have a population of about 5 lakhs. We do not propose to break up a thana area into two or more parts, as in that case difficulties will arise in the time of election and polling.

634. (8) We propose a population of about 5 lakhs to be the basis for the formation of a rural group on the apprehension that a lower minimum may not ordinarily have sufficient number of voters to justify the formation of an independent electorate.

Voters' qualification in a rural electorate.

635. (9) The qualifications of a voter in a rural electorate should be much lower than those of a voter in a municipal electorate and may be put to be resident of the locality, adult, male and having an annual income of not less than Rs. 500 from land agriculture, commerce, industry, profession, service or other moral source or being a householder or a lodger of annual value of Rs. 36.

Voters' qualification in a rural electorate.

636. (10) It is quite possible that the advancement of the people in certain areas, municipal or rural, might be so low that, a sufficient number of qualified voters may not be found for the proper formation of an electorate. It may be laid down as a condition for the formation of an electoral group that a group should have at least 5 to 6 thousand qualified voters.

Landholders' electorates.

637. (11) Electorates of landholders should be formed with such property qualification that one earning from zamindari or from permanent tenure an income of Rs. 15,000 may be a voter. Each division of the Province under a Commissioner should be divided into two groups, each group to form an electorate to return one member to the Provincial Council.

Communal industrial electorates.

638. (12) Mining forms the principal industry of the Province and in view of its importance in the development of industries and commerce of the country it is necessary that the industry should be fully represented in the Provincial Legislative Council and should also be represented in the Imperial Council. At least six seats should be given to the mining industry of the Province and an electorate of the Mining Community should be formed on the following basis.

639. (13) A Colliery with a minimum of annual raisings of six thousand tons up to 48 thousand tons should have one vote. A Colliery with a minimum annual raisings of over 48 thousand tons up to 96 thousand tons should have two votes. A Colliery raising annually over 96 thousand tons or more should have three votes.

640. (13A) Regarding other mining industry, a mine showing a minimum income of Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 50,000 should have one vote; and those earning each an income of more than Rs. 50,000 should have each two votes.

641. (13B) As an alternative method the representative of the mining industry may be effected through the Mining Association and the Mining Federation. The Mining Association have amongst its members all the European-managed collieries and the Mining Federation all the Indian-owned and managed collieries. The Association and the Federation should be allowed each to send up three representatives.

Communal representation.

642. (14) The Committee are strongly of opinion that the formation of Communal Electorate on the basis of race or religion is calculated to widen the cleavage between race and race without securing any commensurate good, and so it is highly objectionable to form electorates on the basis of race or religion. Under an arrangement on the lines proposed above, questions of disproportionate representation on communal basis may not arise. If however it be practically found that representation of any community in the Council is not adequate enough, provision may be made for representation of such community (i) through the representative associations of that community or (ii) by nomination by Government. Ten seats might be reserved for such representation.

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THE INDIAN MINING FEDERATION.

[Continued.]

Official Members.

642. (15) The Members of the Executive Government, Councillors and Ministers, Secretaries or on their behalf the proposed Under-Secretaries of important branches of Administration and such officers as the proposed Director of Industries should alone be the official nominees of the Government in the Council. The Governor should be the President of the Council.

643. (16) The Government may nominate, if found necessary, a minimum number of ten non-official members as suggested in paragraph 14.

THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

644. We are of opinion that the number of members proposed in the Report for the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the Provincial allotment made therein, is too inadequate to allow proper representation of the people of this vast country and of its different interests and to make the Assembly "more truly representative of Indian opinion."

Constituencies.

645. (2) We propose that to the Imperial Legislative Council Bengal may send five representatives from the municipal areas and five from the rural areas, four from the landholders, 4 to represent the commercial and industrial interest and two from the University.

646. (3) Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces may also send representatives on the above scale. But in the case of the last two, the number of commercial representatives may be two from each instead of four.

647. (4) The Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa may send each three representatives from the municipal areas and three from the rural areas and three to represent the interest of the landholders and in the case of Bihar and Orissa two to represent commerce and industry; the Central Provinces and the Punjab may be allowed to send one member each to represent commerce and industry. The Punjab should send one member to represent the University.

648. (5) Assam might be allowed to send four members—one to represent the municipal areas, one rural area, one landholders' interest and one commercial interests.

*Nominated Members.**(a) Non-official.*

649. (6) It would be necessary for the Government to reserve to itself the right to nominate a few non-official members with a view to secure a proper representation of communal and other important interests. In case such representation be found practicable through representative associations of the interests concerned, it would be a better course for the Government to surrender its right of nomination to such associations.

(b) Official.

650. (7) The official members of the Council should generally be His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the Railway Board and the Members of the Executive Council, Councillors and Ministers and a few Secretaries or the proposed Under-Secretaries of the important branches of Administration, and heads of important Departments.

Electorates and Franchises.

651. (8) For the purpose of forming electorates for the election of representatives of municipal and rural areas and of the landed interests, the electorates proposed for the various representations in the Provincial Council be regrouped on the basis of population into as many number of electorates of each kind as that kind in the Province concerned may have seats in the Imperial Assembly and each of such groups be allowed to send one representative to the Assembly by the method of direct voting. There needs be no differentiation in the qualification of a voter for the Provincial Council and for the Imperial Legislative Assembly. The Commercial representation be secured through important

commercial and industrial associations of the Province concerned; for instance, in Bengal the Bengal Chamber and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and in Bihar the Indian Mining Association and the Indian Mining Federation. Where no such associations exist the representation should be secured by nomination.

*THE COUNCIL OF STATE.**Constitution.*

652. Regarding the Council of State, it should be so constituted as would ensure its commanding universal respect and confidence; provisions should be made with the view that only highly qualified and experienced persons might be eligible to be members of the Council of State.

653. (2) Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces should be allowed to send two representatives of the rural and municipal areas, two of commerce and industry and two of the interest of landholders and one of the University.

654. (3) Other Provinces should be allowed to send each one representative under each of the above heads excepting the University.

655. (4) The Viceroy should be the President of the Council of State. Besides the Members of the Executive Government, Councillors and Ministers, no other Government official should ordinarily be Members of the Council of State. The Government may however, nominate a few limited number of members for the representation of any communal or other important interests it might think necessary and may make provision for the representation of Provincial Governments by taking one representative from each or any of the important ones.

Electorates.

656. (5) For the present it would be expedient to confer the right of electing the representative of the rural and municipal areas of a Province upon the non-official members of the Provincial Council. But the representative of the landholders of a Province might be conveniently elected by the entire landholders' electorate of the Province concerned and those of commerce and industry by the representative Commercial Associations of the Province; for instance, in Bengal the Bengal Chamber and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

657. (6) The electorate of the University proposed for the Provincial and the Imperial Councils should elect one representative for the Council of State.

Members' qualification.

658. (7) A representative of the rural and municipal areas should have at least three years' experience as a Member of a Provincial or the Imperial Council or as a Municipal Commissioner or as a Member of the District Board.

659. (8) In Bengal a landholder having an annual minimum income of Rs. 50,000 should only be eligible to represent the landholders' interest.

660. (9) One paying an income-tax on a commercial or industrial profit of Rs. 50,000 or above alone be eligible to represent the interest of commerce and industry in the Council of State.

661. (10) The Indian Princes should not be Members of the Council of State. A Council of the Indian Princes may be formed and representatives of the Council of State and of the Council of the Indian Princes might occasionally meet to consider questions of common interest.

662. (11) The Council of State should be so constituted that it may command universal respect and confidence and properly exercise a sort of revisional jurisdiction. A constitution framed to secure official majority is not likely to serve the above purpose. Measures which the Government may think essential for the due discharge of its responsibility but which might not get the sanction of the legislative bodies, might be properly secured by rules and regulations and by the proposed certificate procedure.

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THE INDIAN MINING FEDERATION.

[Continued.]

Mr. J. N. Ghosh, representing the Indian Mining Federation, called and examined.

663. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a colliery proprietor and coal merchant. He represented the Indian Mining Federation which consisted of 259 members of which 239 were colliery proprietors. The output of the concerns represented by the Federation amounted to 37 lakhs of tons a year or more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total output.

664. The Federation proposed to give at least six seats to the mining industry of the Province with an electorate based on output, each colliery with an output of over 6,000 tons being given one vote with a maximum of three votes in all. This was necessary because the larger mines employed more labour. He was not prepared to apply the same principle to landholders.

665. In the case of the other electorates he proposed a property qualification of gross income.

666. He proposed to give three seats to the Association and three to the Federation. The output of the concerns represented by these two bodies was almost equal. They had a few common members. A few small mine-owners—ten or twenty in number—did not belong either to the Association or to the Federation. The total output of the Association represented about 2-3rds of the total output of the Province. Included in the Federation were a few coal merchants who were not mine-owners.

667. On the Legislative Assembly he proposed two members for commerce and industry, the two members being elected by the Association and the Federation respectively. The province contained no other industry of equal importance so he proposed to give both seats to the mining industry. Sakchi was of more than provincial importance and should be represented in some other

way. There were a few mica mines in the province and three or four of them were represented in the Federation. Those who were not would get a vote in the way explained in para. (13A) of his memorandum.

668. (Mr. Hailly.) The Federation was not a registered body. Any person interested in mines who was proposed and seconded and accepted by the Committee became a member. He would supply further information on the subject.

669. (Mr. Hogg.) The membership of the Federation had increased by over two hundred in the last two years. The output of the Federation was rather over half that of the Association. The latter represented a capital of six crores whereas the former represented a capital of four crores. It contained however a larger number of members. In the case of members common to both he had included their output in the figures which he had given for the Federation and excluded it from those given for the Association.

670. (Mr. Banerjee.) The output of mines not represented on either the Association or the Federation would be below 600 tons monthly.

671. If a candidate was properly proposed and seconded the Committee would not refuse him admission to the Federation.

672. (Mr. McPherson.) In the case of the Mines Board of Health the vote was awarded according to output but the system now recommended was not identical because under the Mines Board of Health system collieries could get as many as ten votes.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur LWARKA NATH.

Written Statement.

THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

673. (1) The Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council should consist of 125 members of whom three-fourths (or 94) should be elected and one-fourth (or 31) nominated by the Government.

674. (2) The constituencies should be as follows:—

A.—Elected 94:—

Rural non-Muhammadans	29	
Urban non-Muhammadans	21	(One from each district.)
Rural Muhammadans	18	
Urban Muhammadans	5	
Landholders	7	(One from each Division and an additional one for Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions.)
Planters	1	
Mining	2	
University	2	
Income-tax assesses and non-student Matriculates	9	
	94	

B.—Nominated 31:—

(i) Ex-officio and nominated officials	18
Governor	1
Executive Councillors	2
Secretaries	6
Commissioners	5
Heads of Departments	3
Vice-Chancellor of Patna University	1
	18
(ii) Nominated non-officials	13
	31

675. (3) Distribution of rural non-Muhammadan Members:—

Patna	2
Gaya	2
Shahabad	2
Saran	2
Champaran	2
Muzaffarpur	2
Darbhanga	2
Monghyr	2
Bhagalpur	2
Purnea	1
Santal Parganas	1
Cuttack	2
Balasore	1
Puri	1
Sambalpur and Angul	1
Hazaribagh	1
Ranchi	1
Palaman and Singhbhum	1
Manbhum	1
	29

676. (4) Persons taking part in the special electorates should not be allowed to participate in the general electorates. Muhammadans, landholders, planting and mining interests should be excluded from participation in the general electorates.

677. (5) The number of seats allotted to the urban population is in excess of what their mere numbers would entitle them to. I beg to submit that people residing in towns are better educated and therefore more fitted to understand their rights, duties and responsibilities.

678. (6) People living in urban areas should be allowed to stand candidates from rural areas and vice versa. Any restrictions in this matter would be detrimental to the best interests of the country.

679. (7) The franchise in the rural areas should be such as to allow about 2 per cent. of the population to be enrolled as electors.

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[Continued.]

680. (8) The franchise should be based on property qualifications, but illiteracy should be regarded as a disqualification.

681. (9) The qualifications for landholder voters might be as they are for the existing council.

682. (10) For the University, graduates of all Universities who are permanent and *bona fide* residents of the Province should be allowed to vote.

683. (11) Qualifications for General, Rural and Urban Voters may be on the basis of the printed Statement attached to Mr. Hubback's Scheme.

684. (12) I attach considerable importance to the constituency of the income-tax assesses and non-student matriculates suggested by me. The income-tax assesses will comprise traders, business men and the industries of the Province. The non-student matriculates will include the large class of service-holders and professional men such as barristers, medical practitioners, engineers school teachers and others.

685. (13) With regard to the qualification of candidates no restriction should be placed on a constituency in the

matter of choosing a candidate except that the candidate must himself be a voter in that constituency.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

686. (14) The Assembly should consist of 150 members and the number of seats allotted to Bihar and Orissa should be the same as those allotted to the major Provinces.

687. (15) Bihar and Orissa should be treated as a major Province and should have the same status, dignity and privileges as those accorded to the major Provinces.

688. (16) Of the 150 members, three-fourth should be elected and one-fourth nominated.

689. (17) I am not in favour of a Grand Committee in the Provincial Legislative Council. If the Provincial Legislative Council refuse to pass a measure which the Government considers absolutely necessary, such bills might be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Assembly.

690. (18) I am not in favour of a Council of State. The Grand Committee procedure suggested for the Provincial Legislative Council might be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Assembly.

Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Dwarika Nath, called and examined.

691. (Sir Frank Sly.) He represented the Tirhut District Boards on the Provincial Council. He was by profession a zemindar and lawyer.

692. He had given the Congress-League compact his very careful consideration and had come to the conclusion that there was a chance that Muhammadans would be returned in the landholders and university electorates. He therefore wished to provide a somewhat smaller number of seats for his Muhammadan friends than that suggested in the Congress-League scheme. If a contingency arose in which no Muhammadans were returned for the other constituencies he would be prepared to make up the Congress-League number by nomination.

693. At the non-official conference held at Ranchi they had carefully considered the question of the landholders' franchise. On the one hand, they realised that it was desirable to lower the franchise and increase the landholders' electorate. On the other hand, if the landholders were excluded from the general electorates, there was a case for keeping a small landholders' electorate. If under the scheme eventually sanctioned it was decided to allow landholders to vote in both electorates the effect of having a large special electorate for landholders would be to reduce the influence of the educated and middle classes. This was also accepted by the land-holding members themselves except in so far as they wanted 12 seats instead of 7.

694. (It was substantially correct that, specially in North Bihar, the rural electorates would be entirely in the hands of the landholders for many years to come, and for this reason it was desirable to weight the vote of the urban areas. Although he was a landholder he was not qualified to vote in the landholders' electorate. As regards the proposal to extend the landholders' electorate so as to include the majority of the landholders, thereby giving the tenants a chance of being represented in the general rural electorates, his opinion was that the interests of the landlords and the tenants were not hostile and even, if they were hostile, the educated landlords would be the best representatives of the tenants for many years to come.) When the Orissa Tenancy Bill was before the Council several of the landlords were to their own prejudice in favour of the transferability of occupancy rights without the consent of the landlords as a matter of right. The time would come when it would be necessary to give direct representation to tenants, but for the present they were best represented by the educated classes.

695. He was the originator of the idea of an electorate consisting of income tax assesses and non-student matriculates. The success of the Reforms Scheme was dependent on securing the services of the most com-

petent men. As it was thought that an insufficient number of such persons would be returned from the urban and the university constituencies, the idea had suggested itself of having an electorate consisting partly of non-student matriculates. (A separate non-student matriculate class would not have the effect of depriving the general electorates of the assistance of the educated classes because these classes would have the option of voting either in the general or special electorates. He did not intend to give plural votes.) He did not think that if persons so qualified were given the option of voting in special or general electorates they would necessarily choose the special electorates.

696. He had proposed that illiteracy should be made a disqualification after very careful consideration. There was a fear that if votes were given to a large number of illiterate voters, the polling arrangements would break down. The secret ballot had been introduced in municipal elections in the province and experience had shown that even so with illiterate voters it was difficult to maintain secrecy. If however it was found that, without including illiterate persons adequate constituencies could not be formed he was prepared to waive this point.

697. He proposed that Bihar should return an equal number of members to the Indian Assembly with the major provinces, because Bihar had till recently been a part of Bengal and considered that it should be treated in the same manner.

698. (Mr. A/lab.) At the conference of non-officials at Ranchi there was complete identity of opinion between Hindus and Muhammadans with regard to the Congress-League scheme. He had raised no objection at the time. He was prepared to depart from that agreement only to a very limited extent.

699. (Mr. Banerjee.) He had an intimate knowledge of North Bihar and in his opinion suitable rural electorates could be found there: therefore, *a fortiori*, suitable urban electorates could also be found.

700. The interests of the landlords and tenants were practically identical. The educated middle class zamindars were the best representatives of the rural masses. His recollection was that the Maharajah of Balasore, a domiciled Bengali and an extensive landlord, had voted in favour of the transferability of occupancy rights without the consent of the zamindar when the Orissa Tenancy Bill was before the Council. A number of landed magnates also had recently informed the Registrar of Co-operative Societies that they had no objection to occupancy holdings being sold without the consent of the landlord. It was not true that the landlords and the tenants were hostile to one another. He would not reduce the landholder franchise for fear of the smaller

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[Continued.]

landlords ousting the educated classes. The lesser landlords were not such favourable representatives to the raiyats as the educated middle class.

701. In his opinion candidates for rural constituencies should be voters in rural areas. He considered hard and fast rules with regard to residential qualifications as detrimental.

702. With regard to paragraph (10) of his scheme he would admit graduates of any university which was recognized by the Patna University.

703. (Mr. Sastri.) As regards the non-Muhammadan urban constituencies, his idea was that there should be one constituency for each district in which all municipal rate-payers would vote. He would not object to the introduction into Bihar of the system which had proved successful in the United Provinces whereby the larger towns sent members to the Council in rotation. (He would give the right to all towns with a population of 50,000 or over. But he wished to insist on the number 21. He considered the figure 8 in the Local Government's scheme to be too small.)

704. If it was necessary for the purposes of the Grand Committee to increase the number of nominated officials, he would deduct that number of seats from the nominated non-officials.

705. If the landholders were excluded from the general electorates, he considered seven seats sufficient for them.

706. In the university constituency registered graduates should vote, and not the Senate.

707. He had had experience of municipal elections as a candidate. When the voters were illiterate, it was impossible to maintain the secrecy of voting. There was always confusion with regard to the voting boxes. The polling officers were assisted by non-officials. He regarded insinuations against the non-officials as a libel.

708. (Mr. Hailey.) His distribution of seats between urban and rural areas was based on considerations of the political importance of each and the necessity for getting good men. The number 29 which he proposed for the rural non-Muhammadan constituencies he had taken from Mr. Hubback's original scheme.

709. The tendency of landlords in the Province had recently changed. They were now identifying themselves with the masses.

710. (Mr. Sahai.) Although he recommended that three-quarters of the 125 seats should be elected, he was not opposed to making the proportion four-fifths.

711. With regard to paragraph (3) of his scheme which contained his proposals for the general rural electorates, he had no objection to the districts which returned two members being split up into two constituencies each of which would return one member.

712. (Mr. McPherson.) He could not say whether the clause about the transferability of occupancy rights in the Orissa Tenancy Bill would have been passed but for the official vote, nor whether the landlords in the Council had opposed the proposal to enhance the penalty for levying illegal cesses which was included in the Champaran Agrarian Bill.

713. On the whole he preferred that the university members should be elected by the registered graduates. He had, however, no serious objection to one of the members proposed being elected by the Senate and one by the registered graduates. If the number of urban seats was cut down, he would increase the number of university seats from two to five.

714. He had no objection to a separate seat for Patna City. He would like to give a separate seat to towns like Bhagalpur if it had meant that the smaller towns would be merged in the rural areas.

THE UTKAL UNION CONFERENCE.

Written Statement.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(1) Franchise.

715. The qualification of a voter should be on the basis of education and property.

(A) Education—

(1) Those who have passed the Middle Vernacular examination or any higher standard examination recognized by the Government Educational Department or by a University.

(2) Title-holders in any public examination in any Oriental Class.

(B) Property—

(1) Land-owners (including small Zamindars, tenure-holders, holders of Revenue free Estates, muafidars and tenants) paying a revenue or rent of Rs. 16 or a cess of Rs. 1.

NOTE.—This qualification will meet the condition of Orissa where landowners merely own small holdings or estates. If the property limit be raised a fairly broad franchise cannot be obtained in Orissa. The limit may however be raised in other parts of the province if thought necessary.

(2) All persons paying Income-tax.

(3) In urban areas, persons paying Municipal tax or rate of Rs. 3 and above.

N.B.—Every voter should have attained the age of discretion which should be fixed at 21 years.

(2) Constituencies and Composition of the Provincial Legislative Council.

716. The number of members in the Provincial Legislative Council should be 100 to be distributed as follows:—

Nominated Officials	20
Elected Non-Officials	80
	100

Rural non-Mahomedans	33
Urban "	15
Rural Mahomedans	12
Urban "	4
Landholders	8
Planting	1
Mining	1
University	1
Domiciled	2
Indian Christian	2
Anglo Indian	1
For Orissa	25 ✓
Urban non-Mahomedan	7
(Cuttack 3, Puri 2, Balasore 1, Sambal- pore 1.)	
Rural non-Mahomedan	11
(Cuttack 4, Puri 2, Balasore 2, Sam- balpur 2, Angul 1.)	
Urban Mahomedans	1
Rural Mahomedans	2
Landholders paying a revenue of Rs. 3,000 or a cess of Rs. 200	2
Domiciled	1
Indian Christian	1

NOTE.—The Conference does not favour the system of nomination. Besides the official members who would be nominated, all others should be elected—Mahomedans and Landholders by separate and exclusive electorates, the other two minor communities (Domiciled and Indian Christian) should have two seats, one for each, reserved in the rural constituencies with the general electoral roll as suggested in paragraph 232 of the Report.

717. There should be one polling station for the area under each Police-Station. The polling station should be set up in a central place and care should be taken to keep it free from all undesirable influences. The presiding officers should be selected from among Deputy Magistrates, Munsiffs, Sub-Registrars, and Sub-Deputy Collectors. Each presiding officer should be assisted by at least two non-official gentlemen of position especially nominated by the Government for the purpose. The voting should be by ballot.

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THE UTKAL UNION CONFERENCE.

[Continued.]

II. INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

718. The number of members should be 150 instead of 100 as suggested in para. 274 of the Report. The Conference appreciates the difficulties in the way of direct election and accepts the suggestion of indirect election by non-official members of Provincial Councils. The number of members suggested in the Report for each Province being raised proportionately.

719. The system of direct election at present existing for Mahomedans and Zemindars should continue.

720. It is to be noted here that the Orissa members on the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council should not vote in the election of members from that Council to the Indian Legislative Assembly. They will combine with members representing other Oriya-speaking tracts in other Provincial Legislative Councils in electing their own members to the Indian Legislative Assembly.

III.—COUNCIL OF STATE.

721. The Conference is not in favour of formation of a Council of State and so refrains from making any suggestion on the subject.

About Oriyas specially.

722. Representing as it does the various Oriya-speaking tracts scattered under different administrations, the Conference considers it its duty to place before the Committee the views not only of the people of Orissa under the Government of Bihar and Orissa, but of the Oriya tracts under Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal. Under the present circumstances, the Oriya people are everywhere in a minority. The Conference has been urging for the union of these tracts under a separate administration. The authors of the scheme have recognised the reasonableness of the claims put forth by the Conference and recommend the formation of a Sub-Province for Orissa in paragraph 240 of their report.

723. Although the subject does not apparently come within the scope of inquiry of the Committee, the Conference thinks that in deciding questions affecting

Babu Sashi Bhushan Nath, representing the Utkal Union Conference, called and examined.

725. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was an Oriya by birth and the editor of a newspaper. He represented the Utkal Union Conference which had been instituted for the political advancement of Oriyas both in Bihar and outside. The Conference had an executive council of 80 members and delegates were sent to it from the different district associations.

726. Students who had passed the middle vernacular examination were in possession of certificates to that effect. His impression was that the results were published in the Gazette.

727. The Conference did not accept the Lucknow agreement. They proposed to reserve 25 out of 80 elected seats for the Oriyas. This recommendation was made not on grounds of population but because the Oriyas were in a minority and must be protected.

728. He would be prepared to accept nomination for the backward classes, etc.

729. The undesirable influences to which reference was made in the last para. of Section I of the memorandum must be prevented. Each polling officer must be assisted by at least two non-officials. He had no objection to non-officials sitting alone.

730. In Section II of the memorandum it was proposed that the members of Oriya-speaking tracts should combine in electing their own members to the Indian Legislative Assembly. He would only allow real Oriyas to vote for this purpose. There were Oriyas in the Central Provinces. He understood that six per cent. of the population were Oriyas. They were represented at his Conference.

731. (Mr. Hailey.) The last conference had been held

franchise and constituencies, the problem of the Oriyas being in the minority under the existing administrative units should not be excluded from consideration. It has over and over been recognised that the Oriyas emerge as a distinct factor in all the Provinces they are found. Their interests are everywhere the same and are quite distinct from those of their provincial neighbours. The principle determining the franchise for Bihar cannot conveniently suit the people of Orissa. This has been indicated above. So also what would be suitable to the Telugus of Madras will not fairly and reasonably be applicable to Madras Oriyas. This will be the case everywhere with regard to the Oriyas whose condition and circumstances are one and uniform in all the provinces. (In these circumstances the union of the adjacent Oriya tracts under a separate administration should have preceded the determination of the question of Franchise, etc. Till that is done, the Conference suggests that safeguards should be devised for the protection of the interests of the Oriyas in the province where they are in a minority.) For political Orissa, a Scheme for representation in the provincial Legislative Council has been outlined above. In other provinces representation of the Oriyas should be secured by reserving elective seats in plural constituencies with a general electoral Roll as suggested in para. 232 of the Report. The case of the Madras Oriyas deserves special consideration. And the Conference recommends that at least 6 seats should thus be reserved for them in the Legislative Council of that Presidency, and one seat each for the Oriyas of Bengal and Central Provinces in the provincial Councils of their respective Governments.

724. As for the representation of the Oriyas in the Indian Legislative Assembly it has been suggested above that an electorate should be formed by the combination of all the elected representatives from the different Oriya-speaking tracts in their respective provincial Legislative Councils and this electorate will return to the Indian Legislative Assembly at least three members to represent the whole of the Oriya-speaking tracts.

In the previous month when the whole scheme had been considered by the council there were no Central Provinces men or Bengal men present, although there were Bengal men on the council. He himself came from Ganjam.

732. They had decided to give 20 per cent. of the seats to the Muhammadans, which was in excess of what they would get on a strictly population basis. At present they got 14 out of 23 seats, or 17 per cent.

733. He could not give any actual instance of undue influence, exercised by an official, but it was a possibility in mufassil stations. He was aware of the explicit rule in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules against their taking any part in elections.

734. In his Anglo-Indian electorate he intended to include Europeans also.

735. (Mr. Banerjee.) He had no objection to a non-Oriya being returned by an Oriya constituency.

736. The Utkal Union Conference had been held for the last 15 years. 3,000 members had attended on the last occasion.

737. (Mr. Astab.) The Oriyas represented about 15 per cent. of the population of the Province. He claimed for Oriyas 30 out of the 78 elected seats to which Indians might be returned. On this basis Muhammadans also were justified in asking for more. In the 25 seats which he proposed to reserve for Oriyas three were for Oriya Muhammadans. He had no objection to the 25 being reduced to 22 and the three seats being added to the general Muhammadan constituencies.

738. (Mr. McPherson.) There were about 14 lakhs of Oriyas in Orissa and 5 lakhs in Bengal.

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The Hon'ble Maharaja RAVANESWAR PRASAD SINGH Bahadur.

[Continued.]

At Patna, Friday, November 22nd, 1918.

PRESENT:

Sir FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.I., L.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Sahibzada AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.L.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPHERSON, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government, of Bihar and Orissa.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur KRISHNA SARAI.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S., (*Secretary*).

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir RAVANESWAR PRASAD SINGH Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Gidhaur.

Written Statement.

739. I would beg to start with the proposition that the various forms of Government prevailing in self-governing countries cannot safely be introduced into this country without considerable modifications. This task becomes particularly difficult in view of the transitional character of the proposed legislation relating to constitutional reforms in India which, I am sure, will be tackled with the broad statesmanship characteristic of the British race.

740. I confine myself to the terms of reference to the First Committee appointed to enquire into the question of franchise, and I beg to offer my suggestions in the order they appear in the Government Communique.

741. I submit that the present territorial basis need not be altered, as it admits of securing as broad a franchise as possible. In the province of Behar, having regard to the special importance of the constituency of landholders who by virtue of the permanent settlement, are recognised as having a proprietary right in the soil, they should be allowed to elect a fixed number of representatives for each division. I maintain that the objections to the drawbacks inherent in a system of communal representation do not hold good in the case of the landholders from amongst whom representatives may be elected, irrespective of race, colour or creed. In rural areas the interests of the zamindars and ryots are so closely linked together that no sharp line of cleavage may at all be supposed to exist between the two electorates even in a plural constituency, the device of a special electorate for landholders being only adopted as a special ease to enable a fair share of representation of the landed interests in the Provincial Councils, as without them no province can be really self-governing. To secure adequate representation for each class and interest in the provincial assemblies, it is necessary that the agricultural community in rural areas should deserve much more attention in the formation of constituencies than the citizens in urban areas, or the voters in the Municipalities. Representation of a Community must be relative to the state of civilisation and education and the conditions of life of that Community, and the Agricultural Community being by far the largest of the population of every province, is most handicapped by reason of their backwardness. The general electorate roll for rural areas cannot be big enough till education advances and disseminates in course of time, and until that time arrives, suitable persons of that class shall not be forthcoming to directly represent their community in the Legislative Assemblies. The agriculturists will not fail to evince an anxiety to take a real share in the administration of the country, and in the absence of other qualified persons, the landholders are of all people best fitted to represent them by reason

of their being in closest contact and in terms of most intimate relationship with that community.

742. With regard to the Province of Behar, the special interests should receive adequate recognition in the representation of minorities—with special stress on the backwardness of the aboriginals or of depressed classes which should receive due share of representation by nomination, while the representative of the historic houses of the Province should always be a nominated member, though he may be under the disabilities to be attached to the status of a nominated member. Notwithstanding the elaborations suggested—by instituting a system of special electorates, it may be still found necessary in practice to have recourse to nomination for proper representation of landholders in a province (vide para. 232), and seats should also be earmarked for representation of the domiciles, the Indian Christian and other communities that count in order that the representation may be altogether as broad as possible.

743. The details have been worked out in a rough scheme of constitution below for the Provincial Assembly of Behar. It appears to me, that the re-constitution of the Provinces of Behar and Orissa has been in a manner foreshadowed by paras. 41 and 246. This clearly involves re-adjustment of territories by addition to the present province of contiguous portions from other provinces akin to it by reason of unity of languages, customs and traditions. For the sake of convenience I have kept to the present constitution of the Province with a separate note for Orissa. The agrarian conditions of Sonthal Parganas and of the major portion of Chota-Nagpore Division demand perhaps some separate treatment until a tenancy act of a less complex nature replaces those at present in force—when legislation on uniform lines can be conducted throughout the province. Some provision for securing the representation of special interests when projects of legislation affecting those interests are under consideration or discussion, should always be made by nominating qualified representatives for the time being.

744. I fully recognise the gravity of instructions on points of principle laid down in para. 226 of the Report. In the absence of the materials that should constitute a big electoral roll admitting representation by direct election from each constituency, I consider that the system of indirect elections should be generally swept away. The practical difficulties of a direct election in rural areas seem to me to be the following:—(i) the majority of electors may be hampered by reason of their poverty or indebtedness or other consideration and prevented to exercise the free right of suffrage, and (ii) a convention might grow that an election would in the absence of proper political training amongst the masses, be in the

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experimental stages only an escape from the present difficulties, and might not tend to establish that genuine relation which should exist between the original voter and the representative in the Legislative Assembly. I would not insist solely on qualifications of property or education or wealth or equipment, on uniform lines for each District. Groups of original voters constituting the electoral roll may meet in some convenient place to be appointed for the purpose, and after discussion may choose by ballot the name of the candidate in the presence of the village headman and an official of some standing who commands respect by virtue of his position amongst the people. The votes may be verified at the polling centres in the presence of the original voters, which need not be inordinately large in numbers, and may be determined with reference to the actual influence and status they occupy in villages, aided by considerations of the degree of education and amount of income enjoyed by such voters.

745. Municipalities and Local Boards might be constituted into separate electoral divisions to admit of direct election of representatives into provincial assemblies.

746. It appears to me that the existence of a separate Electoral roll for the land-owning classes will afford the only opportunity of making known in council the views of not only their own community but, also that of the agriculturists in the main, by the mouth of some member especially acquainted with them. This device, as has been already pointed out, will also be a safeguard against the actual representation of some member to the assembly not directly associated with the majority of voters in village areas, and as the principle has already been accepted in the case of the Mohamedans and the Sikhs, I see no reason why it may not be found feasible in the present instance—especially in a province where the landowners form a distinct class. The increased number of seats for the representatives of the landholders' interests will not, I submit, be found disproportionate in comparison with other interests, and as they represent not only very important special interests, but also seek to supply the want and remove the draw-backs that are sure to creep in at the first working of the Electoral machinery during the transitional period. For large landowners specially, I have prayed for a seat being earmarked for a nominated representative.

747. As regards revising Elective seats in plural constituencies, I approve of the curtailment of the general electoral roll to admit of a separate roll to give effect to an extension of franchise in case of the Muhammadans and the Sikhs. The arguments in favour of communal representation do not hold good in case of the landowners in the same sense as have been applied in case of these two communities where Government is pledged to maintain the settled existence of a system, and which entails the maintenance of a separate electoral roll under all circumstances. The case of the landholders stands on a different footing altogether. Supposing that no sharp line of division is allowable between large and small landed proprietors, they would still form a minority in the General Electoral roll as the property qualification which will be the basis of a separate representation, is but a poor test for a voter in the General roll, and the number of voters exercising the right of voting on the ground of enjoying a certain amount of income derived from landed properties so as to entitle them also to vote under the special Electoral system must be very limited. The very fact of the interlinking of the two communities in the social polity and of a fair predominance of a large number of landowners enjoying the privileges of permanent settlement in the province which must be a sure index of the unity of interests—mainly centred on land, makes it evident that the existence of such a special Electorate for Landholders side by side with the general Electorate will not accentuate that difference of sentiment that encourages the voter to think that he is not primarily exercising his right as a free citizen,—a member of the larger unit.

748. I apprehend that in the present stages when the necessary electoral or administrative experience must be lacking amongst the masses, the constitution of the

present constituencies, however, based on a franchise broad enough, may not adequately represent the interests of the general population. Some amount of political education has been spread amongst the people but they are not still quite capable of exercising an intelligent choice in the selection of their representatives by direct election. According to the prevalence of degrees of backwardness there must exist the anomaly of unequal constituencies,—in some of which the method of indirect election should be preferable. But as it is desirable that all electoral arrangements should proceed on uniform lines—both in the Provincial and Indian Councils, nomination would be necessary not only to represent minorities but also to supplement defects in the adequate representation of all important interests especially of minority interests which are likely to be more adequately represented by being supplemented by a system of judicious nomination; and as a deep sense of national unity will be fostered and there will be growing a healthy political life with ideas of common responsibilities and civic obligations, the necessity for nomination shall gradually disappear, in course of time in favour of representation on a national basis. I venture to predict no time-limit for this.

749. I recognise the great necessity for extension of the territorial principle of representation wherever possible. In cases of constituencies in rural areas—with a general electoral roll it is quite possible that qualified representatives may be elected, and nomination by Government, after these elections are over, may remedy the defects in representation of the masses. The land-holders are not particularly keen on representation in proportion to their contributions to the Public Exchequer, but they insist on a maintenance of their old statutes and on enjoyment of their vested rights, so long neither of these clashes with the interests of the general public. On the other hand, I submit, that the grant of a special electorate for them, and a method of special representation adequate and commensurate with their stake in land will not only be necessary to safeguard their interests, but it will automatically act in removing and adjusting the inequalities in rural representation which in the transitional stage, I am afraid, will not be as satisfactory as in urban areas. The present proportion of landholders and the elected members in the Bihar and Orissa Council is nearly 25 per cent. Seeing that the revenue contributed by these amounts to well over 25 per cent, the number of seats allotted to them should accordingly be not less than 25 per cent, of the total number elected.

750. The number of the nominated representatives in the assemblies including the officials it is assumed, cannot be less than one-third of the total number. The creation of ministers and parliamentary Under-Secretaries, and the present constitution of the Councils tend to the reduction of the number of seats for officials to a limit just compatible with efficient transaction of business.

751. The irreducible minimum in my humble opinion will be 18 (eighteen) officials as in the provisional scheme suggested below.

752. I have assumed that the total number of members for the province cannot be less than 100 in the province of which 67 are to be elected:—

Elected—	
Mahomedans in Rural areas	11
Mahomedans in Urban areas	3
Land-holders	18
Representatives (from constituencies with a general electoral roll) in Rural areas	29
Representatives (from constituencies with a general electoral roll) in Urban areas	6
TOTAL	67
Nominated—	
Officials	18
Landowners	1
Domiciles	2
Anglo-Indians	2
Indian Christians	1

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Nominated— <i>contd.</i>	
Depressed classes	1
Aboriginals	1
Experts	1
Planting	1
Mining interests	1
University	1
General	3
	—
TOTAL	33
	—

753. As regards the Indian Legislative Assembly with the constituted majority of elected members proposed, a well-devised system of indirect election on the present lines is the best alternative that can be suggested, recognising special representation for European and Indian commerce, and also for large landlords, and communal representation for Muhammadans and Sikhs. Special franchises for communal representation existing side by side with a general electorate admitting of direct election appear to me an anomaly, especially in view of the fact that the conditions of Indian legislation are essentially different from those of the Provincial, and at the present stage, it has been thought possible to make the Government of India less amenable to popular control. I assume that 67 per cent. of the seats is to be allotted for the Elected members, and not less than twelve per cent. for nominated members representing minority or special interests. Of the latter, one seat, I submit, should be earmarked for the nominated representative of old historic houses having large landed properties. To maintain the present proportion (i.e., of 4:3) returned from Behar in an assembly of Elected members numbering 27, the province can fairly demand to return not less

than 10 Elected members of which the landholders may be allowed the privilege of electing three to the Indian Legislative Assembly. Defects in representation may be remedied by increasing the number of nominated non-officials compatible with the conduct of business which requires the presence of official members up to the maximum of 34th of the whole.

754. As regards the constituencies to be formed with special regard to Orissa, the only link being the fact of its being under one and the same ruler, I am afraid, that special representations needed in case of Behar, may not wholly fit in with any cognate scheme that may be deemed expedient for the whole province, as it exists at present, where the two units are treated together as one for purposes of administration. I have for the sake of convenience, taken account of the present territorial principle only.

755. The creation of the proposed Council of State, I presume, has been contemplated as a necessary counterpoise to the very salutary provision of a non-official majority in the Indian Legislative Assembly and I submit that the reservation of the power of the Government in the Council as a final legislative authority will not be prejudiced if the number of elected members and that of the official and nominated members together, becomes equal—the veto of the Governor-General being an everpresent factor in deciding. This gives 25 seats for the elected members of the Council, of which fifteen will be returned by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, the remaining ten elected by the Mahomedans, the landlord classes, and the Indian and European Chambers of Commerce. In view of the importance of the landholding community in Behar, I pray that some recognition of their claims to the Council of State may be considered both by the Committee and the Government.

The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur of Gidhaur, called and examined.

756. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a nominated member of the Legislative Council.

757. He would be prepared to reduce the present high franchise for the landholders constituency provided they were allowed to retain 25 per cent. of the seats. Otherwise their interests might suffer.

758. What he meant by the statement in the 11th para. of his memorandum was that the landholders paid more than a quarter of the whole land revenue.

759. The interests of the landlords and the tenants were identical and the landlords were the best representatives of the tenants. The tenants would receive sufficient representation in the general electorates.

760. He was in favour of the direct system of election.

761. He was prepared to accept the proposal that 25 per cent. of the seats should go to the Muhammadans in accordance with the Congress-League scheme but in

reckoning the 25 they should include a certain number of seats which the Muhammadans would secure through other special constituencies. For this reason he only reserved 14 out of the 67 seats for them.

762. He was in favour of retaining an indirect system of election to the Legislative Assembly.

763. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) In the "Anglo-Indian" electorates he included both Europeans and Anglo-Indians properly so called.

764. (*Mr. Sahai.*) He was Vice-President of the Bihar Landholders' Association which included almost all the landed magnates of the Province.

765. (*Mr. McPherson.*) Provided 25 per cent of the seats were reserved for landholders he was prepared to take 10 per cent of that number for big landholders and give the other 15 per cent. to the mass of smaller landholders, but in his opinion if the landholders were given only 7 seats the franchise must remain at its present high level.

The Hon'ble Babu ADIT PRASHAD SINGH.

Written Statement.

THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

766. Paragraphs 1 & 2.—The general franchise should be made as broad as possible. In the general electorate, as it is now in the Muhammadan and Landholders electorates, the system of direct election should be introduced. For obvious reasons the franchise should have to be extended gradually, as the machinery required for the extended franchise will have to be developed. (It may be considered whether it would not be possible to take the franchise for the Municipal and Local Board elections as a working basis—and thereby derive a suitable franchise for the Provincial Legislative Councils: Thus a man paying a tax of Rs. 3 can now vote in a Municipal election. For purposes of electing members for the Provincial Legislative Councils, the amount may be quadrupled or increased in any proportion that may be thought desirable,

and one paying Rs. 12 or so may be considered qualified for voting. In the same way with respect to rents a similar calculation can be made.) But I do not wish to develop this suggestion further until I have the requisite figures at my command; and I expect that by the time I have to depose before the Franchise Committee I shall have the scheme properly worked out.

767. Paragraph 3.—There should be the general electorate—the Muhammadan electorate—and the Landholders electorate (and the Sikh electorate in the Punjab). Those who have special electorates of their own will not be entitled to take part in the general electorate. There should be no difficulty with respect to the Muhammadan and Landholders electorates as they are already in existence since the Morley-Minto Reforms. It should be considered how far these electorates could be further broadened. The Muhammadans and Landholders form two important communities to be satisfied with nomina-

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tion as the means of securing their representation. Nor will the reserving of elective seats for them in plural constituencies seem the preferable course—especially as there is the basis of communal representation out and dry there—whose efficacy has been proved in the last eight years.

768. *Paragraph 4.*—The Governor and the Executive councillors naturally form *ex-officio* members. The Secretaries to the Government, the Heads of Departments, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and the Divisional Commissioners should be nominated officials. Thus taking the case of Bihar, *ex-officio* and nominated officials will be as follows:—

The Governor	1
Executive Councillors	2
Secretaries and Heads of Departments	7
Vice-Chancellor	1
Commissioners	5
TOTAL	16

769. *Paragraph 5.*—I will now proceed to give a skeleton scheme for a province like Bihar.

I General Electorate	35
II (a) Muhammadan Electorate	17
(b) Landholders Electorate	19
(c) Mining 2; Planters 1; and University 1	4
III (a) <i>Ex-officio</i> and nominated officials	16
(b) Nominated non-officials	9
TOTAL	100

770. The nine members allotted to non-official nomination will be distributed among the Anglo-Indian Community, the Orthodox Hindu Community, the Domiciles in the Province, the Indian Christians, the Aboriginal and Depressed Classes, etc. In the present Council the Muhammadans form 21 per cent. of the elected members. In the scheme herein proposed the corresponding percentage will be 23. The Landholders in the present Council form 25 per cent. of the elected members. In the scheme herein proposed the corresponding percentage will be 25.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

771. *Paragraphs 1 & 2.*—The best way of securing direct election for the Imperial Assembly is by allotting something like a seat for each Division or group of Divisions. The qualifications will be worked out on the basis of the qualifications for votes on the Provincial Councils by requiring a standard of higher nature than in the latter. The composition of the Imperial Assembly may be roughly as follows:—

I. Elected.	
Madras—	
General	6
Muhammadans	2
Landholders	3
TOTAL	11
Bombay—	
General	6
Muhammadans	3
Landholders	2
TOTAL	11
Bengal and Assam—	
General	6
Muhammadans	3
Landholders	4
TOTAL	13

I. Elected—contd.

United Provinces—	
General	5
Landholders	2
Taluqdars	1
Muhammadans	2
TOTAL	10
Bihar—	
General	4
Landholders	3
Muhammadans	2
TOTAL	9
Punjab—	
General	3
Muhammadans	1
Sikhs	1
Landholders	2
TOTAL	7
Central Provinces—	
General	3
Landholders	1
Muhammadans	1
TOTAL	5
Burma—	
General	2
Muhammadan	1
TOTAL	3
Delhi	1
Total, Elected	70
II (a). <i>Ex-officio</i> and Nominated Officials.	
Viceroy	1
Executive Councillors	6
Representatives of Provinces	7
Miscellaneous	6
Total Ex-officio and Nominated Officials	20
(b) Nominated Non-officials	10
GRAND TOTAL	100

772. Out of the ten allotted to nominated non-officials, the Anglo-Indian Community, the Orthodox Hindus, the Depressed Classes, and the Chambers of Commerce will be provided for.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Paragraphs 1 & 2.—The composition may be as follows:—

Elected.	
(a) By the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils—	
Madras	1
Bengal and Assam	1
Bombay and Central Provinces	1
Bihar and Orissa	1
Agra and Oudh	1
Punjab and Delhi	1
Burma	1
= 7	
(b) By the Elected Landholders' representatives—	
Madras	1
Bengal and Assam	1
Bombay and Central Provinces	1
Bihar and Orissa	1
United Provinces	1
Punjab	1
= 6	

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(c) By the Muhammadan representatives—		Officials and nominated officials	25
As in (b)	= 6	Nominated non-officials	4
(d) By those who have been invested with the titles of Maharajas and Maharaja Bahadurs	2		
Elected total	21	GRAND TOTAL	50

773. The four seats allotted to nominated non-officials may be distributed among the Orthodox Hindu Community, the Anglo-Indian Community, the Chambers of Commerce and Experts.

The Hon'ble Babu Adit Prasad Singh, called and examined.

774. (Mr. Frank Sly.) He represented the Tirhut Municipalities on the Council. He was by profession a zamindar and he was also employed under the Maharaja of Darbhanga as sub-manager. He was also a joint Secretary of the Panchayats Association that was formed in 1904.

775. He wished to alter Rs. 12 in line 16 of the first paragraph of his memorandum to Rs. 3. He also wished to raise the number of officials to one-quarter of the whole by taking two seats from the Muhammadan electorates and three seats from the landholders' electorates.

776. His experience on the Darbhanga Municipality showed that the presence of officials was necessary for smooth working.

777. He was against plural constituencies.

778. He proposed still to give the landholders 25 per cent. of the elected seats because it was contrary to the spirit of the Reform Scheme that any existing privileges should be curtailed. (He had however reduced the number of landholders' seats from 19 to 16. An income of Rs. 6,000 a year was a suitable property qualification for the landholders' electorate. He would keep the franchise high so as to exclude persons whose income was partly derived from other sources.)

779. He would give Muhammadans rather less than the 25 per cent. assigned to them by the Congress-League Scheme.

780. (Mr. Hailey.) Provided the landholders retained 25 per cent. of the seats, he would reduce the qualifications of the landholders' electorate to a revenue payment of Rs. 2,000 and cess payment of Rs. 400. He had not considered what qualifications should be required in the case of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

781. He would include persons holding the titles of Raja and Nawab.

782. In this Province the organization of village panchayats was purely voluntary. There was no law enabling them to decide small civil disputes. In some places they consisted of five members and in others seven. Such panchayats were established in 40 or 42 villages in the Province.

783. He had had experience of elections both as a candidate as well as chairman of a municipality. His experience was that about 500 votes could be recorded in a day. The ballot system of voting introduced last year had proved satisfactory. Boxes in which the votes for the different candidates were placed bore different colours. It was easy to preserve secrecy under this system.

784. He was afraid that Honorary Magistrates who would be men belonging to the town, might be personally interested in the Municipal elections.

785. (Mr. Hogg.) He included 'Europeans' under the head "Anglo-Indians."

786. (Mr. Sastri.) He proposed to increase the number of nominated officials and non-officials from 25 to 30 by deducting three seats from the landholders and two from the Muhammadans.

787. He thought that tenants would be properly represented under his scheme. Of the 35 seats proposed for the general electorates he thought some would go to the legal profession and some to the landholders. Tenants were not likely to get more than 20. Not all the tenants would vote as directed by their landholders. In some respects, but not in all, the interests of the landlords and the tenants were identical. For instance, the landholders favoured primary education though they were opposed to compulsion.

788. He proposed to give a representative to the orthodox Hindu community in order to oppose measures like Mr. Patel's recent Bill.

789. As regards the Assembly he proposed to give 18 out of the 100 seats to the landholders.

789 a. (Mr. Banerjee.) Out of the 35 general seats he proposed to give six to the urban and 29 to the rural electorates. Of these six urban seats he proposed to give one to Patna City and one to the municipalities in each division. Many townspeople would vote in the 29 rural electorates because many of the intelligent classes living in the towns had houses of their own in the villages.

790. (Mr. Ajal.) The influence of the landholders was on the decline.

791. (Mr. Sabar.) 20 seats were sufficient for the agriculturists for the time being.

792. A few landholders would get in through the general electorates but the big landholders would not contest these seats. He thought however that the big landholders would still contest seats in the special electorates even if the franchise was reduced.

793. He was associated with the panchayat movement in the Gaya, Patna, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts. They had given decisions affecting large estates and their decisions were generally accepted. Fifteen per cent. of their decisions were opposed but out of those many were upheld by the Courts. It was most desirable to constitute the system throughout the Province to save the expenses of litigation.

794. (Mr. McPherson.) The municipal franchise had recently been changed from a rate payment of Re. 1-8 to one of Re. 3. He was uncertain as to the advantages of this.

795. He was not in favour of having one constituency for the big landholders and another for the small.

Rai Sahib JANAK DHARI LAL.

Written Statement.

796. (1) There is some reason for the Mohamedans to have a separate electorate of their own for the time. The Hindus and the Mohamedans are ignorant of the civic duties which one Indian owes to another but then the Mohamedans should not be allowed to mix in the general electorate as has been done up to this time.

797. (2) There is no reason for the big landlords to have a separate electorate of their own and the smaller landlords to have the right of being included in the

general electorate. For then the landlords will occupy all the seats (as they have been all along doing) without leaving a single seat for the tenants and the council cannot be called a representative one as is contemplated by the proposed Reform Scheme. The big landlords should not have a separate electorate. They are themselves rich and powerful and do not need special protection. They must enter the Councils of the empire by the common door. Let them win the good will of the people and be their natural leaders.

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798. (3) If there is any body of men that require special protection and proper and proportionate representation in the Councils it is the poor tenants, the peasants, the cultivators of the soil who though forming from 70 to 80 per cent. of the population can be justly placed in the category of the backward classes as they are generally poor and weak, ignorant and inorganised.

799. (4) The interests of the landlords and the tenants are yet conflicting and not identical.

800. (5) Should it be thought, after all, advisable to let the landlords have a separate electorate and return a certain number of representatives to the different councils, (the tenants also should have a special electorate to return a proportionate number of representatives in the ratio their number bears to that of the landlords or the amount they pay to the landlords to the amount the landlords pay to Government.) If it be said that it is impracticable, then a certain number of elective seats should be reserved for those who are only tenants and that number should be at least double the number reserved for the landlords.

801. (6) If the tenants, on account of their illiteracy, are, at present, unable to organise, elect and return their full number of representatives to the councils (Government may make up the deficiency by nominating qualified persons (preferably, if possible, from among the tenants themselves) to represent their interest in the

councils) for this is far better in a transitional period than to leave such a large community unrepresented, specially in a council almost wholly dominated by landlords.

802. (7) In order to make our Provincial Council fully representative from territorial, communal and other points of view, I would propose as follows:—

One representative for each of the 55 Municipalities	55
One representative for each of the 41 Sadr and Local Boards	41
Mohamedans	32
University	5
Planter	2
Mining	2
Commerce and Industries other than agriculture	4
	141
Government nominees	32
	173

803. (8) Half of the nominated members should be non-officials.

804. (9) On other points I have nothing particular to say.

Rai Sahib Janakdhari Lal, called and examined.

805. (*Sir F. Sly.*) He was an agriculturist and a landlord on a small scale in Patna district.

806. He was against having a separate electorate for the big landholders, but would agree provided the landholders were not allowed to vote in the general rural constituencies. At present the interests of landlords and tenants conflicted. He would like to have separate electorates for tenants but he recognised that there would be difficulties in arranging this.

807. For the present he proposed to have 55 urban and 41 rural seats. He thought that the urban vote should be over-weighted for the present because municipalities were well organised and the inhabitants better educated. The urban representatives would in many cases own houses in the villages and look after the interests of the rural voters.

808. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) As an instance of conflict of interests between landlord and tenant he would mention that rents were fixed in the Patna district five years ago at the time of the survey and settlement. He regarded it as very bad that a zamindar should file suits for enhance-

ment of rent immediately afterwards although he was entitled to do so under the law. He also recollected a case in which the interest of landlord and tenant had conflicted in regard to some trees growing on the tenant's land.

809. The landholders would not secure all the general seats if their special electorate was abolished.

810. The university member should be returned by the Senate and the registered graduates.

811. The constituency proposed for commerce and industry other than agriculture would include such persons as millowners.

812. (*Mr. Hogg.*) The last sentence of paragraph (6) of his memorandum referred to the present Council. Nearly all the members had an interest in the land. The educated classes would have some chance against the landholders at the elections.

813. (*Mr. Hailey.*) He had decided many cases as a panch but there was no recognised system. Panchayat would be a very good basis for electing members to Council and securing representation for the raiyats.

The Hon'ble Mr. JAMESON, representing the Bihar Planters' Association.

Written Statements.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

814. (1) and (2). Direct election is not at present advisable in rural constituencies. The mass of the rural population is absolutely ignorant of the meaning of the Franchise, has not the vaguest idea of the duties of a member of the Legislative Council and does not even know that such a thing exists.

815. If the Franchise is arranged on a territorial basis with a rent or cess-paying qualification, the result at present will be to put all the power into the hands of comparatively few rich raiyats. The interests of this class are, as a rule, directly opposed to those of the smaller raiyats, owing to a large proportion of the richer raiyats going in for money lending, with a view to obtaining possession of the best plots of land in smaller raiyats' holdings.

816. The interests of these men are more nearly related to those of the bania and money-lender than to those of the bulk of the agricultural population, and they would, for instance, naturally be inclined to oppose any legislation restricting the transfer of parts of holdings, or safeguarding the raiyat from usury.

817. Further, the richer raiyats, with the exception of the bania castes, are almost all high caste men, and the lower castes would be practically omitted from any scheme of direct Franchise that could be instituted at present.

818. I believe that the best means of securing that the interests of all castes and classes shall be represented is by forming village Panchayats and making the members of those Panchayats the first electorate for rural constituencies.

819. I believe that it has been found that the various castes and classes are fairly represented on these Panchayats where they are working, and that through them a more genuinely representative electorate could be secured in rural districts than by any system of direct election that could be started at present.

820. By thus instituting these Panchayats, giving them fairly complete powers in cases of a petty nature and making their members the electors to the Legislative Council, there would be some chance of bringing home to the agricultural population a realization of the meaning and a certain experience of the working of self-government.

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[Continued.]

821. I therefore consider that the ordinary electorate should be the members of village Panchayats in the first instance, in rural constituencies, but that it could be formed of the ordinary municipal electors, possibly with a stricter qualification in Municipal areas.

822. (3) I consider Communal electorates absolutely essential to the proper representation of special interests and minorities, at any rate until education and political development have reached a far wider and more advanced stage than at present.

823. When the people generally have attained some understanding of political questions and of the problems involved in the exercise of self-government, and when a genuine public opinion, apart from religious and caste prejudices, has come into being, it may be possible to constitute the Legislative Councils almost entirely from members elected by a direct franchise on a purely territorial basis, but any attempt to do so at present would only result in minorities and special classes and interests being left unrepresented, unless nomination were resorted to on a fairly large scale.

824. Nomination may well be necessary in the case of exceptionally backward and politically undeveloped sections of the community, but the majority of the special interests and minorities in whose case special representation is necessary, are more highly developed communities than the ordinary electorates, and therefore more capable of choosing their own representatives.

825. Nomination would not only be a most unsatisfactory method of attempting to secure their representation—for a Government nominee might very well lack or forfeit the confidence of the community he was supposed to represent—but it would also be a retrograde step, as most of these communities now possess the right to elect their own representatives.

826. With Communal election separate electorates would be necessary in the case of the following interests and communities in this Province:—

- (a) The Muhammadan community.
- (b) Landholders.
- (c) Non-official Europeans (including Anglo-Indians and American citizens).
- (d) The Mining interest.
- (e) The Planting interest.
- (f) The University.

827. The representation of aboriginal communities should be secured by nomination.

828. (4) The number of nominated official members should not be greatly reduced, as any undue weakening of the official element would deprive the Council of the administrative experience and knowledge of actual conditions in various parts of the Province which can only be gained by officials who have served in various departments and different districts.

829. Officials should, for the same reasons, be free to speak and vote according to their convictions on all Bills and Resolutions whether on Reserved or Transferred subjects except where the Government's power of certification has been used.

830. The large elected majority in the Councils will ensure that the wishes of any substantial majority shall carry the day, and if the non-official members are at all evenly divided on any question, it is hardly likely that officials of various departments and services will be unanimous.

831. (5) The Legislative Council in this Province should not be too large, both on account of the chance of its becoming too unwieldy and on account of the difficulty of obtaining a large number of suitable candidates.

832. I would suggest about 76 as being a suitable number, made up roughly as follows:—

Elected Members—		
General Rural	22	Urban 5
Muhammadans, rural and urban		9
Landholders		5
Mining interests		2
Planting interests		1

Elected Members— <i>contd.</i>		
Non-official Europeans and Anglo-Indian community		1
University		1
		46
Nominated Members—		
Officials, not exceeding		20
Non-officials, not less than		10
		30
		76
TOTAL		76

833. The nominated members will presumably be appointed to represent particular interests and will be absolutely unfettered from Government control, so this proportion will give two-thirds of the non-official members a substantial majority over any combined opposition, and with official members free to speak and vote independently, such a combined opposition is exceedingly improbable.

II.—INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

834. (1) and (2). Direct election, save in the case of special constituencies, will be impossible for many years, and the best method of securing a fairly representative membership would be by having two-thirds of the elected members elected by the Provincial Councils.

835. These members should retain their seats in the Provincial Councils so as to avoid the need of second elections and so as to keep in touch with their respective Provinces.

836. More than eleven officials should be appointed, so as to allow of heads of departments of the Government of India and one representative of each of the Provincial Governments being included.

837. If the special interests are represented by election the number of the nominated non-officials could well be reduced to one-third of the nominated members.

838. Taking the total number of seats and the proportion of elected to nominated members laid down in the Report, the Indian Legislative Assembly might be constituted roughly as follows:—

Elected by Provincial Legislative Councils—		
Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, 6 each		24
Punjab, Burma, 5 each		10
Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, 4 each		8
Assam		2
	TOTAL	44

Elected by Special Constituencies—		
Landholders		13
Chambers of Commerce		5
Non-official Europeans		2
Domiciled Anglo-Indians		2
	TOTAL	22

Nominated non-officials 11

Nominated officials, including Vice-President 23

TOTAL 100

839. Muhammadan and Sikh representation could be secured by reserving them a number of seats proportionate to their seats in the various Provincial Councils.

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Mr. JAMESON.

[Continued.]

III.—COUNCIL OF STATE.

840. I consider that a single Chamber, giving the Governor General in Council similar powers of certification to those proposed for Provincial Governors, preferable to

the formation of a Council of State as proposed; but am of opinion that any radical change in the constitution of the Government of India is undesirable until the new scheme has been working for some time in the Provinces.

The Hon'ble Mr. Jameson, called and examined.

841. (Sir F. Sly.) He had come to represent the Bihar Planters' Association at their request. He thought his memorandum represented their views.

842. He was in favour of a system whereby the franchise would be based on elected village panchayats. It was originally suggested that they should return members to small local bodies and they in turn to the Provincial Council, but it had since been suggested that for this purpose the intermediate small local bodies should be omitted. There would be an elected panchayat for each village. He had no personal experience of such bodies, but he was informed that they existed in parts of Bihar. His scheme therefore was based on a new village agency, he had not worked out details.

843. He proposed a Council of 76 members, 46 elected and 30 nominated. There should be one elected member for the non-official Europeans. He had no figures to show their number. He thought that the Association would agree to European officials being included in his electorate. If there were sufficient Anglo-Indians and Europeans they should each have a seat; otherwise they might be combined.

844. The members of the Bihar Planters' Association which were planting concerns, were 72 in number. There were six or seven European concerns in North Bihar which were not members. The Association was not confined to indigo concerns alone. Admission could be refused and members could be expelled by a majority of two-thirds. It was therefore possible that the member elected by the Association would not represent some of the European planters. In voting for the Council each concern had at present one vote.

845. The Association had considered whether the planting member should be returned by a system of direct election by all European planters. The conclusion arrived at was that this member represented the special planting interest and, as the Association represented 94 per cent. of the concerns, the existing system had better remain. Other planters would be included in the general European electorate.

846. He proposed to give 22 seats to the rural and 5 to the urban constituencies, that is to say, one urban constituency to each division and roughly one rural constituency for each district. He recognised that this gave a preponderance to the urban voters but thought it might not be unfair.

847. As regards the system of election to the Indian Legislative Assembly the electorates would have very little idea of provincial questions and none whatever of questions that concerned the whole of India. The Association's idea was that political education should begin in the local bodies and they recommended indirect election to the

Assembly not so much because direct elections would be difficult to work as because the indirect system was better. They did not intend to take away the privilege of direct election from any community such as the Muhammadans to which it had already been given.

848. (Mr. Banerjee.) A direct system of election would not be so representative because in order to secure a manageable electorate the franchise must be raised and certain classes omitted.

849. (Mr. Sastri.) The Association had given him a free hand to work out the details of his scheme. His memorandum could be taken as representing the views of the Association.

850. In the case of the Legislative Assembly, the Association had accepted the proportion of two-thirds of elected seats without any reference to its merits; in the case of the Provincial Council the Report was less definite that a proportion of two-thirds must be observed.

851. (Mr. Hogg.) Most of the Bihar planting concerns were owned by individuals though some were owned by private companies. The majority were managed by whole or part proprietors. He would send figures to show the capital represented by the Association.

852. There were 72 managers in Bihar and 46 assistants at the present time. Between 50 and 60 men were away at the war.

853. He had included American citizens because all Europeans were included. He was on the whole in favour of giving a vote to aliens.

854. The Anglo-Indian community was very small and mostly to be found on the railways. He had not definitely ascertained their views but from what he had heard he thought that his proposal would be acceptable to them.

855. The qualification of the general European electorate should be that the voter must be an adult male, European. Votes could either be handed to a Magistrate or sent direct through the post.

856. He would prefer that the members of the Provincial and Imperial Councils should be gentlemen of means and leisure; they would have to devote their whole time to the work.

857. (Mr. Hailey.) He would like to bring the panchayats into the system of local self-government. It was true that at present panchayats were elected *ad hoc*, but from what he had heard, he gathered that where they had been regularly constituted they were a success and free from the influence of the landlords.

858. (Mr. Sakai.) He had not definitely agreed at Ranchi to reserve 90 out of the 125 seats on the Council for elected members. He merely said that he preferred it to the proposed four-fifths.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, U.S.I., I.C.S.

Written Statement.

859. The following brief, and, owing to the very short notice given me, hastily prepared, note is submitted.

860. (2) I am of opinion that the people of this Province are not yet fitted, by education, by instinct or tradition, for the broad extension of the franchise on a system of direct voting contemplated by the proposals under discussion. To the great bulk of the people to whom the privilege of the vote will be extended the system of election by ballot is a strange exotic, wholly foreign to their genius. If the Provincial Legislative Council is to be enlarged much beyond its present size, our object should be to ensure the return as members thereof of persons truly representative of the most important interests in the country, and especially of the land-

holding and agricultural interests, of the people who have the greatest stake in the country and in the peaceful and orderly working of the administration. I apprehend that this will not be the result if the proposed scheme is carried into effect, and that the interests of the great masses of the people will suffer.

861. (3) I am of opinion that before any such system of broad direct franchise can properly or reasonably be introduced in this Province, steps should first be taken to prepare a foundation for it, by the establishment of a network of local bodies throughout the districts based on elective principles, that will teach the future electorates what government by elected representatives really means, and develop the "citizen spirit," without which any system of broad direct franchise must be more or less of a farce.

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[Continued.]

862. (4) Holding the above views, I consider that the rural franchise should be extended slowly and cautiously. If the franchise be extended at once to all raiyats paying a rent of Rs. 48 or Rs. 64 and all holders of tenures with a cess valuation of Rs. 100, the result will be that the vast majority of these exercising the vote will not understand the real significance thereof. The first impulse of raiyats in these circumstances will be to go straight to their malik, or landlord, to ask for his orders as to what they are to do. They will ordinarily give their votes for the person he names. The success of a candidate will, therefore, depend largely upon his power of influencing the local maliks, and so upon the organisation at a candidate's disposal for securing the co-operation of these men, who have no system of combination among themselves capable of withstanding an organised canvass, and have not the education to understand the ultimate result of their action in giving a vote for any particular individual.

863. (5) The great majority of these maliks are men of no education, who have no interests beyond the agricultural conditions of their zamindaris and the collection of their rents, and know nothing whatever of political movements or of what goes on in the legislative council, of the existence of which many do not even know: much less do they understand what it means. If I were to go round the districts and ask these men who represented the landholders of their division upon the Legislative Council, I doubt if five per cent. of them would be able to tell me; and I am certain that not five per cent. of them would be able to tell me who represented the non-official members of the local Legislative Council in the Imperial Council, or even who represented the landholders of the Province in the Imperial Council. They know nothing of political questions, and care less. The questions that absorb their attention and concern are the payment of their Government revenue, whether the seasons will be favourable so as to enable them to realise their rents, and litigation with their tenants. If a candidate should seek to win their support, he would not do so by addressing them on the political or social questions of the day—he would approach them on the only subjects that interest them, viz., litigation with tenants, payment of revenue and realisation of rents: and here again it is where members of the legal profession, with the gift of ready speech, have such an advantage in canvassing them. If a hint is thrown out that by supporting such and such a candidate they will get legal assistance in litigation with their tenantry, they will most likely swallow the bait. In 1917 when measures were concerted to arouse the interest of the masses in the question of "Home Rule," and teach them their "rights against the State," I was informed that the raiyats were getting the impression that it would mean decrease of local taxation and reduction of rents. I am referring to existing facts, to present day conditions, not to what should be, and what we all wish to be. I mention these matters to indicate how utterly ignorant the people at large are at the present time of "politics" in the most comprehensive sense of the term, and how unfitted they yet are to exercise the vote. It is not, moreover, a case of a year or two, it will be decades, perhaps generations, before the atmosphere is congenial for a system of wide direct franchise by ballot as we understand the system in Western countries. These points are all relevant to the question of the extent to which the franchise can with any reason be widened at present.

864. (6) I have had long personal experience of elections of all kinds in this country, and I have never known the mufassal voters want to ascertain the political or social views of a candidate before deciding to vote for him or not. Their votes have generally been given as a result of some influence brought to bear. Practically the only occasions on which the truly rural folk exercise a vote at present in these parts are the Local Board elections. In these elections my experience, and the experience of officers subordinate to me, has been that the villagers receive instructions as to whom they should vote for from their maliks. In the mufassal municipalities the only plank that I have ever heard of candidates

standing on has been that of reducing taxation. I have often heard of this being stated as the inducement for giving a vote to a particular candidate. In most of the mufassal municipalities in these parts there are two parties, generally a Muhammadan and a Hindu party and keen rivalry is displayed between the two. When one party secures a majority, the other party form the opposition, and do what they can to oust their successful opponents at the next election. Where a non-official has been appointed chairman of a municipality, I have often been requested to arrange for an official chairman on the ground that the person in question was associated with one faction, and that the adherents of the other party would be put to trouble. In the case of elections to the Legislative Councils much the same thing goes on. I have had many cases before me of charges of corrupt practice and of the use of methods of securing votes that indicate that the idea of candidates representing the opinions and interests of the persons voting for them has not permeated the masses at all, and is understood by a comparative few. Racial or religious considerations and questions of local power or influence have paramount force. I need not perhaps here quote specific instances, but I can if necessary.

865. (7) I understand that the intention of the framers of the Report in recommending a direct franchise on as wide a basis as possible, was to ensure that the successful candidates should more truly represent the feelings and interests of the mass of voters. The great bulk of the voters under the proposals submitted will consist of agriculturists, who are, no doubt, the most numerous and important section of the people in this—chiefly agricultural—country. But I do not consider that, as conditions are, the effect will be as intended. I am convinced that the successful candidates will not represent the real opinions and interests of these masses any more than they are represented on the existing councils. If the true choice of rural villagers is to be ascertained, it must be taken in the villages themselves, in the presence of their co-villagers, where it is well known outside or improper influences have least effect. It we are to secure the real representation of these people we must start in the villages, and work upwards, which after all is only synonymous with the truism, that one must not build without laying a foundation.

866. (8) As regards the danger of such an extension of the franchise as might lead to a breakdown of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers, it will be necessary in the first place to fix some limit of time during which the actual work of voting should be completed. On the average, I doubt if it will be safe to calculate on a polling officer being able to deal with more than 350 voters per day of eight working hours. At head-quarters stations or in large towns, where officers with previous experience of supervision of polling stations are available, larger numbers can, no doubt, be put through in a day, but the supply of such officers is limited. If a polling station be established at every place where there is a police station in the mufassal, and if the recording is to be completed in one day, so far as this Division is concerned, I would estimate roughly that on the average about 12,000 voters could be dealt with in a day in each district. It is obviously desirable that the polling should not continue for several days.

867. (9) As regards the question of communal electorates and the representation of the interests of minorities, I am of opinion that the necessity for such a system of representation is as great today as it was thirty years ago. I believe that the abrogation of this hitherto accepted principle in this country would, instead of levelling differences, ultimately have the opposite effect, viz., of accentuating them and awakening and inflaming dormant jealousies. It is within my own experience, for instance, that the relations between the two great communities in this country, i.e., the Hindus and the Muhammadans, are if anything more strained at the present day than they were a quarter of a century ago.

868. (10) I agree that the planting and mining interests should have their own electorates, and when a chamber

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[Continued.]

f commerce is established in this Province, a similar privilege should attach to it; but I also consider that the great landholders should continue to have special electorates, as at present. If this be not granted, then many of the members of the old aristocracy and landed gentry—the men to whom the mass of the population

look up as their true leaders and their proper representatives—will not stand for election, as they shrink from the mere sense of self-respect, from the risk of being bespattered with some of the mud that is flung about on such occasions, and of being confronted by methods to which they themselves are unable to stoop.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, called and examined.

869. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was Commissioner of the Patna Division, and had 28 years' service.

870. He proposed a network of local bodies as the foundation of his franchise scheme. He would start with the village as the lowest and best known unit. These villages might be grouped into circles. In the village he would have an open public recording of all householders' votes to elect one representative for the village. In the larger villages he would allow two or even three representatives. He would like this system of village representation to be used for other purposes also. He was not in favour of panchayats. The village representatives would be members of the circle council which in turn would be subsidiary to a sub-divisional or district council; he would prefer the former. Ultimately these village representatives would elect direct to the Legislative Council. He thought that such a system of election by village representatives could be freer from undesirable influences than if members were returned to the Council directly by individuals, because the village representatives would be influenced more by the opinions of their fellow-villagers.

871. His impression was that there were nearly 8,000 census villages in Gaya, some 4,000 to 5,000 in Patna and 5,000 to 6,000 in Shahabad. The number of village representatives would be higher than this because the larger villages would get more than one representative. He considered that the men elected under his system would be more representative than those elected by a direct system of election.

872. Certain instances of corruption in connection with elections had been brought to his notice. He might mention a recent case in the Patna municipality reported by the Chairman in which it appeared that a vote had been given for the wrong person, the voting paper having been dropped on the floor. In another case in connection with a Legislative Council election no candidate had charged another with indulging in corrupt practices. It was eventually decided that the taking of the bribe was not proved.

873. As regards ignorance on the part of the electors, he might mention the case of a Subadar-Major, friend of his, who, at an election for the Governor-General's Council had voted for a particular candidate because he thought he was the sarkar's nominee. This was about three years ago.

874. In Bihar and Orissa he would give special representation to the Muhammadans, to the aborigines in some parts, for instance Chota Nagpur, to the planters in North Bihar, to the mining and industrial community, and possibly also to the domiciled Bengali community. These were the chief cases. He thought Muhammadan communal representation was compatible with his scheme, although he had not worked out a system. It should be possible to have separate Muhammadan electorates in the villages or to combine Muhammadan villages or to have a system of plural voting.

875. As regards the great landowners, he would keep

the franchise high because the lowering of it would obscure the distinctiveness of the class. Members of the community had themselves told him that big men would shrink from offering themselves for election by an enlarged electorate. If the high franchise was kept, he would agree to the 25 per cent. of the seats at present reserved for them being reduced.

876. As regards the electoral machinery he had had experience of municipal, district board and Council elections. He had recently consulted his subordinate officers, and the gist of many opinions received was that ordinarily 350 votes could be polled by one officer in a day. Experienced polling officers could improve on that. 500 votes might possibly be recorded by such a person, but 1,000 was in his opinion an excessive estimate. He assumed that the elections would be by ballot. In the Patna district, 30 official polling officers could, he thought, be provided. He would use practically all gazetted officers for this purpose, including judicial officers. He would not recommend using non-official agency. He would rather not give his reasons.

877. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) For the present it would probably be impracticable to arrange that the village representatives should vote in their own villages for the Council elections. He did not think that an electorate of village representatives would be more open to undue influences than a large general electorate. They would have to face their co-villagers again after the election.

878. He did not withdraw the charges of corruption. He himself had formed no opinion with regard to them. There were many non-officials whom he would readily appoint to assist at elections, but, considering Honorary Magistrates as a class, he could not recommend that they should be employed.

879. In the case of the domiciled Bengali community he would allow them to elect their representative direct. He would not utilise any Association for the purpose.

880. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He would like to see his proposed system utilised for other purposes. His village representative was an original voter and he did not think that his scheme was in conflict with the Report.

881. (*Mr. Hailey.*) He would like legislation introduced at once to provide the required electoral machinery in the villages.

882. (*Mr. Sahai.*) So far as Bihar was concerned he did not think Indian Christians of sufficient importance to justify a separate seat.

883. He would certainly give special representation to the aborigines of Chota Nagpur.

884. The "depressed classes" was a wide term. In his own division they did not form a distinct class, and he would have them represented by the village representatives.

885. He would not fix a specific percentage off-hand for the number of members to represent the agriculturists in the Council, but he thought that their adequate representation was a matter of the first importance. He was not at present in favour of a separate electorate for Europeans as such, including officials.

J. JOHNSTON, Esq., I.C.S.

886. While this subject was under consideration I came across the following extracts from the works of Professor Ramsay Muir. "The second condition of the successful working of self-government is that there must exist a real unity of sentiment in the community which attempts it. When the community is divided by deep and irreconcilable antipathies, by the uncon-

querable distrust and dislike of one element in it for another discussion becomes futile and agreement impossible, and the attempt at self-government leads only to anarchy."

887. This statement appears to me too sweeping, but at the same time the experience of Ireland has shown that the mechanical application of the principle of one

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[Continued.]

man one vote to conditions such as those described above is not workable. When the last Home Rule Bill was before Parliament I was on leave, and happened to have occasion to discuss it with a college friend, Mr. J. K. Fotheringham, M.A., Lecturer on Ancient History in King's College, London, joint author of one of the volumes in the series "the Political History of England," and one of the best read persons in historical and political subjects that I know of. He remarked that the great defect of the Bill was that it only provided for one-member constituencies, and the effect of this was to disfranchise the minority however large, and to bring to the front the most extreme man on each side. The conditions of this province are far more similar to those of Ireland than to those of Great Britain. Leaving Orissa and the aboriginal races out of account, there are three classes with differences as strongly marked as those in Ireland, Hindus, Muhammadans and Europeans, the chances of fusion between which are a negligible quantity. To give representative institutions a proper chance of success, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact pointed out by Sir Thomas Raleigh in his little book on Politics, that counting heads is only a modern substitute for breaking them, and that to decide strongly contested matters by a majority of votes is only practicable when all the voters are of approximately equal fighting value. It is therefore desirable to arrange things so that no class shall be in a position to carry out its own ideas without regard to the views and wishes of the others, the apprehension of which is the rock on which all the Home Rule schemes for Ireland have been wrecked. I believe this result can be secured without any very serious departure from the principle of equality of voting power, practically all that is necessary being that minorities instead of being treated as nonentities, as they are under a system of one-member constituencies, should be given due weight, that each constituency should return at least two members, and that a voter should be allowed either to distribute his votes or to give both to one candidate as he considers desirable, a system with which the people of this country who possess votes are already familiar in connection with municipal elections.

888. If they are not to be entirely swamped by the Hindu majority, I consider that communal electorates for Muhammadans and Europeans are absolutely essential. The idea that special members of these communities might be elected by the general electorate is quite unworkable. There will always be found a number of persons possessing the necessary qualifications ready to take advantage of such a situation, who would be, about as representative of their communities as the conscientious objectors would have been of the people of Great Britain during the war. Such a system would not be one of representation but of misrepresentation. I also consider it extremely desirable that those persons who have votes as members of a special electorate should also be able to vote as members of the ordinary electorate. This will have a restraining influence on extremists, and will tend to cause the representatives of the electors on the ordinary franchise to pay some attention to the views of minorities, which otherwise they would be tempted to disregard.

889. While I am in favour of special electorates in regard to communities, I am strongly opposed to those on the basis of particular interests. If such concession is granted to the planting and mining interests it will be almost impossible to refuse it to the great landlords, who are agitating loudly for such a privilege but so far from requiring special protection, are likely to sweep the ordinary electorates at the beginning, either in their own names or in those of their nominees. Practically every lawyer of whatever class is either a landlord or tends to become one as soon as he has saved some money, and it will require very strong pressure on the part of the voters to get their supposed representatives to consider their interests rather than those of the class to which they belong themselves. As amongst the members of each class, I am of opinion that each

voter should count equally. This will particularly benefit the poorer class of Europeans, who at present are practically without representation.

890. With regard to electoral divisions, by far the most convenient will be the sub-division, which is already the principal unit of administration. Some are more populous than others, but the average remains more or less steadily in the neighbourhood of 500,000 to 600,000 inhabitants. I thought at first of giving three members to those that are very populous, and reducing to one member those which fall below a population of 250,000, but after careful consideration I do not think this would be desirable, as most of the former class appertain to those parts of the province the representatives of which will probably constitute the majority, and the latter generally belong to places like Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas, inhabited by aboriginal tribes, which require special protection. The inequalities are considerably less than those at home, and are rendered much more necessary by local conditions.

891. With regard to Muhammadan representation, I find that a Hindu Muhammadan Conference at Lucknow agreed to a proportion of 25 per cent. for this province. This result can be attained if in each district where Muhammadans are approximately 10 per cent. of the population, two special Muhammadan members are elected, and in those in which they are approximately 5 per cent., one is elected. It appears from the census figures that there are some districts in which the proportion of Muhammadans is just under ten per cent., and consequently I avoid an absolutely hard and fast rule. Where the proportion of Muhammadans is still less than this, districts might be grouped together for the purpose of electing a member or members. I think this is better than taking the division as the unit, as the people of each district ordinarily know little of those of other districts, and to take such a large unit as the division would be to put an undue premium on canvassing and wire-pulling.

892. With regard to Europeans, under which term I would include for this purpose Anglo-Indians and Eurasians, I think the division might ordinarily be taken as the unit and would recommend four members for each of the other divisions, and two for Orissa, where the number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians is small, to be elected by the votes of all the adult Europeans of the division who exactly would be entitled to be classed as Europeans is a question which has already been settled by the Arms Act, and there will be no difficulty in deciding who are the persons to be admitted to this electorate.

893. In order to provide for special classes, such as the planting and mining interests, I would reserve 10 places to be filled by the nomination of Government. I think this is better than that the interest concerned should elect its own members, as most of these interests are rather of the nature of close corporations, and the leading idea of the member elected by them is likely to be to protect the interests of the body concerned without any special regard to those of the general public.

894. The number of non-official members having been so much increased, I consider that the number of official members should be increased also, and would include all heads of departments, including the Director of Public Instruction, the Director of Land Records, the Director of Agriculture, the Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University. I would suggest a total number of 25 official members, the balance being made up of a few selected officers, who have special knowledge or take special interest in the question coming before the Legislative Council. In addition to the Vice-Chancellor, who will be the official member, the Patna University might be given two members, to be elected by graduates of a certain standing.

895. If it can possibly be arranged, I attach great importance to the consideration that the voting should be secret; otherwise in many instances the voters will be driven to the poll like a flock of sheep by their landlords or money-lenders. In view of the illiteracy of the great mass of the people, it is somewhat difficult to

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Mr. J. JOHNSTON.

[Continued.]

arrange this, but considerable success has been obtained in municipal elections by means of different coloured ballot boxes for each candidate.

896. On the above basis the number of representatives of each district would be as follows:—

Patna Division.

	Popula- tion.	Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.
Patna City and Sadr	341,256	2	170,383	2
Dinapore	314,544	2	..	..
Burh	375,321	2	..	..
Bihar	578,102	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,609,631			
Gaya and Sadr	785,237	2	221,043	2
Rayach	480,806	2	..	..
Jahansbad	422,237	2	..	..
Aurangabad	990,978	2	..	..
TOTAL	2,159,499			
Shahabad Sadr	631,226	2	131,189	1
Buxar	332,971	2	..	..
Sasaram	544,374	2	..	..
Shabbus	307,089	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,865,660	24		5

Tirhut Division.

	Popula- tion.	Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.
Saran Sadr	894,248	2	263,741	2
Sewan	758,039	2	..	..
Gopalganj	636,831	2	..	..
TOTAL	2,289,118			
Champaran Sadr	1,101,433	2	236,098	2
Bowdah	808,987	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,910,420			
Muzaffarpur Sadr	1,081,475	2	350,820	2
Siwan	1,053,739	2	..	..
Hajipur	710,800	2	..	..
TOTAL	2,846,014			
Darbhanga Sadr	1,063,849	2	668,611	2
Madhubani	1,116,771	2	..	..
Samastipur	130,062	2	..	..
TOTAL	2,920,682	22		3

Bhagalpur Division.

	Popula- tion.	Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.
Monghyr Sadr	1,094,683	2	300,339	2
Ekurval	451,735	2	..	..
Jamui	386,695	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,933,113			
Bhagalpur Sadr	568,377	2	215,706	2
Supaul	463,871	2	..	..
Madhopura	609,610	2	..	..
Banka	437,660	2	..	..
TOTAL	2,139,518			
Furness Sadr	942,719	2	631,227	2
Araria	440,233	2	..	..
Kishanganj	606,638	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,989,590			

Bhagalpur Division—contd.

	Popula- tion.	Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.
SANTAL PARGANAS—				
Dumka	416,004	2	176,614	2
Godda	387,180	2	..	..
Deoghar	308,477	2	..	..
Jamtara	265,843	2	..	..
Pakoor	257,835	2	..	..
Rajmahal	310,051	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,882,973	32		8

Chota Nagpur Division.

	Popula- tion.	Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.
Hazaribagh Sadr	612,544	2	133,328	2
Chitridh	452,616	2	..	..
Chaura	223,408	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,288,568			
Ranchi Sadr	528,172	2	51,158	1
Khunti	349,693	2	..	..
Gunia	511,711	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,389,576			
Palamanu	687,267	2	57,669	1
Machum Sadr	1,163,454	2	82,776	1
Dhanbad	384,122	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,547,676			
Singbhum	694,394	2	7,671	—
TOTAL		20		5

Orissa Division.

	Popula- tion.	Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.	Muham- madan Repre- sentatives.
Cuttack Sadr	1,068,772	2	63,386	—
Kendrapara	485,918	2	..	..
Jajpur	554,449	2	..	..
TOTAL	2,109,139			
Balasore Sadr	594,936	2	30,974	—
Bhadrak	460,632	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,055,568			
Angul	199,451	1	395	—
Puri Sadr	655,798	2	19,348	—
Khurda	367,604	2	..	..
TOTAL	1,023,402			
Sambalpur Sadr	302,039	2	3,546	1
Bargarh	442,164	2	Three districts jointly.	3
TOTAL	744,203	18		3

The final construction of the Legislative Council would therefore be approximately as follows:—

Ordinary representatives	116
Muhammadan representatives	29
European representatives	18
University representatives	2
Official members including the Vice-Chancellor, Patna University	25
Nominated members	10
TOTAL	200

Mr. J. Johnston, I.C.S., called and examined.

897. (Sir Frank Sty.) He was a member of the Indian Civil Service of 21 years' standing.

898. He recommended plural constituencies in order to safeguard the interests of minorities. Most minorities were already provided for in his scheme either by separate electorates or nomination, but the Indian Christians were a case that had not been provided for. His proposal was however made not in the interests of any particular minority but on general considerations. He would refer to the case of the North and South

Tyrone constituencies with which he was acquainted and in which the minorities never got representation. He agreed that he was considering more the safe-guarding of the interests of political parties which were in a minority than the existing minorities in the province.

899. He had revised his scheme on seeing the Local Government's proposals. He now took the district instead of the sub-division as his unit. To Patna City he gave a separate member; all other towns in the province he merged in the rural constituencies.

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Mr. J. JOHNSTON.

[Continued.]

900. He strongly favoured the ballot system, which had proved satisfactory at the recent Darbhanga municipal election. Most of the polling officers on that occasion had been officials but he could not say if they had all been. He would borrow officials from other districts for this purpose and would employ officials from classes down to that of Sub-Registrars.

901. As regards employing non-officials at the poll there was the difficulty about their giving their own votes but he thought that they could be employed if they were not local men.

902. (*Mr. Hailey.*) A small minority would not be helped by his system. He thought that two political parties might easily develop in India on religious lines. He had already provided for the interests of the Muhamadan community by giving them communal representation.

903. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He had proposed that voters so qualified might vote in a special as well as in a general electorate but he had since become aware that this was in violation of an accepted principle.

904. He proposed to give 9 seats to Europeans which he thought was in accordance with the importance of their interests.

905. With regard to the appointment of Heads of Departments to the Council he accepted the proposal of the Local Government.

906. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He would not give plural voting to the Bengali community in the Purnea district.

907. He was the Collector of Bhagalpur. Bhagalpur town had a population of 70,000 whereas the population of an ordinary sub-division was about 2½ lakhs to one million. It was not fair in these circumstances to give a seat to a town like Bhagalpur, particularly as the representatives of rural areas would in some cases be living in towns and would look after the interests of the urban areas.

908. (*Mr. A/ab.*) Whether rural elections were at the mercy of the zamindars depended upon the extent to which secrecy was observed. If left to themselves the agricultural voters would in many cases return members of the educated classes.

II.—THE UNITED PROVINCES.

At Lucknow.

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PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

COMPOSITION OF COUNCIL, ELECTORATES AND CONSTITUENCIES.

1001. In the proposals outlined below an endeavour has been made to conform to the general conditions postulated in paragraphs 226 to 233 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. Provision accordingly has been made for (a) direct election, (b) as broad a franchise as appears to be practicable, having regard to the problems involved in the maintenance of an electoral roll, the attendance of voters at polling centres, the danger of impersonation and the subsequent adjudication of electoral petitions, and (c) for communal and special electorates only where these are required in accordance with the principles adopted in the report.

I.—Franchise.

1002. (a) *General.*—In conformity with the general practice in Western countries, it is proposed to base the franchise entirely on property qualifications. This appears to be the only basis which will yield an electorate fairly representative of the various classes and interests. The actual qualifications suggested are low enough to embrace all the better educated classes.

1003. (b) *Rural areas.*—(1) *Tenants.*—Table VI shows that there are over five million tenants paying a rental of one rupee per annum and upwards. Apart from any question of fitness for the exercise of a vote, an electorate of this magnitude would be unworkable. It would be impossible to make adequate arrangements for the recording of votes. The total of secured tenants is 2,298,893.

1004. This would give a more manageable, but still an excessively large electorate. By omitting secured tenants paying rentals of 1 rupee to 24 rupees per annum the total would be reduced to 817,320. It would be inequitable, however, to exclude from the franchise all purely non-occupancy tenants. Tenants of this class, while their interests are less permanent than those of secured tenants, are entitled to some representation. It is proposed accordingly to restrict the franchise to tenants of all classes paying rentals of Rs. 50 per annum and upwards. The total is 816,364.

1005. (2) *Landlords.*—The payment of Rs. 25 revenue may be taken as equivalent to the payment of a rental of Rs. 50 per annum. It is proposed therefore to give a vote to all landlords paying a revenue of Rs. 25 and upwards. The total of such persons is 333,366. Fixed-rate tenants in the permanently settled districts and occupancy tenants in Oudh are practically under-proprietors, and those of them who pay a rent of Rs. 25 per annum and upwards will therefore be included in the roll. The number of such tenants is not considerable.

1006. (3) *Income-tax payers.*—Income-tax payers are clearly entitled to the franchise. The number is considerable.

1007. (4) *Kumaun.*—Conditions in the hill pottis of Kumaun are peculiar. Most of the land is held on what is practically a ryotwari tenure. The land revenue is very light, and resembles rather a poll tax than the land revenue assessments in the plains. The amounts paid are in practically all cases less than Rs. 25 per annum, and are no adequate indication of the assessee's standing. There are in Almora and Garhwal a fairly considerable number of tenants known as khaikars and a small number known as sartans. Very few of these pay as much as Rs. 50 rent per annum, but the khaikars, though technically tenants, possess in some respects the status and privileges of under-proprietors. In Kumaun, therefore, it is proposed to confer the franchise on all persons paying land revenue, on the tenants known as khaikars and also on the small number of persons paying a rental of Rs. 50 per annum and upwards. In the plains portion of the Kumaun division the franchise will be the same as in other rural areas. Statistics are not available, but the numbers concerned are small.

1008. (c) *Urban areas.*—The qualifications of the electors in the different municipalities vary so greatly that it is impossible to accept the municipal electoral rolls as the electoral rolls for the Provincial Council. While, e.g., Ferozabad has an electorate that is 16·40 of its population, Ballia has an electorate that is only 1 per cent. of the population. Not only have different municipalities different qualifications, but in cases where the nature of the qualification is the same the limiting amounts vary very greatly, e.g., where the qualification is the payment of a municipal tax the minimum amount varies from Rs. 2 in Ferozabad to Rs. 36 in Agra; where the qualification is the ownership or the occupation of a building of a certain minimum annual value the minimum annual value ranges from Rs. 3 in Agra to Rs. 120 in Cawnpore and Rs. 300 in Farrukhabad; where the qualification is the receipt of a minimum annual income the minimum ranges from Rs. 120 in Dampur to Rs. 16 in Mirzapur; where it is the payment of land revenue or land rent the minimum payment ranges from Rs. 15 to Rs. 250.

1009. Moreover, as the electoral rolls are in most cases prepared by non-official members, it would be unsafe to rely upon figures which are not based on any definite data. The only suitable basis for framing an electoral roll in such cases is to adopt those qualifications the possession of which renders the possessor liable to definite liabilities, such as municipal taxes. The most suitable qualifications from this point of view are the possession or occupation of houses of a minimum annual value or the possession of a minimum annual income where such qualifications render the possessor liable to house tax or to a tax on circumstances and property or on trades and professions. It is proposed therefore that the qualifications in urban areas should be (1) the possession of an income of Rs. 200 a year, or (2) the occupation of a house of a minimum annual rental of Rs. 8 a month. The reason why in the latter cases the minimum of Rs. 3 is proposed is that in many municipalities where a house tax is in force houses of the annual value of less than Rs. 3 per mensem are usually exempted from such taxation. In municipalities in which a house tax is in force the assessment list of the municipal board should be utilized for the purposes of preparing the electoral rolls and similarly in municipalities where there is a tax on circumstances and property, or a tax on trades and professions, the assessment list should also be so utilized. There are, however, several municipalities in which direct taxation is not in force, the most prominent being Lucknow. In such cases it would be necessary to have lists prepared by an official agency, showing the annual value of the buildings and lands within the urban area.

1010. On the above basis the estimated number of electors* in the seven larger municipalities to which it is proposed to give separate representatives would be 55,000, while the estimated number of electors in the other municipalities, in notified areas and in town areas would be 123,000. It has, however, to be taken into consideration that in 515 smaller municipalities, the town areas and the notified areas, probably the great majority of the persons who would qualify either as occupying houses of a certain minimum annual value or as paying a tax on income would be qualified as landholders or as tenants. It is impossible to say what the number would be.

* Exclusive of incometax assesses.

(Continued.)

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

TABLE

Statement showing proposed

Division.	District.	Population according to census of 1911.	LITERACY ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911 OF MALES OF 20 AND OVER—HINDUS.		LITERACY ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911 OF OTHERS OF 20 AND OVER.		HINDUS PAYING LAND REVENUE FROM—				
			Vernacular.	English.	Vernacular.	English.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 40.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 8 to 10.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
PROVINCE OF AGRA.											
MERCUTY	Dehra Duh	177,281	9,632	1,028	2,138	1,558	161	166	268	595	
	Sahasranpur	657,265	13,519	1,262	3,109	1,318	6,146	4,068	3,451	13,665	
	Muzaffarnagar	576,487	20,902	455	2,288	131	4,212	2,990	2,258	9,880	
	Meerut	1,109,206	25,907	1,937	7,549	2,926	10,308	7,807	6,816	23,421	
	Bulandshahr	915,425	15,291	645	1,973	248	9,916	6,028	16,433	25,477	
	TOTAL	3,484,854	75,251	5,227	17,067	6,188	29,843	20,899	22,226	75,468	
AGRA	Ahgarh	1,022,966	25,868	1,081	2,714	304	2,955	2,999	3,458	8,607	
	Mutina	594,551	21,172	1,129	1,320	753	3,385	1,901	2,306	7,541	
	Agro	797,531	27,289	3,100	4,986	2,259	2,275	2,298	3,496	8,005	
	Malsnpur	753,147	12,093	496	1,739	149	1,575	1,449	2,698	5,622	
	Khat	780,698	11,650	379	1,620	153	1,057	1,019	1,669	3,745	
	TOTAL	3,948,213	98,464	6,275	12,379	3,717	11,798	8,061	13,529	34,355	
BOHLEWALD.	Bareilly	759,362	13,755	1,092	3,229	2,568	1,191	1,295	2,414	4,900	
	Bijnor	525,704	7,687	379	1,783	190	370	637	1,674	3,361	
	Budaun	373,832	9,402	337	1,037	96	1,217	1,523	2,164	5,904	
	Moredabad	809,004	12,860	1,043	1,729	315	914	1,862	2,168	4,162	
	Shahjahanpur	808,616	14,134	806	484	121	1,040	1,037	2,173	4,250	
	TOTAL	4,179,659	64,664	3,728	5,596	3,354	6,026	5,892	11,841	23,262	
ALLAHABAD.	Farrukhabad	799,729	15,614	866	962	272	2,195	1,623	2,080	5,846	
	Etawah	714,493	15,153	572	990	185	1,507	1,426	2,736	5,671	
	Cawnpore	953,079	32,846	2,313	3,022	2,297	1,489	1,507	3,724	6,720	
	Fatehpur	598,631	11,610	273	134	38	780	772	1,548	3,150	
	Allahabad	1,167,748	26,478	2,549	3,442	2,751	1,148	906	1,941	3,989	
	TOTAL	4,189,680	101,031	6,573	8,550	5,451	7,993	6,234	12,051	25,468	
JHANSI.	Jhansi	620,189	14,669	1,145	4,129	1,680	2,074	1,153	943	4,170	
	Jalaun	434,788	11,146	270	132	51	1,784	1,351	1,457	4,562	
	Hamirpur	646,519	10,422	192	147	63	2,315	1,455	1,000	5,180	
	Banda	377,967	12,342	272	164	74	3,339	1,591	1,798	6,929	
		TOTAL	2,078,823	48,581	1,879	4,572	1,868	10,012	5,550	5,288	20,850
BENARES.	Benares*	655,717	34,824	4,090	857	546	764	510	1,202	2,536	
	Mirzapur*	1,002,530	21,797	671	298	100	817	632	1,049	2,496	
	Jaunpur*	1,054,958	22,631	804	296	61	1,358	1,715	1,715	4,910	
	Ghazipur*	763,104	14,436	616	95	64	2,514	1,364	1,296	5,174	
	Balia*	792,741	15,638	464	69	42	1,722	858	722	3,302	
	TOTAL	4,269,119	109,528	6,416	1,613	813	7,855	4,722	6,044	18,421	
GORAHPUR.	Gorakhpur	2,678,234	61,140	1,975	665	364	6,765	4,404	4,142	15,311	
	Basti	1,525,745	31,049	497	104	44	5,231	2,050	2,523	10,864	
	Azamgarh	1,305,976	23,806	492	278	95	5,410	3,159	2,101	10,670	
		TOTAL	5,709,954	115,995	2,964	1,037	503	17,466	10,613	8,766	36,845
	G. P. DIVISION.	Naini Tal†	251,636	10,290	612	770	401	119,400
Amroha		521,568	20,816	781	1,363	1,237	..	..	..	1,99,223
Gairwar†		476,553	23,607	544	225	127	..	..	..	1,35,096
		TOTAL	1,249,747	54,683	2,137	2,368	1,765	150,879
TOTAL, AGRA		29,059,549	669,095	35,298	58,162	23,654	30,893	62,471	79,275	282,518	
OTHER.											
LUCKNOW.	Lucknow	462,882	16,672	3,693	5,276	4,599	1,117	757	1,022	2,906	
	Unao	834,832	19,230	589	299	68	2,271	1,632	3,344	7,548	
	Fee Bareilly	929,298	21,738	618	147	74	550	465	981	1,996	
	Sitapur	967,217	17,148	762	347	131	727	650	1,166	2,563	
	Kheri	1,001,708	17,672	511	420	103	2,795	2,432	3,221	8,418	
	TOTAL	8,202,927	12,077	3,181	300	109	298	301	572	1,171	
FYZABAD.	Fyzabad	1,028,155	18,242	960	1,414	1,275	3,763	1,783	1,525	7,061	
	Gonda	1,165,305	26,498	872	158	124	2,810	1,836	3,295	7,750	
	Bahraich	846,217	17,345	562	194	69	92	80	1,262	1,435	
	Sultanpur	932,294	17,681	358	60	35	2,490	1,490	1,465	5,474	
	Parlambour	868,369	13,494	358	77	40	629	462	724	1,815	
	TOTAL	963,330	14,364	415	249	52	999	650	1,319	3,288	
	TOTAL, OTHER	5,699,371	107,784	3,450	2,150	1,595	10,783	6,401	9,620	26,804	
	TOTAL, OTHER	10,716,485	212,471	9,941	8,849	6,679	18,541	12,909	19,956	51,406	
	GRAND TOTAL	39,778,034	881,586	45,239	76,011	30,332	108,434	75,380	99,231	438,024	

NOTE.—(1) Urban electorate comprises persons in municipalities (excluding seven large towns), notified areas and town areas who are (1) in (2) Income-tax assesses have not been shown in the above statement as figures are not available for Hindus and Muhammadans. These figures are exclusive of fixed-rate tenants to whom, vide note, paragraph 1 (b) (2) it is proposed to give a vote. Figures are not available. The figures for Kumaon do not include the Kulkart tenants, to whom, vide paragraph 1 (b) (4) of note, it is proposed to give a vote, but these are some tenants in Garhwal and Naini Tal paying over Rs. 50 rent but the figures are insignificant. These figures include both Hindus and Muhammadans. Separate figures are not available but the number of Muhammadans is small. These figures do not include occupancy tenants to whom, vide note, paragraph 1 (b) (2), it is proposed to give a vote. Figures are not available. This number includes Aryas, Jains Sikhs, etc. who are included under "Musulmans" in columns 8 to 11 and 15 to 18.

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

II.
general constituencies.

PERSONS OTHER THAN HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS PAYING LAND REVENUE FROM—					HINDUS PAYING RENT FROM—			PERSONS OTHER THAN HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS PAYING RENT FROM—			Total of columns 11, 16, 18 and 21.		URBAN.		Total of columns 23 and 24.	Total of columns 25 and 26.	Number of members.
Rs. 25 to Rs. 45.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 12 to 14.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 16 and 17.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 19 and 20.	Total of columns 11, 16, 18 and 21.	Hindus.	Others.	Total of columns 23 and 24.	Total of columns 25 and 26.			
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		
6	6	21	43	721	356	1,077	22	11	23	1,738	2,504	602	3,108	4,844	1		
8	4	19	31	8,050	6,047	14,097	3	1	4	28,037	3,078	104	3,182	81,819	1		
1	1	..	2	8,568	7,722	16,290	7	5	12	25,664	3,528	4	3,532	29,196	1		
1	2	18	21	10,477	14,325	24,802	2	7	9	57,230	2,899	71	2,970	80,170	1		
4	2	22	30	26,248	29,463	55,711	26	17	33	81,277	3,078	AF	3,078	94,972	1		
20	16	97	133	72,008	58,813	130,821	59	41	100	204,576	16,627	798	16,425	221,001	4		
..	..	..	..	17,591	21,110	38,701	1	4	5	47,516	2,745	43	2,808	50,324	1
..	..	..	..	9,590	5,949	15,539	4	3	7	23,087	4,899	16	4,915	28,002	1
..	..	..	..	13,176	9,485	22,661	3	3	6	36,294	1,805	21	1,826	38,120	1
..	..	..	..	12,224	1,187	13,411	3	..	3	34,036	1,368	3	1,371	35,407	1
..	..	..	..	13,778	6,695	20,473	8	4	12	34,234	3,327	363	3,590	37,824	1
6	5	15	26	71,363	49,366	120,729	19	19	38	155,107	14,704	366	15,070	170,287	4		
1	5	10	16	14,302	3,213	17,515	4	1	5	22,484	549	4	558	23,042	1 (including Pilibhit).		
1	1	12	14	11,970	9,881	21,851	6	..	6	25,001	3,421	175	3,596	28,597	1		
..	..	..	..	12,991	3,627	16,618	6	..	6	32,334	2,898	171	2,969	34,003	1
..	..	..	..	12,127	7,217	19,344	22	5	27	39,879	4,377	25	4,412	44,291	1
..	..	..	..	5,381	-1,068	4,313	1	..	1	10,704	2,354	85	2,369	13,003	1
..	..	..	..	6,318	1,109	7,427	..	..	..	8,929	463	10	473	9,402	1 (included in Bally).
4	7	28	49	68,946	56,515	125,461	43	7	50	118,624	12,582	430	13,012	132,816	5		
..	..	..	..	9,067	3,125	12,192	1	1	2	18,443	2,720	20	2,740	20,783	1
..	..	..	..	14,054	6,380	20,434	2	1	3	25,028	2,840	30	2,870	27,898	1
..	..	..	..	4,328	4,328	8,656	4	8	12	29,474	344	2	346	30,461	1
..	..	..	..	10,095	2,964	13,059	1	..	1	16,241	451	6	457	16,698	1
..	..	..	..	14,356	4,374	18,730	13	12	25	22,779	1,009	3	1,012	23,791	1
9	2	23	34	65,553	20,128	85,681	26	17	43	111,966	7,368	61	7,429	119,395	5		
..	..	..	..	2,580	859	3,439	..	..	..	7,420	2,470	384	2,854	10,280	1
..	..	..	..	14,054	6,380	20,434	..	..	..	12,894	1,221	24	1,305	14,239	1
..	..	..	..	5,521	1,507	7,028	..	..	..	12,189	1,070	11	1,081	13,270	1
..	..	..	..	3,842	877	4,719	..	..	..	11,650	1,038	10	1,048	12,698	1
4	13	26	40	17,027	5,895	22,922	1	..	1	44,192	5,895	409	6,274	50,467	2		
..	..	..	..	4,971	1,555	6,526	3	1	4	9,065	497	497	497	9,562	1
..	..	..	..	3,991	1,314	5,305	3	5	8	7,812	2,085	33	2,098	9,910	1
..	..	..	..	6,097	1,496	7,593	1	4	5	12,500	1,815	11	1,826	14,326	1
..	..	..	..	4,476	1,251	5,727	2	1	3	10,806	1,347	19	1,366	12,173	1
..	..	..	..	4,346	1,596	5,942	..	..	..	9,226	2,740	7	2,747	11,973	1
2	2	..	4	22,821	7,192	30,013	6	11	17	49,517	3,484	70	3,554	53,071	5		
1	1	16	17	6,126	685	6,811	4	7	11	22,152	2,378	43	2,421	24,573	2		
..	..	..	..	5,982	995	6,977	..	..	..	17,544	85	11	86	17,630	1
..	..	..	..	4,357	781	5,138	2	2	4	15,799	1,684	20	1,684	17,483	1
2	2	23	27	16,167	2,441	18,608	6	15	21	55,495	4,022	74	4,101	59,596	4		
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19,490	1,927	263	2,189	21,679	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	98,293	..	..	..	98,293	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,098	..	..	..	35,098	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	150,879	1,927	263	2,190	153,099	1
46	47	219	312	326,921	199,000	525,921	172	104	276	899,287	71,540	2,471	73,011	972,298	30		
..	..	..	..	11,065	3,163	14,228	3	1	4	17,070	500	..	500	17,570	1
..	..	..	..	1,966	2,316	4,282	..	..	..	21,831	1,391	5	1,396	23,227	1
..	..	..	..	15,234	2,335	17,569	1	1	2	20,191	141	5	146	20,337	1
..	..	..	..	29,090	3,196	32,286	..	..	..	39,346	497	11	508	40,354	1
..	..	..	..	17,577	4,321	21,898	1	3	4	20,968	1,907	13	1,922	22,890	1
..	..	..	..	13,767	3,625	17,392	6	4	10	20,674	943	7	950	21,624	1
3	1	20	24	100,748	24,391	125,139	10	9	19	149,784	5,279	43	5,322	155,106	6		
..	..	..	..	3,213	1,999	5,212	1	..	1	10,075	2,327	46	2,373	12,448	1
..	..	..	..	12,482	2,978	15,460	..	..	..	22,214	1,337	32	1,369	23,583	1
..	..	..	..	17,082	6,183	23,265	..	..	..	34,872	1,331	6	1,337	36,209	1
..	..	..	..	7,907	1,437	9,344	1	1	2	14,421	314	2	316	14,737	1
..	..	..	..	9,172	2,377	11,549	..	..	..	16,384	517	13	530	16,914	1
..	..	..	..	23,186	7,307	30,493	..	..	..	33,565	3,027	12	3,039	36,604	1
..	..	..	..	77,612	21,531	99,143	3	5	8	126,011	8,333	109	8,442	134,453	5
3	3	25	31	178,380	45,972	224,352	13	14	27	278,795	14,122	152	14,274	293,069	12		
49	50	244	343	515,241	215,872	731,113	185	118	303	1,165,598	85,672	2,623	88,295	1,253,877	42		

possession of an income of Rs. 200 a year or (3) in occupation of a house of a minimum annual rental of Rs. 3 a month separately. The total for the province is 38,439. Practically all of these will be entitled to vote under the other qualifications given above, but the total of such tenants is small. additions would not very largely add to the total of electors. total Muhammadan population being only 70,043. but the total of such tenants is small.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

TABLE

Statement showing proposed

Division.	District.	Population according to census of 1911—Muhammadians.	LITERACY ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911 OF MUHAMMADAN MALES OF 20 AND OVER.		MUHAMMADAN TAX	
			Vernacular.	English.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
PROVINCE OF AGRA.						
MIRZAPUR.	Dehra Dun	27,794	1,517	258	14	10
	Saharanpur	329,094	6,254	569	2,337	1,437
	Muzaffarnagar	231,873	3,895	185	1,053	601
	Meerut	295,241	5,587	533	1,981	1,335
	Bulandshahr	208,367	3,942	317	1,152	839
	TOTAL	1,093,369	21,195	1,862	6,537	4,222
AGRA.	Aligarh	143,314	3,810	711	220	175
	Muttra	61,759	1,322	150	126	55
	Agra	60,361	4,097	854	87	61
	Mainpuri	44,477	1,032	52	30	36
	Etah	91,399	1,818	49	162	142
	TOTAL	401,310	11,879	1,816	625	469
ROHTAKHAND.	Barcilly	217,760	5,598	549	364	412
	Bijnor	280,501	4,590	229	411	308
	Budaun	176,376	3,256	257	556	474
	Moradabad	453,269	7,292	527	655	621
	Shahjahanpur	139,159	2,953	287	211	217
	TOTAL	1,853,339	25,783	1,955	2,249	2,118
ALLAHABAD.	Farrukhabad	104,293	2,364	170	357	229
	Etawah	45,623	1,518	201	41	24
	Cawnpore	62,187	3,711	544	70	54
	Fatehpur	78,308	1,620	76	323	228
	TOTAL	440,083	18,042	2,366	1,341	1,034
JHAJESI.	Jhansi	37,068	1,790	248	8	11
	Jaisan	30,455	615	42	45	21
	Hamirpur	34,169	1,045	100	67	70
	Banda	27,408	1,536	241	248	116
	TOTAL	129,100	4,986	631	368	218

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

III.

Muhammadan constituencies.

RURAL LAND REVENUE—		MUHAMMADANS PAYING RENT—			MUHAMMADANS.				Number of members to be elected by Muhammadan constituencies grouped by the districts electing them.
Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 6 to 8.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 10 and 11.	Total of columns 9 and 12.	Urban electo- rate.	Total of columns 13 and 14.		
6	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
19	43	193	112	306	346	1,065	1,413	Dehra Dun	
1,387	5,161	3,545	3,167	6,712	11,873	1,434	13,307	Saharanpur	
724	2,378	3,016	2,982	5,998	8,376	1,998	10,374		
1,140	4,456	4,036	2,951	6,987	11,443	941	12,384	Meerut	
2,373	4,364	4,411	3,528	7,939	12,303	1,258	13,561	Muzaffarnagar	
5,643	16,402	15,201	12,740	27,941	44,343	6,696	51,039	Bijnor	
463	858	1,090	1,321	2,411	3,269	1,549	4,818		
134	315	551	282	833	1,148	414	1,562	Bulandshahr	
210	358	556	268	824	1,182	400	1,582	Aligarh	
49	115	190	66	256	371	382	753		
267	571	650	331	981	1,552	1,149	2,701	Muttra	
1,123	2,217	3,037	2,268	5,305	7,522	3,894	11,416	Agra	
1,033	1,809	2,340	561	2,901	4,710	973	5,683	Mainpuri	
617	1,336	2,770	1,935	4,705	6,041	3,556	9,597	Etah	
726	1,756	1,428	492	1,920	3,678	1,854	5,530	Fatehgarh	
1,169	2,445	6,752	2,697	9,449	11,694	4,983	16,677	Etawah	
699	1,127	634	193	827	1,954	2,270	4,224	Cawnpore	
350	488	785	185	970	1,458	146	1,604	Fatehpur	
4,594	8,961	14,709	6,063	20,772	29,733	13,782	43,515	Bundelkhand	
401	987	554	235	789	1,776	1,727	3,503		
78	143	209	80	289	432	790	1,222	Allahabad	
176	300	538	104	642	942	39	981	Jaunpur	
394	945	883	242	1,126	2,070	250	2,320	Mirzapur	
775	1,824	1,522	485	2,007	3,831	395	4,226		
1,824	4,199	3,708	1,146	4,852	9,051	3,201	12,252	Benares	
10	29	57	15	72	101	438	529	Ghazipur	
36	102	177	71	248	350	229	579	Ballia	
65	202	230	67	297	499	338	837	Azamgarh	
152	516	174	47	221	737	151	888	Gorakhpur	
263	849	638	200	838	1,687	1,146	2,833	Basti	

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

TABLE

Statement showing proposed

Division.	District.	Population according to census of 1911—Muhammadans.	LITERACY ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1911 OF MUHAMMADAN MALES OF 20 AND OVER.		MUHAMMADANS PAY-	
			Vernacular.	English.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENARES.	Benares*	41,450	3,525	434	42	34
	Mirzapur*	68,507	1,533	128	47	45
	Jaunpur*	101,296	3,328	266	338	287
	Ghazipur*	76,561	3,054	273	397	297
	Ballia*	52,677	1,976	105	78	57
	TOTAL	340,491	12,416	1,206	902	720
GORAKHPUR.	Gorakhpur	322,946	4,893	484	331	165
	Basti	304,676	4,140	129	553	443
	Azamgarh	186,843	5,038	233	1,225	781
	TOTAL	814,465	14,071	846	2,099	1,389
KUMAON†	Naini Tal‡	71,883	1,353	144	..	..
	Almora	3,546	428	58	..	..
	Garhwal ‡	3,614	219	17	..	..
	TOTAL	79,043	2,000	219	..	..
	TOTAL, AGRA	4,651,200	111,372	10,901	14,121	10,170
OUDE.						
LUCKNOW.]	Lucknow	91,580	8,438	1,647	447	336
	Unao	76,033	1,947	128	255	195
	Rae Bareli	87,566	2,645	190	153	123
	Sitapur	171,779	3,055	246	76	58
	Hardoi]	119,540	2,432	209	209	197
	Kheri	138,261	1,926	112	55	57
	TOTAL	654,779	20,443	2,532	1,195	969
FYZABAD.]	Fyzabad]	127,854	3,435	208	394	241
	Gonda	226,907	3,408	209	379	332
	Bahraich	201,460	3,562	186	34	22
	Sultanpur	116,320	2,328	95	333	146
	Partabgarh	93,613	2,026	152	55	37
	Bara Banki	180,537	3,946	201	509	443
	TOTAL	946,791	18,705	1,051	1,704	1,221
	TOTAL, OUDE	1,601,570	39,148	3,583	2,899	2,190
	GRAND TOTAL	6,252,770	150,520	14,484	17,020	12,360

NOTES.—(1) Urban electors¹⁰ comprises persons in municipalities (excluding seven large towns), notified areas and town areas who are (1) on (2) Income-tax assess¹⁰ have not been shown in the above statement as figures are not available for Hindus and Muhammadans. These figures are exclusive of fixed-rate tenants to whom, vide note, paragraph 1 (b) (2), it is proposed to give a vote. Figures are not shown. The figures for Kumaon do not include the khaskari tenants, to whom, vide paragraph 1 (b) (4) of note, it is proposed to give a vote, but there are some tenants in Garhwal and Naini Tal paying over Rs. 50 rent but the figures are insignificant. These figures include both Hindus and Muhammadans. Separate figures are not available but the number of Muhammadans is small, the figures are not shown. These figures do not include occupancy tenants to whom, vide note paragraph 1 (b) (2), it is proposed to give a vote. Figures are not shown.

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

III.

Muhammadan constituencies—contd.

ING LAND REVENUE—		MUHAMMADANS PAYING RENT—				MUHAMMADANS.			Number of members to be elected by Muhammadan constituencies grouped by the districts electing them.
Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 6 to 8.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Total of columns 10 and 11.	Total of columns 9 and 12.	Urban elector. rate.	Total of columns 13 and 14.	16	
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
96	172	159	46	205	377	78	455		
63	155	81	25	106	261	235	496	Moradabad 1	
521	1,148	316	124	440	1,586	799	2,385	Budaun } 1	
302	696	271	116	387	1,383	905	2,288	Shahjahanpur } 1	
96	231	75	23	98	329	515	844		
1,078	2,700	902	334	1,236	3,936	2,632	6,498		
324	810	536	44	580	1,390	900	2,290	Bareilly } 1	
442	1,438	1,914	478	2,392	3,830	11	3,841	Filibhit } 1	
692	2,698	579	108	687	3,385	796	4,181	Kumaun } 1	
1,458	4,948	3,029	630	3,659	8,605	1,707	10,312	TOTAL 13	
..	\$19,480	..	..	..	..	635	585	Gonda } 1
..	\$96,239	..	..	..	..	..	..	Bahraich } 1
..	\$35,096	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	150,825	..	..	..	..	635	535	Kheri } 1
15,983	191,099	41,222	23,381	64,603	256,702	35,493	291,195	Sitapur } 1	
508	1,291	681	238	919	2,210	9	2,219	Hardoi } 1	
503	956	455	149	604	1,560	669	2,229	Lucknow } 1	
200	478	740	120	860	1,336	23	1,359	Unao } 1	
175	309	2,246	529	2,775	8,084	254	3,338	Fyzabad } 1	
481	887	1,378	323	1,601	2,488	819	3,307	Bara Banki } 1	
92	204	1,460	330	1,790	1,994	148	2,142	Sultanpur } 1	
1,959	4,123	6,860	1,689	8,549	12,672	1,922	14,594	Partabgarh } 1	
240	875	574	100	674	1,549	1,357	2,906	Rae Bareilly } 1	
867	1,578	2,351	672	2,923	4,501	565	5,066	TOTAL 5	
404	460	2,947	1,182	4,109	4,569	902	5,471	GRAND TOTAL 18	
195	674	1,064	217	1,281	1,955	136	1,091		
117	209	1,020	233	1,353	1,462	239	1,701		
833	1,785	1,748	408	2,156	3,941	613	4,554		
2,066	5,581	9,804	2,792	12,396	17,977	3,812	31,789		
4,615	9,704	16,464	4,481	20,945	36,649	5,734	36,383		
20,598	200,808	57,686	27,862	85,548	286,351	39,227	327,578		

Possession of an income of Rs. 200 a year or (2) in occupation of a house of a minimum annual rental of Rs. 8 a month, separately. The total for the province is 38,430. Practically all of these will be entitled to vote under the other qualifications given above, available but the total of such tenants is small, these additions would not very largely add to the total of electors.

total Muhammadan population being only 79,043, available but the total of such tenants is small.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

TABLE IV.

Statement showing the seven general urban constituencies.

	POPULATION.			LITERACY ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1911 OF MALES OF 20 YEARS AND OVER —HINDUS.		LITERACY ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1911 OF MALES OF 20 YEARS AND OVER —OTHERS EXCLUDING MUHAMMADANS.		URBAN ELECTORATE.		
	Hindus.	Others.	Total.	Vernacular.	English.	Vernacular.	English.	Hindus.	Others.	TOTAL.
Allahabad city	106,729	5,038	111,767	5,683	1,986	3,024	2,435	5,951	451	6,402
Benares "	143,468	993	144,461	16,443	3,605	684	430	9,579	43	9,622
Lucknow "	136,223	4,909	140,832	10,368	3,543	5,200	4,565	10,000	400	10,400
Cawnpore "	112,357	2,849	115,206	11,179	1,673	2,892	2,306	(rough) 5,826	(rough) 325	(rough) 6,145
Agra "	107,076	2,865	109,741	7,694	2,393	2,598	1,924	6,994	403	7,397
Bareilly "	57,580	1,471	59,051	3,285	765	504	313	1,443	100	1,543
Meerut "	58,918	7,662	66,580	6,303	1,106	2,909	2,301	2,858	18	2,876

The total number of income-tax assesses (Hindu and Muhammadan) is 6,175. It has not been possible to separate the Hindu from the Muhammadan assesses.

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

TABLE V.

Statement showing the proposed three Muhammadan urban constituencies.

	Population, Muham- madans.	LITERACY ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1911 OF MALES OF 20 YEARS AND OVER.		Urban electorate, Muham- madans.
		Vernacular.	English.	
Allahabad	47,934	4,244	1,083	2,201
Benares	55,407	2,481	331	1,712
	103,341	6,725	1,424	3,913
Lucknow	99,117	6,822	1,544	2,000
Cawnpore	41,834	2,833	479	1,707
	140,951	9,655	2,023	3,707
Agra	54,194	2,831	722	2,699
Bareilly	58,470	2,523	414	540
Meerut	49,647	2,020	318	1,586
	162,311	7,374	1,454	4,825

The total number of income-tax assessors (Hindu and Muhammadan) is 6,175. It has not been possible to separate the Hindu from the Muhammadan assessors.

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Number of scholars on the 31st March, 1911, an

	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.		Indian Christians.		HINDUS.				Mohammedans.		Buddhists.		Parals.		Others.	
	1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.	Brahmans.		Non-Brahmans.		1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.
					1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.								
COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.																
<i>Arts Colleges—</i>																
English	Male	9	32	52	69	670	962	1,412	2,554	768	1,148	..	..	3	2	2
	Female	33	36	12	13	..	..	3	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..
Oriental	Male	..	..	..	..	889	367	20	..	365	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Colleges for Professional training—</i>																
Law	Male	..	..	3	2	109	164	248	414	86	151	..	..	1	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical	Male	..	..	..	1	..	63	..	81	..	7	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering	Male	60	32	12	11	87	43	229	193	83	26	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Teaching	Male	..	..	2	4	27	38	32	44	9	20	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	5	3	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture	Male	..	1	2	..	24	14	90	62	25	11	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commercial	Male	..	1	..	40	..	10	..	72	..	41	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forestry	Male	..	12	..	7	..	24	..	42	..	13	..	4	..	2	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	107	124	85	150	1,806	1,665	2,084	3,462	1,329	1,420	..	..	4	4	4	2
SCHOOL EDUCATION—GENERAL.																
<i>Secondary schools—</i>																
<i>For boys—</i>																
High school	Male	1,464	1,784	809	696	6,225	9,058	17,190	23,538	7,154	8,869	25	9	29	23	17
	Female	134	197	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middle schools—	Male	286	365	555	715	1,579	1,913	4,436	5,114	2,548	2,617	9	4	12	8	..
	Female	89	170	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vernacular	Male	..	..	187	193	11,132	10,223	23,406	17,104	9,724	5,659	16	..	..	..	9
	Female	..	..	..	..	18	14	43	19	1	9	..	..	..	..	..
<i>For girls—</i>																
High school	Male	239	288	13	44	..	11	6	12	4	9	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	1,130	1,335	465	559	24	62	34	107	24	44	5	..	7	27	..
Middle schools—	Male	211	307	57	72	..	2	..	22	1	10	..	..	..	6	4
	Female	286	480	2,010	2,150	102	208	140	414	82	147	..	..	15	8	3,1
Vernacular	Male	..	..	11	..	..	1	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	3	245	87	59	1,006	297	3,182	21	521	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	3,839	4,927	4,349	4,497	19,139	22,499	45,555	49,521	19,559	17,886	55	13	63	81	26	4,1
<i>Primary schools—</i>																
<i>For boys</i>																
English	Male	123	90	373	977	122,995	172,138	248,172	364,995	61,615	92,242	71	4	6	..	628
	Female	79	72	6	84	2,211	4,725	5,047	10,134	484	667	23	1	..	..	84
" girls	Male	97	72	174	15	29	57	218	225	6	7	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	133	82	678	722	6,072	8,482	16,936	21,243	5,599	5,670	6	4	7	..	..
TOTAL	432	322	1,231	1,796	131,297	185,402	268,373	395,598	67,704	96,586	100	9	13	..	712	3,0

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

1917, classified according to sex, race or creed.

	European and Anglo-Indians.		Indian Christians.		HINDUS.				Muhammadians.		Buddhists.		Parseis.		Others.	
	1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.	Brahmans.		Non-Brahmans.		1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.
					1911.	1917.	1911.	1917.								
SCHOOL EDUCATION—SPECIAL.																
School for special instruction—																
Training schools	Male	..	..	..	8	455	1,003	442	997	287	318	1	..	..	..	3
	Female	47	41	54	85	66	29	114	87	32	18	..	..	..	..	..
Schools of Art	Male	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Law schools	Male	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical schools	Male	..	..	12	26	57	114	189	373	27	105	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	6	..	52	41	1	6	7	8	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering and Surveying schools	Male	120	42	..	..	..	1	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Technical and Industrial schools	Male	..	18	469	400	48	129	143	398	238	223	..	..	3	..	1 24
	Female	32	183	..	22	..	4	..	4	..	44	..	..	..	..	41
Commercial schools	Male	10	..	24	..	15	..	18	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural schools	Male	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Reformatory schools	Male	..	..	..	4	9	11	90	107	50	57	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other schools	Male	57	55	4	6	452	3,726	1,904	2,520	194	1,208	..	..	..	..	12
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL		272	287	615	587	1,108	5,041	2,997	4,532	741	2,094	1	..	3	..	1 80
TOTAL OF COLLEGS AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.		4,650	5,600	8,280	7,032	163,345	215,057	318,810	454,113	89,333	119,975	150	26	83	85	741 3,472
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.																
1. Advanced teaching—																
(a) Aesthetic or Persia.																
	Male	..	..	..	1	..	70	447	372	8,900	10,117	..	..	..	..	1
	Female	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	78	192	..	..	..	..	..
(b) Sanskrit																
	Male	..	..	..	..	6,125	8,205	951	1,307	26	3	..	..	..	..	31
	Female	..	..	..	..	17	53	15	117	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(c) Any other Oriental classic.																
	Male	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Elementary teaching—A—																
For boys																
	Male	..	..	1,488	1,817	5,560	4,716	19,215	18,294	4,519	6,098	..	..	..	..	6 19
	Female	..	..	19	235	47	398	247	835	57	240	..	..	..	..	..
For girls																
	Male	..	..	..	..	2	..	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	315	618	164	610	788	1,483	285	111	..	..	..	..	..
3. Elementary teaching. The Quran only—																
For boys																
	Male	..	..	..	1	2	71	83	348	15,546	21,850	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	3	810	874	..	..	..	..	..
For girls																
	Male	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	61	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	741	1,411	..	..	..	..	..
4. Other schools not conforming to departmental standards—																
For boys																
	Male	2	..	175	94	1,359	1,667	3,666	5,668	1,451	1,828	..	..	..	..	18
	Female	..	..	17	12	8	14	8	55	6	13	..	..	..	..	..
For girls																
	Male	..	..	..	25	2	..	5	6	..	7	..	..	..	..	..
	Female	..	..	85	41	21	10	137	52	53	41	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.		2	..	2,079	2,344	18,396	15,816	24,471	28,542	32,425	42,702	..	..	..	..	7 82
GRAND TOTAL		4,652	5,600	8,359	9,376	166,741	230,873	343,280	482,655	121,758	162,677	150	26	83	85	748 3,494.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Statement showing the number of male scholars under instruction in each district for the years ending the 31st March 1911 and 1917.

District.	Male population, 1911.	Number of male scholars, 1911.	District.	Male population, 1917.	Number of male scholars, 1917.
1	2	3	1	2	3
Dehra Dun	120,829	3,553	Dehra Dun	120,908	5,786
Saharanpur	539,022	14,331	Saharanpur	541,091	16,774
Muzaffarnagar	444,454	14,461	Muzaffarnagar	444,882	14,982
Meerut	821,601	20,880	Meerut	822,305	26,270
Bulandshahr	591,848	14,880	Bulandshahr	592,267	19,049
Aligarh	628,677	15,273			
			TOTAL	2,521,423	82,861
TOTAL	3,146,431	83,378			
			Aligarh	629,524	22,082
Muttra	361,450	9,971	Muttra	361,507	11,813
Agra	556,649	16,232	Agra	557,320	25,743
Farrukhabad	493,271	11,703	Mainpuri	438,920	12,944
Mainpuri	438,424	7,917	Etah	474,576	14,166
Etawah	415,599	9,992			
Etah	474,364	9,439	TOTAL	2,461,847	86,687
TOTAL	2,739,757	65,254	Bareilly	593,836	16,904
			Bijnor	427,153	15,680
Bareilly	593,378	10,786	Budaun	577,591	13,546
Bijnor	427,113	13,136	Moradabad	676,151	23,369
Budaun	577,213	10,254	Shahjahanpur	513,562	14,541
Moradabad	675,305	16,945	Filibhit	262,002	6,674
Shahjahanpur	512,621	10,815			
Filibhit	261,919	4,668	TOTAL	3,050,265	90,314
TOTAL	3,047,549	66,603	Farrukhabad	494,017	18,061
			Etawah	416,648	14,504
Cawnpore	622,639	18,963	Cawnpore	623,427	28,718
Fatehpur	350,287	10,332	Fatehpur	350,207	13,627
Banda	332,161	7,609	Allahabad	744,382	33,933
Hamirpur	234,936	6,544			
Allahabad	743,901	17,792	TOTAL	2,628,961	108,843
Jhansi	350,091	8,901			
Jalaun	209,565	6,888	Jhansi	350,192	11,043
			Jalaun	209,525	9,043
			Hamirpur	234,842	9,735
			Banda	332,161	11,716
TOTAL	2,843,580	74,047	TOTAL	1,126,720	41,537

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

Statement showing the number of male scholars under instruction in each district for the years ending the 31st March 1911 and 1917—(continued).

District.	Male population, 1911.	Number of male scholars, 1911.	District.	Male population, 1917.	Number of male scholars, 1917.
1	2	3	1	2	3
Benares	451,663	20,571	Benares	451,545	39,592
Mirzapur	531,439	12,153	Mirzapur	358,278	12,914
Jaunpur	575,006	17,462	Jaunpur	576,070	27,016
Ghazipur	420,032	13,263	Ghazipur	420,200	17,976
Ballia	427,389	11,624	Ballia	423,694	18,144
TOTAL	2,405,529	75,073	TOTAL	2,229,787	115,642
Gorakhpur	1,604,217	31,298	Gorakhpur	1,604,635	40,763
Basti	925,693	21,230	Basti	926,286	28,272
Azamgarh	749,319	19,550	Azamgarh	749,800	23,629
TOTAL	3,279,229	72,078	TOTAL	3,280,721	92,664
Naini Tal	182,738	5,144	Naini Tal	182,875	6,407
Almora	266,636	10,438	Almora	266,516	13,837
Garhwal	235,890	6,334	Garhwal	235,818	10,093
TOTAL	685,264	21,916	TOTAL	685,209	30,427
Lucknow	411,640	15,936	Lucknow	411,799	21,121
Unao	478,398	10,131	Unao	478,585	12,809
Rae Bareilly	510,690	13,551	Rae Bareilly	510,665	13,661
Sitapur	605,836	13,222	Sitapur	606,339	15,122
Hardoi	608,891	9,582	Hardoi	608,867	14,502
Kheri	510,477	6,512	Kheri	511,512	8,632
TOTAL	3,125,922	70,934	TOTAL	3,128,767	85,847
Fyzabad	575,686	14,377	Fyzabad	575,621	18,252
Gonda	718,553	12,800	Gonda	718,418	17,220
Bahraich	543,716	8,936	Bahraich	544,594	12,117
Sultanpur	516,199	10,277	Sultanpur	515,980	14,320
Partabgarh	437,048	11,325	Partabgarh	437,183	13,254
Bara Banki	563,881	11,877	Bara Banki	564,137	14,189
TOTAL	3,355,083	69,592	TOTAL	3,355,933	89,352
✓ GRAND TOTAL	24,628,344	598,875	GRAND TOTAL	24,469,373	824,174

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

TABLE VI.
Statement of all Tenants.

Division.	District.	PAYING IN REHT FROM—																
		Franchise.			Mohammedans.			Others.			TOTALS.							
		Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99. and over.	Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99. and over.	Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99. and over.	Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99. and over.					
MERCUT.	Dihra Dui	6,000	1,262	721	366	931	244	168	112	86	14	12	11	7,023	1,520	928	479	
	Shaherpur	14,072	7,040	8,050	0,947	0,055	8,757	8,645	8,197	83	8	3	1	21,080	11,709	11,668	10,115	
	Munaffernagar	18,568	7,993	8,598	7,725	5,485	2,725	3,016	2,982	4	5	7	5	24,067	10,721	11,691	10,709	
	Meerut	46,112	21,006	19,477	14,323	10,978	4,654	4,036	3,951	17	5	2	7	56,802	26,665	23,515	17,238	
	Bulandshahr	46,395	30,046	36,846	29,463	8,773	5,136	4,431	3,522	111	62	35	17	54,879	35,394	40,692	32,005	
	TOTAL	131,703	68,256	78,032	58,813	31,927	16,654	15,201	12,740	201	80	50	41	363,831	84,909	88,322	71,594	
	AGRA.	Aligarh	17,762	12,026	17,691	13,110	1,449	913	1,090	1,821	4	1	1	4	19,245	13,944	18,682	22,435
		Muzra	42,033	13,361	9,690	5,949	3,022	860	951	282	9	4	8	8	45,064	14,221	10,145	6,284
		Agra	42,039	20,851	16,175	9,635	3,749	635	556	268	19	7	3	0	43,807	21,523	18,784	9,713
		Madhapur	42,744	16,016	12,284	6,167	313	860	100	66	18	3	3	3	45,675	14,268	12,427	6,239
Bhah		32,485	16,326	19,778	6,665	3,016	1,072	660	331	61	17	8	8	36,592	17,415	14,431	7,029	
TOTAL		177,003	78,917	71,369	49,345	10,149	8,754	8,087	2,293	141	27	10	10	137,363	53,391	74,119	51,643	
BHOJIPUR.		Bareilly.	57,723	27,275	14,302	8,213	12,577	4,760	3,340	561	105	14	2	1	70,417	32,039	16,644	3,775
		Bijnor	15,765	8,905	11,919	9,831	5,651	2,685	2,770	1,935	12	8	6	1	21,328	11,493	14,695	11,816
		Budaura	64,041	25,264	18,291	9,227	5,475	2,621	1,428	492	61	22	6	1	78,460	28,107	14,325	4,320
		Moradabad	43,304	25,661	19,137	7,617	17,238	9,533	6,753	2,097	237	55	28	5	61,469	28,240	24,317	10,319
	Shahjahanpur	78,065	13,462	6,331	1,068	6,066	1,503	634	103	59	7	1	1	85,710	14,092	6,016	1,261	
	Phibhit	32,160	14,022	6,318	1,106	4,001	1,437	785	185	16	4	4	1	36,177	15,493	7,103	1,294	
	TOTAL	293,260	112,842	68,948	29,515	54,311	22,029	14,709	6,093	490	110	63	7	343,531	135,333	83,700	32,585	
	ALTAHABAD.	Farrukhabad	47,312	15,072	9,097	3,125	2,636	1,005	554	235	21	3	1	1	51,179	15,630	9,022	2,931
		Bawal	44,412	19,014	14,054	5,360	1,050	406	209	30	3	2	3	1	45,462	20,332	14,595	5,441
		Chavpore	60,826	31,090	17,931	4,305	2,544	971	838	104	3	3	4	3	73,179	32,978	18,523	4,478
Fatehpur		32,321	16,701	10,095	2,064	2,092	1,442	883	562	1	1	1	1	36,314	16,144	10,979	3,206	
Altahabad		77,807	31,300	14,356	4,374	8,519	3,317	1,923	487	42	16	16	12	86,458	34,633	15,599	4,871	
TOTAL		271,706	116,866	66,533	20,168	38,741	7,141	3,700	1,146	77	36	36	37	390,568	125,732	69,266	21,351	

JHANSI	Jhansi	54,220	7,540	2,580	650	622	110	57	15	11	2	..	..	54,918	7,661	2,637	674
	Jalun	19,927	9,275	5,954	2,852	793	840	177	71	3	..	..	20,722	9,981	6,141	2,423	
	Hamirpur	29,459	11,090	5,521	1,507	1,818	652	230	67	6	5	1	..	30,788	11,768	6,762	1,574
	Banda	67,309	10,093	3,842	877	2,878	584	174	47	5	..	..	60,192	10,627	4,016	984	
	TOTAL	160,975	38,004	17,007	5,885	5,610	1,654	688	200	25	7	1	..	166,610	39,662	19,546	5,555
BENARES	Benares	47,589	10,974	4,971	1,555	1,401	279	169	46	5	1	2	1	46,995	11,554	5,132	1,609
	Mirzapur	52,320	9,977	8,991	1,314	1,841	201	81	25	8	5	8	5	54,180	10,278	4,075	1,344
	Jaunpur	74,253	16,201	6,097	1,488	4,538	761	316	124	1	1	1	4	78,700	17,058	6,414	1,614
	Oharijpur	53,051	11,738	4,476	1,251	2,902	701	271	116	21	7	2	1	55,984	12,446	4,740	1,368
	Balla	49,592	11,045	4,346	1,566	1,902	216	75	23	21	2	..	..	51,515	11,288	4,421	1,609
TOTAL	277,305	60,925	23,861	7,192	12,082	2,249	902	384	95	19	6	11	229,453	62,289	24,791	7,537	
GORAKHPUR	Gorakhpur	370,910	35,301	6,128	685	35,555	3,272	536	44	110	10	4	7	409,582	38,592	6,658	736
	Basti	138,199	23,291	5,652	955	22,306	6,311	1,914	478	..	..	..	168,505	29,692	7,599	1,478	
	Azamgarh	121,019	18,175	4,867	761	13,054	2,388	579	108	1	4	2	3	134,074	20,597	4,988	871
TOTAL	630,128	76,767	16,647	2,441	70,916	11,971	3,099	630	117	23	6	9	701,161	88,781	19,245	3,085	
MIZORAM	Naini Tal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Almora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Garhwal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL, AGRA	1,941,822	549,897	226,881	109,000	204,286	65,958	41,223	28,381	1,117	297	172	104	2,147,175	618,159	278,275	108,885	
LUCKNOW	Lucknow	37,470	18,923	11,955	2,103	2,860	1,339	631	238	3	..	2	1	40,362	20,262	11,743	2,342
	Unao	90,260	30,396	11,955	2,316	5,111	1,334	455	149	1	..	..	95,372	31,730	12,420	2,405	
	Rae Bareilly	66,397	31,311	15,294	2,855	4,578	1,700	740	130	2	3	1	70,942	38,104	16,035	2,950	
	Sitapur	75,257	48,584	29,090	6,191	9,659	4,848	2,246	529	5	2	..	..	84,951	47,029	21,336	3,720
	Hardoi	98,011	37,829	17,577	4,321	7,371	2,662	1,278	323	18	18	1	3	105,400	40,506	18,556	4,647
	Khert	66,889	32,075	15,757	3,625	12,068	3,762	1,460	730	79	16	6	4	99,036	38,839	17,222	3,959
TOTAL	454,254	194,115	100,748	24,301	41,701	15,230	6,860	1,689	108	39	10	9	496,068	209,534	107,618	20,089	
FYSAHED	Fyhsabed	108,340	21,230	8,213	1,399	9,168	1,330	574	100	11	3	1	..	117,519	23,163	8,738	1,499
	Gonda	105,838	31,741	12,432	2,978	16,051	5,446	2,251	672	4	..	2	2	121,943	37,137	14,734	3,652
	Bahraich	74,238	30,491	17,053	6,189	16,046	5,756	2,947	1,162	10	1	..	80,294	36,248	19,999	7,345	
	Sultanpur	85,370	22,733	7,507	1,487	8,735	2,719	1,064	217	1	1	1	94,096	25,451	8,572	1,955	
	Partabgarh	60,861	22,326	9,172	2,377	5,957	2,314	1,030	233	1	..	..	75,610	25,640	10,192	2,610	
	Bareilly	75,529	32,328	23,188	7,207	9,863	3,509	1,748	408	1	2	..	85,392	35,537	14,934	7,617	
	TOTAL	619,026	161,546	77,612	21,561	64,810	21,672	9,907	3,792	23	7	3	5	658,564	183,523	87,219	24,378
TOTAL, OUDH	972,280	355,961	178,360	45,972	106,511	36,903	16,464	4,481	139	46	13	14	1,079,027	392,910	194,837	50,467	
GRAND TOTAL	2,915,102	905,858	515,241	215,872	410,747	102,861	54,026	27,862	1,228	348	165	118	3,227,102	1,009,002	573,112	243,852	

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

PROPOSALS.

[Continued.]

TABLE VII.
Statement of secured tenants.

Division.	District.	PAYING IN RENT FROM—															
		Hindus.				Muhammadans.				Others.				TOTALS.			
		Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.	Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.	Rs. 25 to Rs. 49.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.	Rs. 100 and over.
MUMBAI	Dohra Dun	8,813	848	595	214	538	147	140	44	19	32	23	28	4,365	1,022	767	286
	Baharanpur	8,036	5,760	5,672	4,499	4,310	2,718	2,683	1,886	1	1	9	4	12,947	8,476	8,364	6,389
	Munaffarnagar	8,398	4,460	4,884	3,431	2,995	1,785	1,620	1,343	..	1	..	..	11,398	6,255	6,510	4,824
	Meerut	24,230	11,842	11,311	7,072	6,051	2,479	2,033	1,501	7	2	1	1	30,238	14,323	13,945	9,474
	Bulandshahr	32,304	23,598	30,360	22,348	8,597	5,093	3,504	2,693	104	64	81	12	30,005	27,845	28,895	24,993
	TOTAL	77,381	46,512	52,822	38,514	20,486	11,122	9,995	7,407	131	90	64	45	97,998	57,724	62,981	45,060
AGRA	Allgarh	9,984	7,808	12,064	13,348	844	560	696	721	1	1	1	3	10,829	8,369	12,761	14,072
	Muttra	30,671	7,837	4,734	2,694	2,007	440	207	111	5	..	1	2	32,633	8,277	4,942	2,807
	Agra	30,184	14,987	12,729	6,170	1,152	440	356	141	17	5	2	2	30,353	15,432	13,087	6,319
	Mainpuri	36,667	13,092	9,217	3,308	745	208	145	51	17	2	2	..	37,429	13,302	9,364	3,359
	Etah	24,670	12,682	11,250	4,997	2,348	842	499	214	55	14	6	2	27,273	13,538	11,755	5,213
	TOTAL	131,376	56,406	49,994	30,517	7,098	2,490	1,903	1,238	95	22	12	15	138,567	68,918	61,900	31,770
BOMBAY	Bareilly	48,934	20,639	9,690	1,947	8,574	3,192	1,342	320	70	6	..	..	52,637	23,627	11,082	2,267
	Bijnor	7,535	5,598	6,074	5,102	2,492	1,336	1,339	814	7	2	2	..	10,084	6,931	8,315	5,016
	Budaun	49,410	16,690	7,495	1,770	6,428	1,895	713	176	45	18	6	..	55,838	19,608	8,214	1,946
	Moradabad	23,679	15,800	10,047	3,023	12,455	6,474	3,462	965	130	25	10	1	41,244	22,209	13,519	3,069
	Shahjahanpur	70,643	14,774	4,289	681	5,523	1,271	633	100	83	6	1	1	76,254	16,053	4,823	762
	Pilibhit	23,861	10,841	4,304	811	2,674	943	424	104	10	1	..	26,545	11,785	4,623	715	
	TOTAL	224,162	84,327	42,699	13,114	38,131	15,111	7,313	2,479	364	60	19	2	262,647	99,498	50,531	15,595
WEST BENGAL	Farrukhabad	33,969	13,380	7,517	2,335	2,459	780	434	167	13	4	2	1	36,441	14,094	7,953	2,403
	Etawah	25,904	14,564	10,998	8,381	645	249	123	46	..	1	..	28,549	14,334	11,123	3,927	
	Cawnpore	37,063	18,615	9,991	2,194	1,240	437	313	31	2	..	2	1	38,305	19,052	9,906	2,226
	Fatehpur	23,582	12,929	7,797	2,303	2,075	1,106	667	182	1	1	1	..	24,658	14,636	8,465	2,390
	Alibabad	26,353	22,978	10,133	2,948	5,672	2,169	1,035	325	29	..	13	8	61,953	25,177	11,231	2,391
	TOTAL	176,770	82,386	46,186	13,466	12,091	4,77	2,474	761	45	6	16	10	197,906	87,163	46,678	14,237

[Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

TABLE VIII.

Statement of persons paying Land Revenue.

Division.	District.	PERSONS PAYING IN LAND REVENUE FROM—															
		Rs. 1 to Rs. 24.				Rs. 25 to Rs. 40.				Rs. 50 to Rs. 99.				Rs. 100 and over.			
		Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Others.	TOTAL.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Others.	TOTAL.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Others.	TOTAL.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Others.	TOTAL.
Muzaffar- garh.	Dehra Dun	4,584	23	51	4,658	161	14	6	181	166	10	6	182	268	19	31	318
	Saharanpur	15,251	5,606	18	20,875	5,140	2,357	8	7,505	4,008	1,437	4	5,449	3,451	1,337	19	4,857
	Muzaffargarh	12,288	3,751	1	16,040	4,212	1,053	1	5,266	3,890	601	1	4,492	2,258	724	..	2,982
	Meerut	25,417	8,741	15	34,173	10,308	1,981	1	12,290	7,307	1,335	2	8,644	5,816	1,140	15	6,971
	Bulandshahr	10,198	4,740	15	14,953	9,016	1,152	4	10,172	6,028	890	3	6,870	10,433	2,373	82	12,888
	TOTAL	76,738	25,761	95	102,594	29,343	6,537	20	35,900	20,399	4,228	16	24,643	22,226	6,643	97	27,966
Agra.	Allgarh	8,031	878	5	8,900	2,052	220	..	2,272	2,899	175	..	3,074	3,456	463	8	3,922
	Multra	24,429	763	1	25,193	3,355	126	..	3,481	1,901	55	..	3,386	2,805	134	..	2,439
	Agra	7,773	467	5	8,245	2,376	87	4	2,463	2,298	61	2	2,359	2,496	210	1	2,707
	Mainpuri	5,109	306	3	5,418	1,575	30	..	1,605	1,449	36	2	1,487	2,608	49	8	2,655
	Etah	8,063	612	6	8,681	1,057	162	1	1,220	1,019	143	1	1,162	1,669	267	8	1,936
	TOTAL	48,405	2,911	20	51,336	11,765	625	5	12,425	9,601	469	6	9,566	13,529	1,123	15	14,652
Bengal.	Darjiling	1,097	909	31	2,037	1,191	304	1	1,556	1,295	412	6	1,712	2,414	1,033	10	3,457
	Bijpur	1,859	1,954	1	3,814	870	411	1	1,282	837	308	1	1,146	1,674	617	12	2,393
	Budoun	3,835	1,638	3	5,476	1,917	559	..	2,476	1,533	474	1	1,998	2,164	727	4	2,894
	Moradabad	1,943	2,523	4	4,470	914	555	1	1,570	1,068	621	..	1,689	2,186	1,169	6	3,361
	Shahjahanpur	1,685	800	1	2,486	1,040	211	1	1,252	1,037	217	..	1,254	2,173	699	3	2,875
	Pilibhit	206	131	..	337	97	..	149	138	86	..	224	730	350	8	1,082	
	TOTAL	11,525	8,014	40	19,579	6,029	2,249	4	8,282	5,892	2,118	7	8,017	11,341	4,694	38	16,073
Allahabad.	Farrukhabad	6,319	1,378	..	7,697	2,105	357	..	2,552	1,023	229	..	1,852	2,090	401	1	2,493
	Etawah	4,066	91	..	4,157	1,507	41	..	1,548	1,436	34	..	1,450	2,738	78	..	2,816
	Cawnpore	7,550	702	8	8,260	1,489	70	1	1,560	1,507	54	..	1,561	2,734	176	1	3,301
	Fatehpur	1,383	363	..	1,746	760	223	..	1,023	772	223	..	1,000	1,648	394	1	2,043
	Allahabad	3,714	1,402	3	5,119	1,142	550	8	1,700	906	499	2	1,407	1,941	775	20	2,726
	TOTAL	23,559	4,526	11	28,096	7,998	1,341	9	8,443	6,234	1,034	2	7,270	12,061	1,894	23	13,955

[Continued] PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

90 THE REFORMS COMMITTEE (FRANCHISE).

JHANSI.	Jhansi	13,136	116	6	13,252	2,074	8	2,082	1,163	11	6	1,170	943	10	5	958
	Jalaun	4,940	148	4	5,092	1,784	45	1,832	1,351	21	6	1,878	1,487	30	17	1,510
	Hauzpur	11,736	600	1	12,337	2,615	67	2,682	1,455	70	..	1,525	1,000	66	..	1,155
	Banda	16,946	778	1	17,425	3,580	248	3,788	1,501	116	1	1,708	1,708	152	1	1,051
TOTAL	46,457	1,702	12	48,171	10,012	368	4	10,384	5,550	218	13	5,781	5,288	208	23	5,574
BENARES.	Benares	4,276	140	..	4,416	764	42	806	510	84	..	544	1,282	98	..	1,380
	Mirzapur	8,465	130	..	8,595	817	47	864	632	45	1	678	1,040	68	..	1,112
	Jaunpur	6,129	1,140	..	6,269	1,837	338	2,176	1,368	287	1	1,646	1,715	521	..	1,236
	Ghazipur	10,005	1,464	88	11,569	2,514	397	2,912	1,364	297	..	1,661	1,296	808	..	1,568
	Balla	11,148	610	1	11,759	1,728	78	1,801	858	57	..	915	722	96	..	818
TOTAL	34,022	3,484	87	37,543	7,655	802	2	8,559	4,722	720	2	5,444	6,044	1,078	..	7,123
GORAKH PUR.	Gorakhpur	30,388	1,070	6	31,414	6,768	321	7,087	4,404	165	1	4,570	4,142	324	15	4,481
	Basti	21,090	2,405	..	23,495	5,291	558	5,844	3,050	443	..	3,403	2,523	442	3	2,963
	Azamgarh	21,047	5,891	3	26,441	5,410	1,255	6,636	3,159	781	1	3,941	2,101	692	5	2,708
	TOTAL	72,425	8,366	9	81,310	17,469	2,099	2	19,567	10,613	1,389	2	12,004	8,766	1,468	23	10,247
KUMAON.	Naini Tal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Almora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Garhwal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL, AGRA	318,111	55,264	224	368,599	89,893	14,131	46	104,060	62,471	10,170	47	72,688	79,275	15,983	210	95,477
LUCKNOW.	Lucknow	3,228	1,028	3	4,285	1,117	447	1,565	67	886	1	1,094	1,032	508	..	1,540
	Unao	8,101	881	1	8,933	2,271	255	2,527	1,983	108	..	2,131	3,844	503	1	3,848
	Rao Bareilly	1,452	478	..	1,925	550	153	703	485	123	..	588	981	300	4	1,185
	Sitapur	1,000	278	..	1,277	737	70	803	650	58	..	708	1,186	175	2	1,363
	Hardoi	6,741	1,245	3	7,989	2,705	209	3,005	2,402	197	..	2,599	3,221	491	2	3,704
	Kheri	988	235	3	1,226	308	55	853	301	67	..	858	572	92	11	675
TOTAL	22,417	4,118	10	26,545	7,758	1,195	3	8,956	8,508	669	1	7,478	10,386	1,959	20	12,315
PTANAD.	Fyzabad	22,531	1,828	1	24,360	3,758	394	4,147	1,733	241	1	2,025	1,525	240	..	1,765
	Gonda	8,154	1,431	..	9,585	2,319	370	3,108	1,686	332	..	1,968	3,205	887	1	4,163
	Bahraich	159	101	..	260	93	34	127	80	22	..	102	1,202	404	2	1,698
	Sultanpur	9,509	1,503	..	11,012	2,400	333	2,823	1,490	146	..	1,980	1,405	195	1	1,691
	Parbhagarh	2,440	221	..	2,661	629	55	684	462	37	..	499	724	117	..	841
	Bara Banki	3,623	1,358	1	4,982	999	509	1,508	950	443	1	1,394	1,319	833	1	2,153
TOTAL	46,416	6,490	2	52,908	10,783	1,704	..	12,437	6,401	1,221	2	7,624	9,620	2,056	5	12,281
TOTAL, OUDH	68,833	10,608	12	79,453	18,541	2,899	3	21,443	12,909	2,190	3	15,102	19,068	4,615	25	24,566
GRAND TOTAL	1,881,944	65,872	230	448,052	108,484	17,020	49	125,503	75,380	12,360	50	87,760	99,231	20,698	244	120,073

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

25 November 1918.]

The Hon'ble Mr. A. C. CHATAURJI

[Continued.]

At Lucknow, Monday, November 25th, 1918.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon'ble Lord SOUTHBOROUGH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. (President).

SIR FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.L., L.C.S.

SAHIBZADA AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

W. M. HALSEY, Esq., G.S.L., G.L.R., L.C.S.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOOG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SHRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. M. R. HOPKINS, L.C.S., Commissioner of the Meerut Division.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. V. CHINTAMANI.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., L.C.S. (Secretary).

The Hon'ble Mr. A. C. CHATAURJI, L.C.S., Revenue Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, called and examined.

1020. (Sir Frank Sly.) The Local Government proposed a uniform property qualification of Rs. 25 revenue and Rs. 50 rental throughout the province. They had carefully considered whether this uniformity was desirable, and they thought it was unfair to raise the franchise in the western districts where rents were high and the agriculturists were industrious and thrifty. In Bulandshahr, for instance, there were a large number of Jat cultivators and rents were fixed more or less by competition. There was a general tendency for rents throughout the province to level up. He thought the figures in Table II included urban population, but they excluded Muhammadans. A rental of Rs. 50 connoted roughly a net income of Rs. 200 after deducting charges of cultivation, maintenance of cattle, etc. Apart from Bulandshahr the average rental per acre throughout the province was Rs. 6. A rent of Rs. 50 therefore denoted a holding of about 8·2 acres. The average holding was of 4 or 5 acres. The urban franchise was based on a gross income of Rs. 200, but the professional expenses of the urban man could not be compared with those of the agriculturist. The figures were rough but had been arrived at after consultation with the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and the Director of Agriculture. In spite of the great variation in the number of voters in the different proposed constituencies the class of voters would be roughly the same in all cases. The Local Government had also considered whether the franchise should be based on the area of the holding, but they had come to the conclusion that a smaller area in more intensely cultivated areas, such as those irrigated by canals, would be equivalent to a larger area in other districts, so that uniformity could not be attained in this way.

1021. Women and minors had been excluded from the statistics. Joint holdings had been reckoned as one unit, the proposal being that the vote should be cast by the head of the family.

1022. As regards local traders with incomes of over Rs. 200 and less than Rs. 1,000, the Local Government had come to the conclusion that most of such persons would get a vote in urban areas; traders living in villages were usually cultivators or zamindars. He would submit a list of municipalities and town and notified areas, with their populations.

1023. He had no practical experience of elections, but he had supervised.

1024. The Local Government took a hundred seats for the Council as a rough figure, deducted a certain number for official members and special constituencies

and then gave 60 seats to the rural constituencies and 10 to the seven big towns, of which 7 were given to the non-Muhammadans and 3 to the Muhammadans. Two members were proposed for the Gorakhpur district because there was a proposal to partition it into two.

1025. He would give a statement showing the total Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan population of the province.

1026. (Mr. Aftab.) Eighteen rural constituencies would be reserved for Muhammadans. These constituencies had been arranged according to Muhammadan population and the contiguity of districts. Three seats were proposed for Muhammadans in urban areas. The interests of the province were primarily agricultural, and the rural electorate would be as intelligent and broad-minded as townsmen of the same status. It was possible and even probable that rural electorates would for the present be controlled by the zamindars.

1027. Candidates should be voters in some part of the province.

1028. Personally he was against fancy qualifications such as certain standards of education. The property qualification was simple and comprehensive.

1029. A small and compact Council was desirable. It would be difficult to get 160 competent men at the first elections but he saw no serious objection to the number being raised to 125.

1030. (Mr. Banerjee.) He thought that non-official agency would prove satisfactory at the elections if the men were chosen well. In some districts there might be difficulties in finding suitable men; they could be brought from other districts, but in that case a fee would probably be necessary.

1031. Personally he was against allowing even one member for the university; most of the voters would vote in other electorates. He believed that there was a growing feeling against university representation in England.

1032. (Mr. Hoog.) The influence of the landlords varied in different districts. To begin with they might win 60 to 70 per cent. of the seats. Generally speaking the landlords were now taking a more liberal view with regard to the tenants than formerly.

1033. (Mr. Halsey.) The provincial land revenue amounted to about Rs. 700 lakhs. He would submit a note comparing the amount of income tax and municipal taxes contributed by the urban areas as compared with the revenue contributed by the rural areas.

1034. The Gorakhpur figures suggested that a larger number of tenants were excluded by the franchise than elsewhere. But the figure was not up-to-date and the

* Not printed.

25 November 1918.]

The Hon'ble Mr. A. C. CHATTERJEE.

[Continued.]

number of qualified voters would be increased by the settlement, whereas in districts like Bulandshahr the figure was not likely to rise to the same extent. Given the same quality of land, rents, were likely to come to a level all over the province.

1035. In Agra the land-holders were not a separate class to anything like the same extent as in Oudh. In Oudh three-quarters of the land were held by a very small number of taluqdars. The Local Government considered that the big zamindars in Agra were not sufficiently differentiated from the small men and that it would be detrimental to them to exclude them from the general electorates. The taluqdars preferred that their representatives should be returned through the British Indian Association, a body in which there was much *esprit de corps*.

1035A. The great majority of urban areas were overgrown villages. He had never come across any avowed hostility between the smaller towns and the rural areas.

1036. (Mr. Sastri.) Simultaneous elections would make plural voting very difficult. Persons with plural votes would be few and it was not worth the trouble of taking steps to prevent it.

1037. In calculating the number of Indian elected members on which the proportion of Muhammadan seats was reckoned the special electorates had been excluded, because it had not been thought practicable to do otherwise.

1038. The question whether a voter who was qualified in a special and also in a general electorate should have the option of voting in either had not definitely been considered but he thought that all sorts of difficulties would arise if this was allowed.

1039. It was not practicable to give separate votes to members of joint families.

1040. The Local Government did not wish to insist on literacy as a necessary qualification for a voter; there were many capable persons who were illiterate and in fact the polling of their votes was quicker than in the case of literate persons. It was not necessary to insist that candidates should have a knowledge of English. This would come naturally.

1041. (Mr. Chintamani.) There was a proposal to allow a vote at District Board elections to any one who paid taxes, persons with income of Rs. 200 or over being liable to taxation.

1042. He agreed that the electorates as proposed were in some cases unwieldy but there was a fear of making the Council itself unwieldy if the proposed constituencies were split up and the number of seats increased.

1043. Kumaon was different from other parts. Educationally it was more advanced. It was split up into two parts and in any case it should not receive more than two seats.

1044. The number of land revenue payers in Oudh was much smaller than it was in Agra. The Local Government proposed to increase the representation of the British Indian Association from 1 to 5, and they also proposed that taluqdars should stand in the general electorates. He admitted that the taluqdars would be at least equally powerful in the elections with the Agra landlords. According to the Local Government's proposal the Agra land-holders would be deprived of their seat.

1045. (Mr. Hopkins.) Government had no record of incomes of less than Rs. 1,000.

1046. The proposal to tax and give a vote to persons with an income of Rs. 200 or more was not yet embodied in legislation.

1047. Holders of *sir* land would be excluded under the scheme, and also sub-tenants. He thought some of them should be allowed to vote, but in any case they would make very little numerical difference.

1048. In Agra two-thirds of the tenants were secured and so to some extent free from the influence of the zamindars. The landlords' influence over the tenants now-a-days was to some extent reduced.

1049. In Gorakhpur *nazam* was commonly taken. If this sum was spread out over a number of years the rent would approximate to the standard in the western districts.

1050. (Lord Southborough.) The tenants were an intelligent class who managed their own cultivation, owned their own cattle, sunk wells and adopted improvements when brought home to them. They were very like peasant proprietors, and the Local Government thought that they were well-qualified to have a vote.

1051. The Local Government was satisfied that the electoral machinery necessary to give effect to their scheme could be supplied.

1052. The district was the unit selected for nearly all administrative purposes, and it was the only unit above the *tahsil* that lent itself to representation. If it was not adopted the boundaries of the constituencies would have to be fixed by an elaborate boundary commission.

1053. Some of the taluqdars were Muhammadans.

1054. (Sir Frank Sty.) There was no regular system of *panchayats* but a *Village Panchayat Bill* was under consideration.

The Hon'ble Mr S. P. O'DONNELL, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, called and examined.

1055. (Sir Frank Sty.) The Local Government had considered general qualifications apart from property, and in their opinion the age qualification should be 21 years and women should be excluded. Voters need not be resident in their constituency.

1056. It was true that the uniformity of qualification produced great inequality in the number of voters in the different constituencies. It was difficult to say how a tenant paying Rs. 50 rent in Bundelkhand compared with a man paying a similar rent in say Bulandshahr. In Gorakhpur the rents were higher than elsewhere; the system of *nazam* was adopted in order to conceal the rent and avoid increase of assessment.

1057. The Local Government's scheme did not specifically include rural traders, but many such persons would be qualified as owners of land and in the smaller towns they would come in under the urban qualifications.

1058. By giving separate seats to the 7 big cities the Local Government thought they had sufficiently weighted the urban voters. There were 423 towns in the province with a total population of just under 5 millions. Apart from the 7 big cities there were 9 towns with a population of between 50,000 and 100,000, of which Gorakhpur was really an overgrown village. These towns were widely separated from one another and in themselves were not of sufficient importance to be given a separate seat. The urban population represented 7 per cent. of the total population of the province.

1059. The landlords would have the pull for some time in a combined rural and urban electorate; in future the lawyers might come in.

1060. The Local Government thought that practically all educated men would get a vote under their scheme without any educational qualification.

1061. The managers of Hindu joint families only should vote although it was possible that a few educated members of such families might be excluded by such a rule.

1062. The Local Government did not contemplate limiting plural voting.

1063. The Muhammadan population represented about 14 per cent. of the whole. The Lucknow compact gave them 30 per cent. of the seats. The Local Government would accept any formula agreed on by both communities. Unfortunately there was no complete agreement but the compact was the only formula that had behind it any measure of agreement.

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The Hon'ble Mr. O'DONNELL.

[Continued.]

1064. The British Indian Association was really identical with the taluqdars. The Association published a list of all taluqdars, who were about 270 in number, and who owned two-thirds of the province of Oudh. In Agra the population of landholders was larger and it was proposed to give them special representation. In Agra there were so many landholders in the composite constituencies that they needed no separate representation. The taluqdars were also a distinct class.
1065. As regards the university the Local Government proposed to adhere to the existing electorate, which had given satisfaction. Graduates became merged in the general population after taking their degrees. There were only 137 registered graduates for electing fellows to the university.
1066. The Local Government thought that adequate polling machinery could be provided. A single man could poll a minimum of 300 votes a day. In large districts the staff would have to be brought in from outside. Elections would take place on holidays and all available officials would be employed as well as non-officials. Three days would be required so that the officials could get backwards and forwards. Government thought they could find 1,500 officials and make up the required number with retired officials, honorary magistrates, and private persons.
1067. As regards qualifications for candidates the Local Government proposed that any voter in any constituency should be allowed to stand. 21 should be the minimum age for candidature, but the Local Government would not object to 25.
1068. He would put in a memorandum with regard to the Indian Legislative Assembly and Council of State. They asked for 11 seats on the Assembly instead of the 10 suggested in the Report. Of these 7 should go to the non-Muhammadans, 3 to the Muhammadans and 1 to the Oudh and Agra landholders alternately. The Local Government thought that both the Assembly and the Council should rest on a similar basis and they therefore rejected the idea of direct election. For the purposes of the Council of State the separate Muhammadan and landholders' constituencies might be utilized.
1069. Eighteen officials would be sufficient in the provincial Council, 17 would be required for a Grand Committee of 50 and 13 for one of 40. A small margin had been allowed.
1070. 2 seats should be given to the Anglo-Indians, and 1 to Europeans.
1071. The Local Government did not wish to exclude any backward tracts.
1072. (Mr. Aftab.) The Local Government did not go beyond 100 members because they thought the supply of suitable men limited.
1073. The 30 per cent. Muhammadan seats had been reckoned on the general constituencies excluding the special constituencies; it was difficult to apply the formula to special constituencies. The Muhammadan seats had been distributed between rural and urban in the same proportion as those of the general community.
1074. Benares University was an all-India institution. If it was to be given a seat at all it should be in the Assembly.
1075. It made very little difference whether the taluqdars were allowed to vote in the general electorates or not, for they could in any case influence the elections.
1076. The number of persons entitled to vote in more than one constituency was insignificant and the question of plural voting was therefore of academic interest.
1077. (Mr. Banerjee.) The Local Government would consider whether the number of members on the Council might not be raised to 125, giving seats to towns with a population of 50,000 or more. Aligarh was the only really important town which would not be separately represented under the Local Government's scheme. The urban vote was already weighted. The rural areas paid 16 times as much taxation as the urban. The Local Government did not share Mr. Banerjee's view that the success of the reform scheme depended on weighting the representation of the educated classes. They did not admit a purely educational qualification because persons so qualified would nearly always be qualified in other ways.
1078. He did not favour the idea that the university candidate should be returned by the registered graduates, because graduates severed their connection with the university on taking their degrees.
1079. The United Provinces Chamber of Commerce consisted of 98 members and had been formed 4½ years ago. He could not say that it was really representative of Indian commerce.
1080. He was in favour of employing non-officials at the elections.
1081. (Mr. Hogg.) It was impossible to give the number of Europeans resident in the province because soldiers were included in the census figures. In 1911 there were 33,000 Europeans. Officials would be included in this figure.
1082. The Local Government had no objection to election either for the Europeans or the Anglo-Indians. The qualifications for the vote should be the same as in other constituencies. There would be no difficulty in defining Europeans and Anglo-Indians.
1083. The Upper India Chamber of Commerce although asked had sent no witnesses to be examined.
1084. On the Indian Legislative Assembly the European and Anglo-Indian communities must, if necessary, be represented by nomination. They were not of sufficient importance always to have one of the 11 seats suggested for the United Provinces.
1085. The university seat was intended to give the university representation as an institution and not to procure on the Council a representative of the educated classes; therefore the member should be elected by the body responsible for the management of the university.
1086. (Mr. Hailey.) He thought the Congress-League compact was at least likely to last for a number of years. He did not anticipate that it would break down and he thought it would produce the minimum of friction between the two communities if adopted.
1087. He agreed that though the number of qualified landlords was far greater in Agra, where it was 382,000, than in Oudh, where it was approximately 52,000, yet taken by districts the figures gave less support to the contention that the Oudh taluqdars were numerically a smaller body than the Agra landholders, and therefore more entitled to special representation. The Oudh taluqdars were, however, a separate class and in a different position to the Agra landholders.
1088. The Local Government would consider whether pensioners, civil and military, and sepoy should be allowed to vote.
1089. Joint holdings should be treated as one unit. The manager or a nominated representative should be allowed to vote.
1090. If plural voting was forbidden there would be endless difficulties in preventing it.
1091. He had no objection to election in the case of Anglo-Indians. He would send to the Committee a suitable definition of this class.
1092. (Mr. Sestri.) He would send a copy of the Act and Regulations of the Benares University. The Local Government had not consulted the Government of India about the seat proposed for this university in the Assembly. The university representatives in England were not elected by the body responsible for the management of the university, and he believed that the result was that they were returned merely by the country persons.
1093. The Local Government would nominate elected members to the Grand Committee. This was in accordance with the proposals contained in the Report.
1094. The Local Government would not agree to allowing members to large towns on a sliding scale in proportion to population because this would involve a

* Vide page 201 of the Report.

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The Hon'ble Mr. O'DONNELL

[Continued.]

great increase in the number of members for rural as well as for urban areas, but they would agree to an extra member for Aligarh. The 9 towns with a population of over 50,000 could not be grouped and were not of sufficient importance to justify a separate constituency in each case. The Local Government considered that their proposals would give sufficient representation to the urban interests in the United Provinces. They proposed to give representation to Europeans, who were a much smaller community, because they stood on an entirely different footing. Industries and manufactures constituted the most important separate interests of the towns. The 9 towns were in reality simply market towns.

1095. There were in the Province a considerable number of depressed classes but their interests could be looked after without special representation.

1096. He did not regard woman suffrage as practical politics. Public opinion would be strongly opposed to it.

1097. (Mr. Chintamani.) It was difficult to estimate the relative values of qualifications in different parts of the province. The Local Government thought a uniform franchise more convenient, and this view was shared by the non-official members of the local Council.

1098. It might be the case that there was a proposal to admit to the district board franchise non-agriculturists who were neither rent nor revenue payers. He was not certain as the subject was not dealt with in his department.

1099. The Local Government thought the town vote was sufficiently weighted under their scheme. They would not object to two or three extra seats being added

to the 100 which they had proposed; in any case the number must be more or less arbitrary.

1100. They observed the district as the unit for the constituencies as closely as possible. Population was taken into consideration but, whether from the point of view of population, area or electorate, any scheme would present anomalies. The Local Government would probably agree to another member being given to the Kumaon Division.

1101. Fyzabad at present returned a member at alternate elections. It was a town of dwindling commercial importance and he did not know why it had ever been included. Possibly the reason was that it was the second town in Oudh.

1102. As regards Muhammadan representation, 30 per cent. had been calculated on the general electorates, the special electorates being excluded from the total number of "elected Indian members." This they thought was a fair interpretation of the Lucknow compromise.

1103. The United Provinces Chamber of Commerce consisted entirely of Indians. The Upper India Chamber was predominantly European.

1104. Provided the basis of the franchise was substantially the same for the Assembly as for the Council, and manageable constituencies could be formed the Local Government would have no objection to direct election to the Assembly.

1105. (Mr. Hopkins.) If the franchise was based on areas of holding, the constituencies would be even more unequal.

1106. (Lord Southborough.) The Local Government would have no objection to nomination for the depressed classes.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. G. SIM, I.C.S., Financial Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, called and examined.

1107. (Sir Frank Sly.) For the purposes of the urban franchise income would be taken to be net profits in the case of a business and in the case of salary, the gross salary. In the smaller municipalities incomes were roughly assessed by a committee of the municipal board. The Local Government's proposal was that where a house tax was in force the occupation of a house with a minimum rent of Rs. 3 a month should be the qualification; where this tax was not in force but only a tax on income, then the income tax should be the basis of the franchise. But in about one-third of the municipalities of the Province—Lucknow was the most important instance—there was no direct taxation. In that case there must be an assessment of the values of houses.

1108. "Notified areas" were areas usually containing a population of not more than 10,000 in which only a few sections of the Municipal Act applied. They were administered by a nominated Committee with limited functions. "Town areas" were large villages where the tax formerly levied for police purposes had been diverted to local needs. In both cases the tax in force was one on incomes.

1109. (Mr. Hailey.) He did not think that where there was no direct taxation the franchise could be based on an assessment of income. The Local Government's suggestion was not altogether satisfactory, but it was preferable. Assessments of house values had been prepared for 27 municipalities where the house tax was in force and it should not be difficult to prepare such a list for the 21 municipalities that had no direct taxation. He had submitted a note about the existing municipal franchise. He believed it to be the case that the average number of municipal voters in each municipality in the United Provinces was only 523 as compared with 1,742 in the Punjab, but he did not

think that such an average proved anything. There were a large number of municipalities in the United Provinces with a small population. The total municipal population was about 3,000,000, but the population of individual municipalities ranged from 230,000 to 6,000. The total number of voters was about 120,000 or 4 per cent. of the population. At the elections held in 1914, 1915, and 1916 only about 25 per cent. of the total electors voted but from 56 to 61 per cent. of the electors on the rolls of wards where the seats were contested had voted. The larger municipalities had as many as 8,000 voters of whom as many as 5,000 had voted.

1110. (Mr. Banerjee.) His objection to increasing the representation of towns was a fear of overweighting the urban vote. The urban population represented $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population and paid $\frac{1}{2}$ of the taxes (local and provincial) of the province. He did not know whether municipalities of 50,000 population would necessarily send well educated and competent men to the Council.

1111. (Mr. Astab.) A seat could not be given to Aligarh without giving it to other towns of the same population.

1112. (Mr. Chintamani.) The existing municipal franchise varied from one municipality to another. It had been proposed to make it uniform, but objections had been raised by the municipalities which at present had their separate qualifications prescribed by separate rules made, usually on the recommendation of each municipality, by the Government.

1113. He did not know why Fyzabad was allowed to return an alternate member to Council, and he saw no reason why it should be specially represented. As it was already proposed to give one-seventh of the seats to the urban areas, he was against increasing the urban representation further.

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VIKRAMAJIT SINGH, Esq.

[Continued.]

VIKRAMAJIT SINGH, Esq., representing the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce.

Written Statement.

I. FRANCHISE.

1114. (a) *General Territorial Electorates.*—Being in full accord with the view expressed in the Reforms Report that the elections should be direct and on as broad a franchise as possible, I propose that the vote be given to:—

- (1) All landholders paying an annual revenue of Rs. 25 or over.
- (2) All tenants paying a rent of Rs. 50 or more a year.
- (3) All income-tax payers.
- (4) All persons who have a vote in municipalities and in rural areas for district boards.

Note 1.—In the case of municipalities the qualifications for a voter at present differ widely in different municipalities. I suggest that in every municipality the franchise should be widened so as to double the number of voters as nearly as possible. I understand that at present only about 6 per cent. of the urban population enjoys the vote in municipalities. My proposal that the present qualifications should be modified so as to double that percentage is therefore not unreasonable.

Note 2.—At present there are no definite qualifications for voters for district boards in rural areas and the proportion of those enjoying votes at present to the population of those areas is infinitesimal. I would suggest that the District Board's Act should be amended and the qualifications of the voters should be prescribed by the Statute. Perhaps the same qualifications as are suggested above in the case of the Provincial Legislative Council will do. Non-agriculturists in the rural areas with the income of, say, Rs. 200 a year may also be brought in.

1115. (b) *Special Electorates.*—In principle I am against special representations, class or communal, and would have very much wished no such representations were in existence. As the authors of the Report rightly observe these special representations hinder the development of common citizen spirit, tend to perpetuate differences, and have to some extent the effect of taking away from the weak and backward minorities, enjoying special representations, the incentive to improve themselves. But taking note of facts and in order that the Reforms might start in an atmosphere of harmony I am for the Muhammadan and landholders' representations being maintained.

1116. In connection with Muhammadan representations it may be stated that the franchise should be the same as in the case of general territorial electorates, the existing disparity in this respect is widely resented by non-Muslims. The amount of representation should be what the Congress and the Muslim League have agreed to. Further, the Muhammadans would not be allowed to be either voters or candidates in the general electorates.

1117. As regards landholders, I would maintain the present position that every one who pays a revenue of Rs. 5,000 or more should be included in the voters' list, but such persons should be excluded from the electoral roll as well as the candidates' list of the general territorial electorates. Further, I would suggest that in the case of Oudh the right to vote should be given not to the British Indian Association as at present but to the entire body of zamindars of Oudh who pay a revenue of Rs. 5,000 or over or possibly, with a view not to disfranchise any body which at present enjoys the franchise, one seat may be reserved for the British Indian Association and another may be given to the other zamindars in Oudh.)

1118. (c) *Institutional Representation.*—Apart from general electorates and the British Indian Association the University of Allahabad and the Upper India Chamber of Commerce have each a member in the present Council. (In the case of the University the vote may be extended to the registered graduates also in addition to the existing ordinary fellows of the University.) Graduates of Universities in the United Kingdom have the privileges of voting in the election of the University representation in the House of Commons.

1119. The United Provinces Chamber of Commerce which represents the Indian mercantile community of the Provinces should also be allowed to return one member as is done by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce. The Hindu University may be allowed one seat and the

donors of Rs. 500 and more of these Provinces may be its electants.

2. CONSTITUENCIES.

1120. Being not in possession of requisite figures it is difficult for me to judge with any degree of accuracy the average strength of the electorates that would be created if my above suggestions as to franchise were given effect to. But whatever that may be I am for single constituencies, every district in the Provinces returning one member. In case of districts where the electorate—on the uniform franchise basis suggested above—exceeds by a considerable proportion the average electorate strength per district, an additional seat and in a few cases even a third seat may be allowed. This excess over the average electorate strength must of course be considerable to entitle the district to the additional seat or seats and must be fixed by Statute. To illustrate this by an example let it be assumed that the average strength of the electorate per district is 20,000. Now, a district with an electorate of, say, double that figure—that being assumed as the proportion fixed— or more gets a second seat and one with an electorate of, say, treble the number, i.e., 60,000 or more gets the third seat.

1121. (b) The cities with a population of 50,000 or above should be allowed one seat each.

1122. (c) The Muhammadan representation is according to the existing arrangement already direct. As has been said above the Congress-League agreement of giving the Muhammadans 30 per cent. of the total elected strength of the Council in these Provinces should be given effect to.

1123. (d) In the case of landholders, the Chambers of Commerce and the University the representation is already direct. I have already made my suggestion about the landholders electorate and proposed the widening of the University constituency by extending the vote to the registered graduates of the University.

3. THE STRENGTH OF THE COUNCIL.

1124. I have suggested that in addition to one seat for every district to represent the people at large a second seat—and in a few cases even a third seat—may be given to the Provinces whose electorates exceed the average electorate strength per district by a fixed proportion. Labouring under the disability of being not in possession of requisite figures which would help me in judging with some accuracy the effect of my proposal, I have not attempted to fix these proportions. I have only to say that it should be fixed sufficiently high to ensure that the number of additional seats so allowed under the arrangement should not in any case exceed, say, half the number of the original 48 seats for the 48 districts of the Province. When we add to these the number of seats allowed to the cities, the landholders, the two Chambers of Commerce, the University and the European representations and then the special Muhammadan representation which would be 30 per cent. of the total elected element, we arrive at a figure in the vicinity of 150 allowing the landholders and the Europeans 5 and 4 seats, respectively.

(I have said nothing particularly as to whether the European element should be nominated, or ensured by reserving the fixed number of seats on the general electorate, or elected by a special electorate of their own, except that I am opposed to special representations but would allow it for the present to Muhammadans and landholders only in this Province.)

1125. The representation of the various interests and classes being secured under the arrangement suggested above, the need for seats for non-officials to be nominated by the Local Government would disappear.

1126. As for the official element in the Council it is hoped that the recommendation of the report that it would be reduced to the minimum necessary for the transaction of the business would be given effect to.

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VIKRAMAJIT SINGH, Esq.

[Continued.]

Taking all the above factors into consideration I think the total strength of the Council may be fixed at, say, 175. This is of course a rough estimate for the reasons I have already mentioned.

1127. (4) *Qualifications of Candidates.*—I see no reason whatsoever why any person who is not subject to the statutory disqualifications—I need not enumerate these here—and is on the electoral roll for the Council should be required to possess any special qualifications to be eligible for candidature for a seat the Council. All that could reasonably be insisted on is perhaps that he should have been a resident of the Province, not of the particular district from which he is to stand, for, say, twelve months.

IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Franchise.

1128. I am in favour of direct election. I am fully alive to the difficulties and inconveniences attendant on direct election in this case but I believe they can be overcome.

1129. The existing system of Government nominations and elections by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils is not suitable and must go.

1130. The franchise must be on the same principle as in the Provincial Legislative Council though of course it will have to be raised. The following scale may be found suitable:—

- (1) All landholders paying a revenue of Rs. 50 and above.
- (2) All tenants paying a rent of Rs. 100 and above.
- (3) All persons paying income-tax on an annual assessment of Rs. 2,000 and over.

United Provinces Representation on the Legislative Assembly.

1131. The report provides for 10 representatives from these Provinces in the Assembly. I would recommend that this number be raised to 13 and distributed as follows:—

General territorial electorate	7 seats.
Muhammadans	3
Landholders	2
Europeans	1 seat

Mr. Vikramajit Singh,

1137. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He represented the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce and had informally consulted the members of the Chamber of whom there were 101 including a number of banks, mills, factories, export and import firms and a few taluqdars. Intending members had to be proposed and seconded and, if the committee was satisfied, they were then held to be elected. No one had yet been rejected. If three quarters of the members were dissatisfied with any member, he might be expelled.

1138. The Chamber claimed one seat on the Council, the members to elect by ballot through the post.

1139. They accepted the Lucknow compact. His proposals would give a Council of 164 of whom 24 would be officials, 16 towns of 50,000 population and over would form separate constituencies. The biggest towns would get an extra seat, as large electorates.

1140. Thirteen members should be returned by the United Provinces to the Indian Legislative Assembly by direct election on a high franchise, and the total number of 100 seats could be increased if necessary.

1141. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) Constituencies should be based on the number of voters. He would give extra seats to the large electorates, both urban and rural. He desired a preponderance of urban representation.

1142. (*Mr. Hogg.*) He would not allow Muhammadans or landholders to stand in the general electorate. The

It may be said that the strength of the Assembly being fixed by the Council the provincial allotments cannot be disturbed. The report does not fix the number absolutely at 100. It only proposes a "total strength of about 100." At any rate if 13 seats cannot be allotted to United Provinces by a readjustment within 100 there seems to be no reason why that number must not be exceeded.

1132. In case of the general electorates the 7 seats should be distributed among the 10 divisions, some of the less advanced divisions being grouped together, the test of advancement being of course the size of the electorates forthcoming.

1133. With regard to special Muhammadan representation the same plan of grouping divisions may be followed or the seats may be allotted to the divisions by rotation. The conditions as to the equality of qualifications of voters, and the non-participation in the general territorial electorates laid down in the case of the Provincial Council shall apply also in this case. As for landholders the same electorate, i.e., persons paying a revenue of Rs. 5,000 or above could perhaps be suitable else the amount may be raised. These special electors shall not participate in the general electorates.

1134. Now remains the European seat. This should go by nomination. If however the community is given special representation to the Council (Provincial)—a proposition to which I am opposed—or seats for them are reserved in the general electorates, the same system must be followed in their representation in the Imperial Assembly.

Qualifications of Candidates.

1135. As in the case of the Provincial Council no qualifications except freedom from Statutory disqualifications and residence in the United Provinces for 12 months should be demanded.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

1136. The electorate for the Council of State has already been settled by the authors of the Report. The question that remains to be settled is the candidates' qualifications. I think any person on the Provincial Council should be deemed sufficiently qualified and eligible for election to the Council of State.

position of members of the Chamber of Commerce and the University was different.

1143. (*Mr. Hailey.*) The members of his Chamber were drawn from 20 districts. They included 5 taluqdars whose interests were purely agricultural. These should be allowed to vote in both electorates. There were 12 or 14 members common to the Upper India and the United Provinces Chambers of Commerce.

1144. (*Mr. Sastri.*) In the case of the Allahabad University seat the registered graduates should form the electorate. In the case of the Benares University, donors of Rs. 500 or more, who were members of the university, should form the electorate.

1145. He would not disqualify women who were already entitled to vote in municipal elections. A number of common prostitutes exercised the vote in Cawnpore.

1146. (*Mr. Chintamani.*) His Chamber claimed equality of treatment with the Upper India Chamber. Members of the Chamber and of the University should participate in the general electorates. The Benares University should be represented somehow, but he did not, much care now.

1147. (*Mr. Hopkins.*) He could not say how the capital represented by the United Provinces Chamber compared with that represented by the Upper India Chamber. He would send a list of members to the Committee.

[26 November 1918.]

SH. HABIBULLAH and THAKUR JAGANNATH BAKSH SINGH.

[Continued.]

At Lucknow, Tuesday, November 26th, 1918.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon'ble Lord SOUTHBOROUGH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. (President)

Sir F. G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

Sahibzada AFTAB AHMAD KHAN.

W. M. HAILEY, Esq., C.S.I., G.I.S., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEE.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOOG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:

The Hon'ble Mr. H. M. R. HOPKINS, I.C.S., Commissioner of the Meerut Division.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. V. CHINTAMANI.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (Secretary).

Sh. HABIBULLAH and Thakur JAGANNATH BAKSH SINGH representing the British Indian Association.

I. Written Statement of Sh. Habibullah.

1148. The announcement of August 20th by His Majesty's Secretary of State promising responsible government to India necessitates the reconstruction of its present administrative machinery.

1149. The proposals for the reform in the existing administration have been embodied in the scheme prepared jointly by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu and H. E. Lord Chelmsford. This scheme provides for responsible government to India by means of gradual steps periodically tested until the entire responsibility of government can be placed under the popular control.

1150. At present there are three spheres of administration, (1) Municipal and District Boards, (2) the Provincial Government, and (3) the Government of India, with different levels. It is for the election of the representatives on these bodies that we have to make proposals regarding the franchise and constituencies. The dictum in the reform scheme which one should follow is that in the composition of the representative administrative machineries there must be a substantial elected majority elected by means of direct election out of as broad a franchise as possible. Bearing in mind the aforesaid principles I beg to submit that the following should have the right of vote in the popular election to these representative bodies.

(1) All tenants paying rents annually of Rs. 50 and upwards.

(2) All land-owners paying revenue of Rs. 25 or upwards. Under proprietors and tenants at fixed rates to be treated as land-owners in this respect.

(3) Others who have an annual income of Rs. 150 and upwards.

(4) Educated persons who may have passed the matriculation or school leaving examination or some other examination of equal standard.

(5) Females who may wish to vote having any of the aforesaid qualifications.

1151. In my opinion any franchise on these lines would be broad enough. Since there are three distinct levels of administration to which representatives will have to be chosen by popular elections there will be separate electorates for the election of representatives to each of these administrations. I beg to append in tabular form statements showing the franchise and electorates for the two upper administrations. The District Boards and Municipalities may fix their own number of representatives to be elected by a franchise composed of voters whose qualifications I have mentioned in the statement of the qualifications of voters for such bodies.

1152. In towns which are not under municipal management the population is pretty much of the same

type of people as that in the villages. Anyhow I would suggest that residents of notified areas should have for the wealth basis the house tax they pay or the assumed rental of their houses which for the purpose of qualifying for a vote may be fixed at Rs. 3 per mensem.

1153. The above tests for the qualifications for voters should also apply to the franchise of Muhammadan voters as it is broad enough and will be found to secure quite a large franchise for the constituencies that may be formed for the separate election of Muhammadans.

1154. I do not object to plural voting provided a voter can manage to vote in different constituencies.

1155. So far as general election goes, I would insist on uniformity in the formation of electoral units. It may be either on the basis of territorial limits such as a district or on the basis of population. In my opinion the territorial basis would be more suitable except in the case of special electorates such as that of the Muhammadan community when more than one district may have to be included in the constituencies formed on a communal basis.

1156. I have said nothing about tax-payers and literate persons who have not passed any of the prescribed examinations. This is due to the fact that the tax-payers will *ipso facto* be voters on the ground of the income limit qualifying them for a vote. As far as literacy goes, in my opinion the income test should not be relaxed in any case when it has been fixed at such a low figure. I cannot conceive of the existence of any literate people with income below the proposed limit and hence no special provision seems to be necessary for the qualification on the ground of literacy alone.

1157. It would appear from the appendices that a genuine effort is made in this Note to broaden the franchise to the maximum possible at the present stage of education and wealth of the country. My particular effort has been in the direction of giving a vote to the silent masses mostly included in the tenant class.

1158. I may be criticised for giving more votes to tenants than they deserve in order to gain for my own class a better chance of election to the various bodies of administration as having more influence with the tenants than any other class of people. To this I would say that in rural areas there are hardly members of any profession who are not connected with the landed interest either in the shape of landowners or tenants. Besides I take the opportunity of vindicating an old standing charge levelled against the landowners that they were responsible for keeping the rural masses in the background, which is certainly far from being a fact.

1159. I feel very sorry to have to eliminate tenants paying Rs. 50 and upwards from the franchise for the

26 November 1913.]

SR. HABIBULLAH and THAKUR JAGANNATH BAKSH SINGH.

[Continued.]

election of representatives for the provincial legislature. My reason for so doing is that in my opinion there should be different levels in the franchise proportionately to the levels in the administration. I also believe in the gradual development in the enlargement of the franchise in proportion to the measure of responsibility that is proposed to be given to the people in the management of the affairs of the country. The suggestions made will not be found to exclude altogether from the provincial franchise tenants paying Rs. 50 and upwards to Rs. 99 as it is a fact that most of the voters in rural tracts who would be qualified to vote for the elections to provincial legislative bodies will come under that category. I think it would be only feasible to let these tenants have their first training in the election for local bodies, the management of which affects them primarily, before they are drafted to a higher sphere of activities. Similar retrenchment has been suggested in the case of others who have been included in the franchise on the basis of income either from land or otherwise.

1160. Lastly I may be excused for saying a word in support of the right of representation to be given to the Taluqdars of Oudh as a body. That they are a separate body is acknowledged on all hands. That they are an influential, large and important body who may claim the credit of what the province of Oudh is to-day no one can contest. The educational institutions, the hospitals and much of what is needed for the improvement of the people intellectually and physically has been and is being provided in Oudh by the Taluqdars. They are the natural leaders of the people and their association is better financed and is older in origin than any of the political associations in India. Their relations with the Government and with the people have always been of the best.

1161. The Muhammadans have decided to be elected by the members of their own community separately, which principle has been accepted by the authors of the scheme, and in pursuance thereof I beg to submit a scheme for their franchise on lines similar to that for non-Muslims. Of course the formation of constituencies for them on communal lines is an intricate affair and I would recommend the adoption of any scheme that may be put forward for the purpose through their own representatives.

1162. I have provided for the representation of other important interests such as those of the commercial community, the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians. These important minority communities may be asked to elect their own representatives to the various administrative bodies.

1163. As regards franchise for the local administration I cannot do better than accept the recommendations of the special committee which sat under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. L. C. Porter, C.S.I., contained in their letter dated the 16th October, 1913, to the Secretary to the U. P. Government, Local Self-Government Department.

1164. In the light of the remarks made regarding the formation of electoral units I beg to suggest the composition of the Provincial Legislative Council on the following lines. Treating a district as an electoral unit we may for the purpose of general election divide the province into 52 units. There is a very great divergence in the franchise of each district whether it be based on any test—wealth, education or population, etc. Anyhow there will be a justification both on the ground of convenience and for the sake of popular representation to start to work out the actual strength of the Provincial Legislative Council by treating a district as an electoral unit. To start with we have to allot 52 seats to non-Muslims, one from each district, on our Provincial Council. The rest of the seats have been filled up after a careful analysis of the needs of proper composition of the council representing all interests. The seats for the Muhammadans will be in proportion to the agreement arrived at between the League and Congress representatives. With these remarks I beg to place before the Committee

my suggestions regarding the composition of the Provincial Legislative Council.

Non-Muslims to be returned by election from the general or district constituencies	52
Mohammedans elected by communal constituencies	22
Non-Muslims to be elected by the 7 large Municipal towns by general electors	12
Muhammedans to be elected by Muslim electors from the seven large Municipal towns	5
To be elected by the British Indian Association of the Talukdars of Oudh	6
To be elected by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce	2
To be elected by the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1
To be elected by the Allahabad University	1

TOTAL . 101

1165. In addition to the above there will be 24 nominated members. Of these, two will be out of the Anglo-Indian community and one from the European community and three will be the heads of departments in charge of the Transferred subjects and the remaining 18 will be nominated from other departments.

1166. Thus the total strength of the provincial council will be 125.

1167. It may be noted that excepting the seven large Municipal towns the other smaller Municipalities have been included in the general scheme of franchise and have no separate constituencies beyond those given to every district. This has been done in order to gain as large a franchise for each district as possible without unnecessarily increasing the number of representatives on the council.

1168. Considering the population of the United Provinces the number proposed for the council is comparatively small. Besides one cannot forget the fact that the real training for the realisation of responsibility to govern is to be given in the provincial governments.

Supplementary note by Sh. Habibullah.

1169. *Correction.*—In my proposals for the general election I have stated that 52 seats would be allotted, one for each district. Since there are only 48 districts the 4 large districts, viz., Muradabad, Saharanpore, Gorakhpur and Meerut will each have two representatives on the council instead of one.

1170. In my note regarding the election of members for the minority communities there is a mention about the election of Anglo-Indians and Europeans. In fact I only wished to suggest the election of the members of the chambers of commerce of Upper India and of the United Provinces.

1171. Statement A shows the probable number of persons in the franchise for the election of members to the provincial council. Every district in the province has been treated as an electorate except the 4 large districts mentioned in the above note. The qualifications of the electors being—

(1) All tenants paying annual rent from Rs. 100 and upwards.

(2) All landed proprietors including under-proprietors and tenants at fixed rates paying rent or revenue from Rs. 50 upwards.

(3) Other persons having an annual income of Rs. 250 and upwards.

(4) Educated persons who have passed the matriculation or school leaving examination or some other examination of equal standard.

(5) Residents within Municipal or notified areas who pay house tax on the assumed rental of not less than Rs. 3 per mansam: excluding residents of the 7 large Municipal towns.

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[Continued.]

1172. The age limit for a voter should be 21. Students in colleges or other institutions will have no vote unless they are graduates.

1173. Members of District Boards and Municipal Boards will have votes as such. The District Board will include Tehsil Boards.

1174. Figures for the compilation of this statement have been taken from the official records so far as they relate to tenants and landowners. There being no authentic statistics available regarding other voters, their number has been guessed provisionally. Care has been taken not to over-estimate the figures relating to such voters. The numbers in the statement are therefore probable and have been shown in round figures for the sake of convenience.

STATEMENT A.

Showing the Franchise and electorates for the General Election of the Members of the Provincial Council.

S. No.	Division.	District.	Population.	No. of probable Voters.
1	Meerut	Dehra Dun	177,581	4,500
2	.....	Saharanpur	857,505	20,000 2 Seats
3	.....	Muzaffarnagar	576,487	19,000
4	.....	Meerut	1211,137	25,000 2 Seats
5	.....	Bulandshahr	915,425	50,000
6	Agra	Aligarh	1,022,398	32,000
7	.....	Mittra	594,551	17,000
8	.....	Agra	951,486	21,000
9	.....	Mainpuri	753,117	13,000
10	.....	Etah	780,598	14,000
11	(Bareilly) Rohilkhand.	Bareilly	879,408	12,000
12	.....	Bijnor	595,701	15,000
13	.....	Budaun	876,962	12,000
14	.....	Moradabad	809,694	12,000 2 Seats
15	.....	Shahjahanpur	805,616	10,000
16	.....	Pilibhit	401,344	8,000
17	Allahabad	Farrukhabad	795,729	12,000
18	.....	Etawah	714,403	14,000
19	.....	Cawnpore	1,060,119	13,000
20	.....	Fatehpur	598,631	8,000
21	.....	Allahabad	1,317,449	11,000
22	Jhansi	Jhansi	620,169	7,000
23	.....	Jalaun	434,708	8,000
24	.....	Hamirpur	649,519	7,000
25	.....	Banda	377,387	7,000
26	Benares	Benares	886,535	13,000
27	.....	Mirzapur	1,092,539	8,000
28	.....	Jaunpur	1,054,951	9,000
29	.....	Ghazipur	765,164	8,000
30	Ballia	Ballia	792,741	7,000
31	Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	2,878,234	12,000 2 Seats
32	.....	Jasni	1,325,745	8,000
33	.....	Azamgarh	1,305,976	8,000
34	Kumaun	Naini Tal	251,686	4,000
35	Almora	Almora	321,558	6,000
36	Garhwal	Garhwal	476,553	5,000
37	Lucknow.	Lucknow.	702,831	8,000
38	.....	Unao	834,882	10,000
39	.....	Rae Bareilly	939,298	10,000
40	.....	Sitapur	967,217	9,000
41	.....	Hardoi	1,001,708	14,000
42	.....	Kheri	850,927	9,000
43	Fyzabad	Fyzabad	1,029,155	11,000
44	.....	Gonda	1,185,305	12,000
45	.....	Bahraich	648,217	12,000
46	.....	Sultapur	932,204	7,000
47	.....	Partabgarh	800,590	6,000
48	.....	Barabanki	903,330	14,000

1175 Statement B shows the grouping of various districts for the formation of Electorates for the separate Muhammadan election by communal representation.

The qualifications for the electors being the same as in the case of non-Muslims. There would appear to be great variation in the number of voters for the various electorates, but having regard to the geographical situation of the various districts the grouping has been done in the interest of the electors in order to avoid long journeys to the candidates for election. Social and economic conditions of the various places have also been fully considered in grouping the districts into electorates.

STATEMENT B.

Showing the Franchise and Electorates for the separate Muhammadan Election.

Serial of Constituencies.	Name of District.	No. of Voters.
1	Dehra Dun	1,100
X	Saharanpur	9,000
2	Muzaffarnagar	7,000
	Bijnaur	1,000
3	Meerut	8,000
4	Bulandshahr	10,000
	Muttra	1,000
5	Aligarh	4,000
	Agra	1,900
	Mainpuri	600
6	Etah	2,000
	Farrukhabad	3,000
	Bareilly	4,000
7	Pilibhit	1,000
	Kumaun-Division	200
8	Moradabad	10,000
9	Shahjahanpur	8,000
	Budaun	400
	Etawah	900
10	Cawnpore	600
	Fatehpur	1,200
	Allahabad	2,500
11	Mirzapur	300
	Jhansi	400
	Jalaun	300
12	Hamirpur	550
	Banda	500
13	Benares	300
	Jaunpur	1,500
14	Ghazipur	1,500
	Ballia	600
15	Gorakhpur	1,800
16	Besti	2,000
17	Azamgarh	3,000
Oudh—		
18	Lucknow.	1,800
	Unao	1,500
	Rae Bareilly	1,000
	Sultanpur	1,000
19	Partabgarh	800
	Sitapur	2,000
20	Hardoi	2,000
	Kheri	800
21	Fyzabad	2,000
	Barabanki	2,500
	Gonda	3,000
22	Bahraich	3,000

STATEMENT C.

Showing the seven General Urban Constituencies.

Serial No.	Cities.	POPULATION.		TOTAL.
		Hindus.	Others.	
1	Allahabad	105,728	5,638	111,366
2	Benares	148,468	903	149,371
3	Lucknow	136,228	4,609	140,837
4	Cawnpore	112,337	2,846	115,183
5	Agra	107,078	2,665	109,743
6	Bareilly	57,580	1,471	59,051
7	Meerut	58,870	820	59,690

NOTE.—In this statement are shown the 7 large Municipal towns in the United Provinces. The figures exclude Mohammedan population which is shown in a separate statement. Each of these towns is a separate constituency. To each of the first 5 towns 2 representatives have been suggested for the provincial council. The last two towns have each to send one representative.

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[Continued.]

STATEMENT D.

Showing the Proposed five Muhammadan Urban Constituencies.

Serial No.	Cities.	Population. Muhammadans.	Literacy according to the census of 1911 of males of 20 years and over.		Urban electorate, Muhammadans.
			Vernacular.	English.	
1	Allahabad	47,034	4,244	1,093	2,201
2	Benares	55,407	2,431	831	1,112
3	Lucknow	99,117	6,822	1,544	2,000
4	Cawnpore	41,834	2,833	479	1,707
5	Agra	54,194	2,831	722	2,099
6	Bareilly	58,470	2,523	414	540
7	Meerut	56,661	2,020	318	1,586

To the seven Municipal towns in this statement 5 seats have been suggested for election of representatives to the provincial council. The five electorates will be formed as noted below.

Benares	1
Allahabad	1
Cawnpore	1
Lucknow	1
Bareilly	1
Agra	1
Meerut	1
TOTAL	5

Written Statement of Thakur Jagannath Baksh Singh.

ELECTORATES.

1176. Electorates to be formed on the basis of property qualifications only.

1177. Rural and Urban electorates should be formed separately.

RURAL CONSTITUENCIES.

1178. Districts to form units of constituencies generally but smaller districts may be joined to the adjoining ones and larger districts be given two electorates each, viz., Dehra Dun and Naini Tal, be joined to Shahjehanpore and Garhwal respectively while Gorakhpore and Basti be given 2 electorates each.

1179. One per cent. representation of the rural population in the electorates will be sufficient for the present in my opinion.

1180. Qualifications of the voters may be adjusted according to the varying conditions of the Districts, but generally the number of voters in each constituency should be according to the above proportion. I may suggest the following qualifications the possession of which may entitle a person to vote:—

- Revenue-payers of Rs. 25 and above.
- Tenants of Rs. 50 and above;
- Secured tenants may be treated as Revenue-payers;
- All Income-tax payers.

Sh. Habibullah and Thakur Jagat Narayan Baksh Singh, called and examined.

1190. (Sir Frank Sly.) SH. HABIBULLAH.—The British Indian Association which they represented had not as such submitted any memorandum with regard to the franchise but the views expressed in his memorandum were those arrived at by a Committee of the Association. Every taluqdar was a member of the British Indian Association.

1191. The main qualification proposed was a rent payment of Rs. 100. The Local Government proposed Rs. 50 but he did not accept this, because he thought that persons paying between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 would not form a suitable electorate and might be open to corruption.

1192. No distinction should be drawn between secured and unsecured tenants. All tenants were secure. Sub-tenants should be excluded.

1181. But in the districts where, owing to the smallness of the population, the number of voters fall short of five thousand the above qualifications should be so lowered as to raise the number to that level.

1182. It should also be provided that in every constituency each village must be represented by one voter at least residing in that village. In the case of the villages where no persons may be found possessing the prescribed qualifications the highest rent payer residing in that village may be enrolled a voter.

URBAN CONSTITUENCIES.

1183. Divisions are to form the unit of urban constituencies generally, but smaller divisions may be joined to the adjoining ones, viz., Kumaun and Gorakhpur to Bareilly and Benares respectively.

1184. Five per cent. representation of the urban population in the electorates will be sufficient for the present.

1185. It is equally difficult to suggest qualifications that may suit to all the Municipalities, as is the case with the rural areas, but I may suggest the following qualifications which may be higher or lowered according to the varying circumstances of the urban areas in order to maintain the proportion of 5 per cent. representation as mentioned above.

1186. The qualifications shall be:—

- (1) The possession of an annual income of Rs. 200 or above;
- (2) The occupying a house of an annual rental of Rs. 36 or more.

1187. But in cases of the Divisional constituencies where the number of voters fall short of five thousands the above qualifications should be so lowered as to raise the number to that standard. The following seven larger Municipalities may be given separate electorates, viz., Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, Bareilly, Agra and Meerut; but in that case these should not be allowed to participate in the Divisional elections.

1188. Plural voting should be allowed.

1189. The composition of the United Provinces Legislative Council should be as follows:—

Members from Rural constituencies	48
Members from Urban constituencies	15
Members from Divisional Constituencies	8
Members from seven larger Municipalities	7
Seats to Mohammedan members	27
Member from Upper India Chamber of Commerce	1
Member from United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1
Member from Allahabad University	1
Members from British Indian Association	6
Members from big landholders of Agra paying Rs. 10,000 or above revenue	5
Members nominated by the Government	21
TOTAL	125

1193. THAKUR JAGAT NARAYAN.—His scheme contemplated an electorate consisting of one per cent of the rural and 5 per cent of the urban population. He accepted the franchise proposed by the Local Government. Big districts might be split up and the smaller ones amalgamated.

1194. As regards the urban constituencies he proposed to give 7 seats to the 7 big towns and to have 8 other constituencies consisting of amalgamated urban areas. He proposed this because in his opinion the interests of the town and of the country were different.

1195. He accepted the Lucknow compact.

1196. He would not give Benares University representation in the local Council because it was an all-India institution.

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SH. HABIBULLAH and THAKUR JAGANNATH BAKSHI SINGH.

[Continued.]

1197. He proposed that six members should be elected by the British Indian Association and that 5 should be elected by Agra landholders paying a revenue of Rs. 10,000 or more. He would, however, reduce this to Rs. 5,000, the present qualification. In Oudh there were 392 taluqdar voters. This was owing to there being more than one holder in some estates. He recommended six seats for the Oudh taluqdars owing to their political importance and the insignificance of their voting power in the general electorates. Both witnesses were at one on this point. The taluqdars contributed over a crore and a half of land revenue. They were a public spirited body and their Association had been founded so long ago as 1861.

1198. SH. HABIBULLAH.—He saw no reason for excluding females; if they wanted to vote they should be allowed to do so. Public opinion was in favour of this.

1199. For the Anglo-Indians and Europeans nomination was proposed because nomination was proposed in the Government scheme.

1200. Four districts which he regarded as generally important should be given two seats each. He proposed to transfer the second seat which he had given to Bulandshahr to Saharanpur. He proposed also to give two seats to the 5 largest towns and one each to the smaller towns. He would treat Moradabad as an urban constituency in preference to Aligarh.

1201. (Mr. Aftab.) He included the educational qualification in order to encourage education, and he would retain it even though all persons so qualified possessed other qualifications.

1202. (Mr. Banerjee.) Income derived by immoral means should not be a qualification for the vote. This applied both to males and females.

1203. In his opinion rural areas could suitably be represented by men from the towns. They would exercise a good influence and increase the efficiency of the Council.

1204. The taluqdars at the present time had one seat in theory but in actual practice they had six seats. Very few taluqdars would contest the general seats, but they should in no case lose their privilege of participating in the general elections. He would agree to their special seats being reduced to 4.

1205. THAKUR JAGAT NARAYAN.—He accepted as correct the figure of 526 of qualified landholders in Agra. The Agra zemindars contributed about a crore of land revenue. He had no objection to their participating in the general elections.

1206. (Mr. Hogg.) SH. HABIBULLAH.—Married women held property in their own name.

1206. He recommended an income qualification of Rs. 250 for the provincial Council.

1207. He proposed nomination in the case of the Anglo-Indians in accordance with the Local Government's proposal.

1208. Of the taluqdars at present on the Council one had been elected by the taluqdars, one by a general electorate and two had been nominated. The result of

widening the franchise might be to increase the power of the land-lords in the first decade but he thought that their influence would wane in the second decade. The Agra Landholders' Association was not of the same importance as the British Indian Association.

1209. THAKUR JAGAT NARAYAN.—The representatives of Europeans and Anglo-Indians would be nominated.

1210. (Mr. Hailey) SH. HABIBULLAH.—The proposed reduction of the British Indian Association's seats to 4 represented his own idea. He would give up all the seats rather than exclude them from the general electorates. He thought the taluqdars would be prepared to stand in the general electorates. Muhammadan taluqdars could stand in the Muhammadan electorates. Taluqdars had already been returned from these electorates in 2 or 3 cases.

1211. (Mr. Sastri.) He had no objection to plural voting, but if it was prohibited the hardship caused would be small.

1212. Municipal towns should be amalgamated into constituencies by divisions, reducing the number from 10 to 8 by joining Benares with Gorakhpur and Nainital with Kumaon. This was the existing arrangement and he saw no objection to it. It was desirable because the interests of the people in the rural and urban areas were different. He had not considered giving seats to towns of 50,000 population and over, but he doubted if it would meet his object. He still preferred the divisional arrangement to avoid merging towns with populations of less than 50,000 in the rural electorates.

1213. (Mr. Chintamani.) He believed in the gradual lowering of the franchise, although he had no strong objection to the Local Government's proposals.

1214. In Oudh the bulk of the tenants had not occupancy rights but 80 per cent. of them had held their land for 60 or 70 years. It was in the interests of the landlord to maintain his tenants in occupation.

1215. He thought that the taluqdars would have less chance in the general electorates in the future than in the past. He was anxious to retain for them a share in the political life of the province.

1216. He would give a seat to the Upper India Chamber of Commerce as well as to Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

1217. The members of District Boards and Municipalities should get votes as such in addition to any votes that they might have in other constituencies.

1218. He thought that the second seat which he proposed in the 4 important districts was most important. He would even increase the number if a case was made out.

1219. THAKUR JAGAT NARAYAN.—Residents in urban areas wanted prices low whereas those who lived in rural areas were mostly agriculturists and liked them high. There was more community of interest between town and town than between town and country. He saw no reason why persons entitled to vote in urban and rural areas should not vote in both.

1220. (Mr. Hopkins.) SH. HABIBULLAH.—His remarks about the security of tenants referred to Oudh only.

THE AGRA PROVINCE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement.

1221. We, as landholders, are bound to say the Scheme of Reforms submitted to the British Cabinet by His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu is conceived in a well considered and liberal spirit. The principle on which the whole scheme is based is certainly conducive and calculated to prepare the people of India to attain complete self-Government by stages within a measurable time. Having regard to the fact that the scheme is pregnant with immense possibilities, opening up nobler and higher prospects in future, we place on record our sense of extreme gratefulness to the authors of the scheme.

1222. We cannot but feel, however, that the authors of the scheme have paid more attention to those who

have been most vocal, and who have lost no opportunity of stating their views from day to day on every conceivable occasion—on the platform, or in the Press. We, the landholders of India following our old tradition of trust and confidence in the Government, and wishing to do nothing that might tend to embarrass it in these anxious days, have confined ourselves to a mere representation and a statement of our claims to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India.

1223. Neither we pressed our case with the same persistence, nor we adopted the same methods on the platform and in the Press, with the result that our claims and legitimate demands have not received the same attention, which they deserved. It seemed to us that our silence has been interpreted to mean that there was no real

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THE AGRA PROVINCE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

demand of necessity for giving us effective separate representation with a view to safeguard our interest. We certainly feel that there is little in the Scheme of Reforms to enthuse over, and on the whole, so far as we the landholders are concerned, it is absolutely disappointing.

1224. While we are thankful to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu for having at least accepted the principle of separate representation to the great landholders in those Provinces only, where they form a distinct class (Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, page 113 top-para. 232) we cannot but most emphatically say, that it certainly falls short of expectations and just claims by a long way. This is unfortunately the only indication in the whole Scheme of Reforms, as to how the interests of the landed community are to be safeguarded under the proposed scheme.

1225. And, again (page 113, para. 232) separate representation is to be granted only to the great landholders forming a distinct class in a Province. We strongly take exception to this restrictive aspect of the provision. We are strongly of opinion that the principle of separate representation should be extended to the landed community in every Province, because its interest is distinct from those of other communities.

1226. In every province, nay in every division and district, there is the interest of zamindars, whether big or small, to be safeguarded. And it would be nothing but ruinous to recognize the necessity only where the big landed magnates exist as a distinct class. Needless to say the interests of zamindars are identical with those of the great landed magnates. There seems no logical reason for accepting the principle in the case of one, while rejecting it in the case of the other. The only guiding principle should be the desire to fully and effectively safeguard the interest of the landholders, and this is what certainly should not be lost sight of, while determining the legitimate and well deserved claims of the landholders in India.

1227. The history of England clearly tells us that there has always been a stronger and higher conservative house, which invariably has exercised a wholesome and sobering influence on the lower popular body, when acting rashly or legislating in an irresponsible and callous manner.

1228. The idea underlying this arrangement is too obvious to be dilated upon, that is to say the basic principle is to have a conservative element everywhere, which will exercise a sort of a check on the radical tendencies of the new provincial bodies, and India is particularly a place where this principle should always remain in the foreground of the mind, while adjusting the claims of respective interests of the communities. We deem it necessary to set out here certain observations and reasons, which will make it perfectly clear as to what helpless and unenviable position we will be reduced to, if the reform were allowed to stand in its present shape, without inserting provisions, which will fully safeguard the interests of the landed community.

1229. The majority of the members of the Provincial Council will in all probability be drawn from communities following different professions, namely law, trade, etc., etc. The taxes on professions being earmarked as Imperial Revenues, it follows that the members of Provincial Councils, in case of necessity, taking advantage of the unrepresented or the very inadequately represented state of condition of the landed community, can propose any fresh taxation, which will not in any way touch their pockets, but, which will immensely add to the already heavy burden of taxes borne by the zamindars.

1230. It is too evident that any fresh taxation or further burden that is likely to be thrown on the people of the different provinces, will under the arrangements about the Imperial and Provincial heads of Revenue, invariably fall on the landed classes, and since they

(the members of the Council) will control the finances and have power to increase the yearly budget and levy fresh taxes from time to time, with no limitation, they would naturally feel little compunction in continuing to add taxes after taxes to the detriment of the zamindars.

1231. While trading classes and people belonging to different professions invariably make immense profits, with a tendency to be ever on the increase, we, the zamindars have limited fixed income, with little prospect of increasing our income as time goes on, especially when recurring settlements tell heavily on us. The matter does not end here. We the zamindars have always to pay for any unforeseen public emergency, that might arise, namely, famine, floods, etc., and other miscellaneous items. In addition to all this, we have to maintain our position and dignity, at an immense expenditure, out of all proportion to their actual income.

1232. Besides, the reasons already set out, there are innumerable other cogent and convincing arguments, which could be advanced. However, we now proceed to offer a few suggestions, which, we venture to think, shall have to be accepted and incorporated in the scheme, if we are to play any useful part, as one of the most important sections of His Majesty's subjects. The suggestions are in no way exhaustive, and only some of the most important ones have been cited to indicate the line of action in the direction of Reforms:—

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

1. At least one seat in the Executive Council to be filled by a member of the landed community.
2. The Council of State, to consist entirely of members from landed community.
3. In the Imperial Assembly at least 25 per cent. of the seats should be given to the members of the landowning classes.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

1. One of the ministers or members of the Executive Council to be appointed from amongst landowning classes.
2. There should be a Second Chamber in the province also, analogous to the all-India Council of States.
3. In the Legislative Assembly at least 25 per cent. of the seats should be filled up by the members of the landowning class.

N.B.—The proportion of the land revenue or the land tax, which the landowning class contribute to the total revenue, should be the basis on which the question of the numerical strength of their representation should be settled.

DEPARTMENTS OTHER THAN CIVIL.

1. Commission Ranks to be liberally thrown open to the sons of the zamindars.
2. Zamindars paying land revenue of Rs. 10,000 a year be exempted from the operations of the Arms Act.

1233. The above claims are the least we are entitled to as an important community, which has well been described by His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler (at a recruiting meeting) as the backbone of the province, and it will not be presumptuous on our part to say that the description applies with equal force to all the Provinces. His Honour has struck a sympathetic and right note in saying that no reform will be complete without adequate representation of the landholders.

1234. A survey of the past and present history of the community will reveal its traditional and never failing loyalty, not to mention the immense sacrifices it has been ever ready to make for the sake of Government. We need hardly explain that true to our traditions we shall ever willingly make sacrifices in life, wealth and resources for the Government in all time to come. We strongly but respectfully urge that the above mentioned alterations may be carried out in the Scheme of Reforms with a view to satisfy the legitimate claims of the zamindars.

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THE AGRA PROVINCE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

Additional written statement of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association regarding the franchise.

THE PROVINCES.

Franchise.

1235. (1) In order to admit a broad and representative—but at the same time a wieldy and intelligent—Franchise under the existing state of things we would suggest a special electorate of ours for our Provinces (Agra and Oudh) on the following lines:—

- (1) All cultivators of 25 years of age and above paying a rent of Rs. 100 a year and upwards.
- (2) All landholders (zamindars) of the locality paying at least Rs. 50 a year as Government revenue.
- (3) All Income-Tax payers in the rural areas paying at least Rs. 50 as Income-Tax.
- (4) (a) All Managers, Assistant Managers, Directors, Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the recognised Co-operative Credit Societies in the locality or similar other Central Banks.
- (b) Persons holding similar positions in any important factory and big Industrial concerns in the Muffassil.
- (5) Managers, Assistant Managers and Agents and Sub-Agents of big zamindars in the locality.
- (7) Retired Government Officers, Title-holders, Honorary Magistrates, Munsifs and Assistant Collectors, and pensioned Military Officers and Soldiers.
- (8) All Sir-Panches or Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Panchayats to be established hereafter.
- (9) Those who have passed at least the Matric, School-leaving or Normal Examination and are over 25 years of age in any language may be deemed as entitled to a vote in their places of residence.
- (10) All persons living jointly in a Hindu or Mohamedan family and having a qualification as a voter should be able to exercise their right separately.

1236. (2) All persons with voting qualifications must be the inhabitants of the District where they have a vote and they must be of 25 years of age. A Tahsil, a Fargana or any convenient parts of a District to form Polling Stations.

1237. (3) The Tahsils be required to prepare and keep Electoral Rolls periodically revised and corrected every year.

1238. (4) The Electoral Appeals to be heard by the District Officers.

1239. (5) All Sub-Divisional Officers to act as electoral officers as the Polling centres in the Muffassil.

1240. (6) Hilly and Forest tracts like the Jhansi or Bundelkhand Division and the Kynhaun Division should be allowed a lower standard of property test in point of voting qualifications, since we do not expect such big cultivators in large numbers in such tracts of the Province.

Constituencies.

1241. 1. The general public—or the masses, the Ryots inhabiting the District.

2. The Municipalities—Town.
3. The Muslim Communal Electorate.
4. The Landholder's Separate Electorate.
5. The Universities.
6. The British Indian Association, Lucknow.
7. The Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad.
8. The Upper India Chambers of Commerce.
9. The U. P. Chamber of Commerce.

Representation.

1242. In order to safeguard in an effective and adequate manner on an elective basis the interests of the great landed community of these Provinces, we are earnestly

of opinion that in any scheme of representation, important points submitted below should receive full consideration at the hands of the Reform Committees:—

- (1) That at least 25% of the elected representatives in the Provincial and Imperial Councils should be given to the Zamindar Community made up into constituencies on territorial and institutional basis.
- (2) That no Division should go without elected representatives of the landed community, in view of the fact that they have to contribute not less than one-third to the Government revenue and resources in more than one form, including the specified taxes and cesses and other levies.
- (3) That large and important Districts in each Division (for instance, the seats of the Divisions) should each return a member of its own from amongst the landed community in that District.
- (4) That other Districts in a Division should form into a group and each such group should be allowed to return one member of the landed community to the Council.
- (5) Qualification of a member of the Provincial Council should be that he should be paying at least Rs. 3,000 Government revenue besides possessing the voting qualification mentioned above.
- (6) That the British Indian Association, Lucknow and our own Central Provincial Institution, the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad, should each get the right of returning representatives to both Councils,—in the ratio of at least 2 and 3 respectively.

1243. That viewed in the above light, the Zamindars' constituency in these Provinces would therefore stand as follows on Territorial and Institutional basis:—

(a) From the Divisional seats of 10 Divisions in U. P.	10
(b) From Divisional groups as said above	10
(c) British Indian Association, Lucknow	2
(d) Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad	3
TOTAL MEMBERS	25

1244. That in view of the many interests and factors that shall have to be represented and reconciled adequately and effectively we would propose that the strength of both Councils, Imperial and Provincial to be each of 150 members as a rule; out of which about 25 seats or so should remain reserved in the hands of Government for nominations—officials and non-officials both, inclusive.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Special Zamindars' Electorate.

1245. We would propose the following constitution for the Indian Legislative Assembly:—

- (1) Strength total—150 members.
- (2) Constitution—
 - (a) General public.
 - (b) Muslim.
 - (c) Zamindars' special electorate
 - (d) Other constituencies.
- (3) We much rather prefer direct election on territorial basis along with representatives from the British Indian Association and the Agra Province Zamindars' Association.
- (4) For the Zamindars' Electorate for the Indian Legislative Assembly we would suggest the voting qualification as below:—
 - (a) That those who pay Rs. 3,000 or more as Government revenue be made electors.

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[Continued.]

(b) Those paying Rs. 10,000 Government revenue as qualified candidates for membership.

(5) We would suggest the allotment of zamindari representation on the Provincial basis in the following manner:—

	Members
(a) Bengal Zamindars	6
(b) Behar Zamindars	4
(c) U. P. Zamindars	6
(d) Madras Zamindars	3
(e) Punjab Zamindars	2
(f) C. P. Zamindars	2
(g) Bombay Zamindars	2
(h) Assam Zamindars	1
MSMBBS	25

Total Zamindars elected from their own electorates.

Constituency for our own United Provinces.

1246. (a) Oudh 2 members.

- (1) B. I. Association.
- (2) Other Taluqdars.

(b) Agra—

- (1) One from the A. P. Z. Association and
- (2) Three from zamindars of the Province by divisional groups.

Of these 3 members meant for the zamindars of Agra Province in general, we would distribute the seats as follows:—

- (1) One from Agra, Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions.
- (2) One from Meerut, Bareilly and Kumaun Divisions.
- (3) One from the Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions.

STATE COUNCIL.

1247. In our previous representations we have already submitted that the basic and underlying principle in this second chamber should be the predominance of zamindars. We again beg to emphasise our claim, since

it was our community who pressed most for its formation and when formed our claims should not be ignored.

1248. Zamindars' Separate Representation in the State Council.

We would propose:—

- (a) Separate electorate.
- (b) Election—Our own members in the Imperial assembly to elect 8 representatives to represent the 8 bigger Provinces in the State Council.
- (c) Three members to be allowed by Government by nomination.

1249. All Councils to have a duration of 5 years.

1250. All voters and members in any constituency should be at least of 25 years of age.

ALTERNATIVE SCHEME.

1251. For the landholder's community in all three cases.—The Provincial Council, the Indian Assembly and the State Council.

1252. In concluding the subject of Franchise, we would submit, that the Indian Provinces being every one of them, as large as any big European country—and in some cases even larger than some of these—the total strength asked for each Council (150 members) would not be deemed too much, this the more so, in view of the various factors and interests that have to be effectively represented and reconciled. And that being the case, it might be found also necessary to change the number slightly one way or the other.

1252A. As regards our own representation by separate electorates, we beg to assure the committee that we have not been extravagant in our demands considering the obligations and importance of the community in this country. But in case these are not found possible to be given as we would prefer to claim the right of sharing in the general electorate along with a maximum separate representation on territorial and institutional basis that may be thought fit for conceding to us. Rather we would urge that we being the natural leaders of the ryots (or the masses in the Muffassil) hope to be allowed to continue so, for some more time to come, until the people are not sufficiently advanced in the art of governing themselves on a representative system.

Written statement of Nawab Abdul Majid, one of the representatives of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, regarding the separate representation of Muhammadans.

Franchise.

1253. The following persons should have a right of vote:—

1. All persons paying Rs. 100 and upwards as Government revenue or rent.
2. All persons paying Rs. 50 as income tax.
3. All persons holding the title of at least Khan Saheb and higher.
4. Military retired officers of rank of Subadar and Risaldar and upwards.
5. All honorary munsifs, honorary magistrates and special magistrates.
6. Graduates of 5 years standing.
7. Barristers.
8. Trustees of M. O. College.
9. Editors of Papers.

Constituencies.

1254. (1) The Provincial Council should consist of 150 members out of which according to Hindu-Muhammadan settlements, the Muhammadan should have at least 30 per cent. representation. At the rate of 30 per cent. Muhammadans will be entitled to 33 seats in the provincial council. Accordingly I set out below the following arrangement of 33 constituencies by grouping system based on the population of the districts.

Provinces of Agra.

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Dehra Dun. | 20. Benares. |
| 2. Saharanpur. | 21. Mirzapur. |
| 3. Muzaffarnagar. | 22. Jaunpur. |
| 4. Meerut. | 23. Ghazipur. |
| 5. Bulandshahr. | 24. Ballia. |
| 6. Aligarh. | 25. Gorakhpur. |
| 7. Muttra. | 26. Basti. |
| 8. Agra. | 27. Azamgarh. |
| 9. Mainpuri. | 28. Nain. Tal. |
| 10. Etah. | 29. Almora. |
| 11. Bareilly. | 30. Garhwal. |
| 12. Bijnor. | 31. Lucknow. |
| 13. Budaun. | 32. Unao. |
| 14. Moradabad. | 33. Rae-Bareilly. |
| 15. Shahjahanpur. | 34. Sitapur. |
| 16. Farrukhabad. | 35. Hardoi. |
| 17. Etawah. | 36. Kheri. |
| 18. Cawnpore. | 37. Fyzabad. |
| 19. Fatehpur. | 38. Gonda. |
| 20. Allahabad. | 39. Bahraich. |
| 21. Jhansi. | 40. Sultanpur. |
| 22. Jalaun. | 41. Partabgarh. |
| 23. Hamirpur. | 42. Bars-Banki. |
| 24. Banda. | |

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[Continued.]

Nomination in the Provincial Councils.

1255. 25 seats should be reserved for nomination of official and non-official members in the United Provinces Council.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1256. The Indian Legislative Assembly to consist of 150 members out of which 95 members should be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy including officials. The seats should be distributed on the provincial bases as follows:—

	Seats.
United Provinces	7
Punjab	7
Bengal	7
Madras	5
Bombay	5
Behar and Orissa	3
Central Provinces	3
Assam	1

1257. The 7 seats of United Provinces to be distributed as follows:—

	Seats.
Meerut division	1
Gorakhpur division	1

	Seats.
Allahabad and Benares division	1
Fyzabad division	1
Lucknow division	1
Jhansi division	1
Kumaon and Rohilkhand division	1

Franchise.

1258. (1) All revenue payers of 3 thousand and income-tax payers on 3 thousand.

2. All title holders, Barristers, Trustees of M. O. College, Editors of Papers and graduates of 7 years' standing should have right to vote for returning members to the Indian Legislative Assembly.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

1259. The number of State Council should be increased to 61 at least and 30 per cent. representation of Mohamadans must be maintained. I do not think that the system of indirect election by the members of the provincial council to the State council is a sound one as there is little chance of Mohamadans members being returned by mixed electorate and hence their interest is sure to suffer.

1260. The qualification of voters and the formation of the constituency to be exactly the same as that of the present Imperial legislative council.

The Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid and Raja Raghunath Prasad Narayan Singh, representing the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, called and examined.

1261. (*Str. Franch. Sys.*) NAWAB ABDUL MAJID.—The Association had been founded 4½ years ago. It contained 400 members who were all electors and paid Rs. 5,000 revenue or more. The Association had power to refuse members or to eject them, but cases had not occurred hitherto.

1262. He proposed an age qualification of 25 years because he thought that persons of a lower age would not understand political affairs. He proposed a minimum rent of Rs. 100 so as to ensure a respectable class of voters. Office-holders of co-operative societies should have the vote; they would be respectable and influential persons. Agents should have the vote in case big landlords might not be able to vote in respect of all their estates and the agent himself might not be otherwise qualified. He would give pensioners a vote as at present and as panchayats were going to be established he would also give a vote to the sarpanch irrespective of whether he held land or not.

1263. The qualifications should be lowered in Bundelkhand and Kumaon because the landlords there were of a lower class and rents were not so high. He himself came from Jaunpore district and his fellow witness (the Raja) from Allahabad.

1264. The land-holders should get 25 seats out of 150. Their claim was based on the land revenue paid by them, and on their position, influence and history. They paid one-third of the land revenue of the province. This included the payments made by the tenants, but the tenants and the landlords both being agriculturists were not separate. He would reduce the qualification for membership of their Association and for a vote at the Council elections from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 3,000. There should be two forms of election by landholders, one by the Associations and one by the other landholders. For other landholders there would be the same voter's qualification of Rs. 3,000 revenue payment but Rs. 5,000 for candidates. He wished to separate the landlord and tenant constituencies as far as possible. In the general rural constituencies the tenants would be allowed to vote but would not be able to stand for which purpose a qualification of Rs. 3,000 would be necessary.

1265. The Association preferred a system of direct election to the Assembly because under the existing in-

direct system there was no chance of adequate representation for the zamindars. In the case of Oudh they proposed that a member should be returned by the "other taluqdars", by which they meant other landholders.

1266. In the Council of State also the landholders' representatives should predominate.

1267. (*Mr. Atab.*) In some places where the zamindars were whole proprietors of their estates the tenants were under their influence. The sub-tenants were in the hands of the tenants. Where there were many non-occupancy tenants as in the western districts the zamindars would exercise a considerable influence. The zamindars were insufficiently represented in the present Council with its limited franchise.

1268. Title-holders should be admitted to the vote as being people of position even though they were probably qualified in other ways.

1269. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He proposed one constituency for the Agra zamindars, one for the Oudh zamindars and one for the other zamindars. They did not propose that the zamindars should partake in the general electorates if they were given 25 out of 125 seats. They proposed to distribute the 25 seats as follows:—

- 1 to each division 10.
- 10 more from large and important districts.
- 2 from the British Indian Association, and 3 from the Agra Zamindars' Association.

1270. He thought that about 4,000 landholders would be qualified under the Rs 3,000 franchise.

1271. (*Mr. Hogg.*) RAJA RAGHUNATH PRASAD NARAYAN SINGH.—Rules would have to be drawn up controlling the use of the votes which they proposed to give to the agents.

1272. By "inhabitant" they meant a resident or one who owned property in a district.

1273. They claimed 3 seats because the province of Agra was larger than the province of Oudh and contained 36 as against 13 districts. The population was larger and the zamindars were more ancient. The interests represented by their Association also were larger.

1274. (*Mr. Hailey.*) The Agra zamindars formed a separate class in contradistinction to the tenants and

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[Continued.]

people engaged in industry, but their status was defined by no special Act. In some families there was the right of primogeniture but otherwise their rights were the same as those of smaller landlords. A Bill would be introduced shortly constituting them into a class similar to the class of taluqdars.

1275. (*Mr. Chintamani.*) By raising the franchise to Rs. 100 rent the bulk of the tenants would be excluded.

1276. He would enfranchise income-tax payers.

1277. The age of 25 should be the minimum for voters and candidates in all constituencies.

1278. If the combined income of a joint family was such as to justify the giving of more than one vote the different members might vote.

1279. He would prefer in the interests of despatch that election appeals should be heard by the District Magistrate.

1280. The zamindars' interests were distinctive because members of other classes could not be so interested in them as one of their own class. The zamindar was the best representative of the raiyats unless there was a conflict of interest.

1281. (*Mr. Hopkins.*) NAWAB ABDUL MAJID.—He would exclude all sub-tenants including holders of s'r land. The latter class was identical with tenants except in so far as they could not acquire occupancy rights.

1282. The fact that 60 per cent. of the tenants in the province were unsecured suggested that the landlords actively interested themselves in preventing the accrual of occupancy rights, but in some cases it was to the interest of the tenant that he should not obtain occupancy rights, because he thereby escaped the clutches of the ban's.

1283. (*Lord Southborough.*) According to his scheme no tenant could ever become a candidate with a Rs. 3,000 qualification and the zamindars would be the sole candidates. The qualification might be lowered in 50 years.

THE UNITED PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Written Statement.

FRANCHISE.

1284. We think that the qualifications of voters should be uniform. It does not seem to us to be necessary to differentiate these qualifications between different parts of these provinces, except for the greater part of the Kumaon Division for which we would make special recommendations. The unequal distribution of population and wealth, such as there is, can so far as practicable be met by an arrangement of constituencies somewhat on the lines suggested below. We therefore propose that the following persons should have a vote at elections of members of the Provincial Legislature:—

1. All persons paying income tax.
- ✓ 2. All persons qualified to vote at any municipal election.
3. All persons assessed to any tax imposed by extra municipal local authority.
4. All agricultural tenants paying a rent of Rs. 50 or upwards annually.
5. All landholders paying land revenue of Rs. 25 or upwards annually.
- ✓ 6. All graduates of any university.

1285. (2) A committee of the members of the local Legislative Council was recently appointed to consider the proposals contained in the resolution of the Government of India on Local Self-Government (No. 41, dated the 16th May, 1918) and to advise as to the action to be taken. In its report dated the 18th October, 1918, this committee has unanimously recommended that the qualifications of district board voters should be those mentioned above under heads 1, 3, 4 and 5. We see no reason why a different standard should be adopted for the Council franchise. Heads 1 and 2 introduce the same principle in urban areas. As to head 6 the qualification is recognized by certain municipalities and we propose to extend it to all municipalities as well as to rural areas.

1286. As for Kumaon we would adopt the recommendations made by the committee of the Council referred to above and suggest that, except in the tahsil of Kashipur, every person paying land revenue and every tenant paying Rs. 50 or more annually as rent should be entitled to a vote.

1287. (3) The exact figures for each head are not available to us but those that are available furnish

sufficient data to proceed upon. They are as follows:—

	Total for the Pro- vince.
(a) Persons paying income-tax (head 1)	41,392.
(b) Persons qualified to vote at municipal elections (head 2)	118,310
(c) Agricultural tenants paying a rent of Rs. 50 or more or assessed to any tax imposed by extra municipal local authority (heads 3 and 4)	845,000
(d) Landholders paying an annual revenue of Rs. 25 or more or assessed to any tax imposed by extra municipal local authority (heads 4 and 5)	315,000
TOTAL	1,317,702

1288. There are no statistics available to us on head 6 but many graduates will come under head 2 and the number of those that remain will not for the present materially affect the total electorate.

1289. (4) The total number of voters in these provinces thus comes to about 1,318,000 which in our opinion is none too large an electorate for a population of nearly 48 millions, and only means that there will be one qualified voter for every 36 of the population. In arriving at this conclusion we have kept in view the principle enunciated in paragraph 226 of the report, that the franchise should be as broad as possible, and have taken due account of the considerations referred to in that paragraph. We do not think that the electorate suggested by us will "lead to a breakdown of the machinery by sheer weight of numbers."

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.

1290. (5) The register should, in our opinion, be compiled for the most part from existing materials. Reliable records giving the names and particulars relating to qualification of the landholders and agricultural tenants are available in the revenue offices of the provinces. So also are lists of payers of income and other taxes. As for graduates we are of opinion that their names should be brought on the register on their own application supported by the necessary certificates of qualification and identity. The original university diploma or a certified copy of the same with a certificate of identification signed by a judicial, executive or military officer

or an advocate, attorney, vakil or pleader or a qualified doctor, should in our opinion be sufficient. It will thus appear that the difficulties of registration experienced in other countries will not arise here. Provision however must be made for the adjudication of claims and objections and for this purpose we would recommend, a system similar to that of revising barristers in England by empowering the High Court to appoint advocates, vakils, attorneys and pleaders of a certain standing as revising authorities.

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS AND SUB-DIVISIONS.

1291. (6) It is obvious that the electorate of these provinces cannot, any more than that of any other country, for practical purposes be arranged into equal divisions both as regards area and numbers of qualified voters. Some constituencies must necessarily be smaller as regards numbers of qualified voters and larger in area than other constituencies. It is desirable to secure approximately the same proportion of representation to all constituencies large or small. The only means of doing this, which we can think of, is to have such a number of representatives in the legislature as would admit of assigning to each a constituency of moderate size, and at the same time secure the due representation of the whole electorate by enabling as far as possible every qualified voter in the province to exercise his right in one constituency or another. The establishment of a suitable number of polling booths in convenient localities situate within the constituency would make the whole process of election easily manageable by the usual complement of election officials and will cause no great inconvenience to the candidates or their voters.

1292. (7) The tahsil is the unit of the revenue administration in these provinces. There are 217 tahsils but they vary considerably in area and population. We have no statistics before us to show how persons of the necessary qualification to vote are distributed in these tahsils, and it is not possible for us to frame a detailed scheme showing the principal divisions and sub-divisions of the electorate. We take it however that the principal town or village in which the tahsil office is situate usually would have a larger population of qualified persons than the outlying villages. Taking the head quarters of the tahsil as the centre it would be possible to demarcate the limits of a constituency within a given radius, though in doing so it may be necessary to include portions of one or more neighbouring tahsils. (In any case it appears to us possible to form some 200 constituencies of convenient size in the various tahsils excluding towns having a population of over 75 thousand. There are eight such towns in these provinces, namely, 1, Lucknow, 2, Agra, 3, Allahabad, 4, Benares, 5, Cawnpore, 6, Moradabad, 7, Bareilly and 8, Meerut, which having regard to their importance deserve to be specially treated. We therefore recommend that there should be 208 electoral divisions in the provinces, the tahsils usually to form the nucleus of 200 of these and the cities mentioned above of the remaining eight.) We admit that it will require a good deal of time and labour to determine the limits of the tahsil constituencies but such work is essential and has to be done when new constituencies are brought into existence. A smaller number of constituencies will not secure anything like adequate representation of the people. It will be seen that the electorate we have suggested comprises a very large number of agricultural tenants, and it is chiefly in their interest that we have put the number of tahsil constituencies at 200. We think that a large majority of the tenants having the qualifications we have recommended are sufficiently intelligent to acquire the necessary capacity for the proper exercise of the right of vote after a short training. It should be our object to afford them every facility in acquiring that capacity.

1294. (8) The next step is to determine the full strength of the House and to see how the representation of the various constituencies is to be assigned to the members. We recommend that the provincial

legislature should consist of at least 236 elected members and would distribute their seats as follows:—

I. Tahsil constituencies, one for each	200
II. Large cities	24
(1) Lucknow	5
(2) Allahabad	4
(3) Benares	3
(4) Agra	3
(5) Cawnpore	3
(6) Bareilly	2
(7) Moradabad	2
(8) Meerut	2
III. Universities—	
(1) Allahabad	2
(2) Benares Hindu	2
(3) Mohammedan	2
(4) Lucknow	2
IV. Chamber of Commerce—	
(1) Upper India	2
(2) United Provinces	2
	236

1295. (9) We consider that the conditions as to special representation of members other than Muhammadans and those mentioned in paragraph 233 of the report, will be satisfied if 14 to 20 seats are placed at the disposal of the Government to be filled in by officials and non-officials in such proportion as the Government may think fit.

1296. (10) The total strength of the House will thus be about 250 which having regard to the size, population and importance of these provinces is by no means too large. We have carefully considered this question and tried to reduce the number of elected representatives but are unable to make any substantial reduction without impairing the effective representation of the people. The only alternative which suggested itself to us was that the number of seats allotted to the tahsils might be reduced by half and thus the total strength of the House might be brought down to 150. But having regard to the importance of the interests concerned we did not feel justified in adopting this course. The number of members assigned to the other constituencies suggested by us does not in our opinion admit of any reduction as those constituencies are at present the best fitted for the proper exercise of the right of vote.

1297. (11) It will be observed that we have taken into account the Muslim and the Lucknow Universities which are still in the making. When they come into existence it may be possible in their case to start with only one member for each.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

1298. (12) We do not think it necessary to provide for the special or separate representation of any community in these provinces other than Mohammedans. As to the latter the proportion of representation has already been agreed upon between the leaders of the two great communities and has for these provinces been fixed at 30 per cent. of the elected members. All that remains is to distribute this proportion of seats among the Mohammedan population. In allotting members to the large cities we have followed the principle that wherever there is a population of from 25 thousand to about one lakh of any particular community we have given it one member and for every excess of fifty thousand over one lakh we have given one additional member. Accordingly Lucknow will have 2 Muslim and 3 non-Muslim members, and the other towns will have 1 Muslim member and the remainder non-Muslims. The towns which need not in our opinion be specially treated will be included in the tahsil constituencies and it will be easy to carve out of the latter a sufficient number of Muhammadan constituencies to return as many Muhammadan members as would bring up their total in the Council to 80 per cent. In selecting certain towns for special treatment

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we have kept three things in view, viz., their population, the number of qualified voters resident therein and their importance in other respects.

1299. (13) We do not think that it is at present necessary to introduce a system of plural voting but we should have been glad to provide for proportional representation, to secure the return of an adequate number of Mohammedans instead of giving them separate representation. We feel, however, that we are not at liberty to go behind the agreement arrived at on the subject and can only express the hope that proportional representation will take the place of separate representation in the near future.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1300. (14) We entirely agree in the observation in paragraph 273 of the report that "It is obviously desirable to deal on uniform lines with the electoral arrangements both in the Provincial and Indian Councils" and share "the decided preference" of the distinguished authors "for a system of direct electorates." but we find ourselves unable to look upon the "immensity of the country" as an insurmountable difficulty in the way of achieving these objects. If the electorate we have suggested for the Provincial Council is free from serious objection, as we believe it is, there is no reason why it should not answer the purposes of the Supreme Council as well. We find that by the constitution of the United States the right of suffrage in federal or national elections is conferred upon those who vote at the election of the more numerous house of each State. In comparison to the numbers of voters in the United States the number we propose is insignificant and making every allowance for the highly developed electoral machinery available in the United States we think that the system should succeed in this country. The only change which will be necessary would be in the size of the constituencies and this may be done by grouping two or more together. There will be no considerable extra inconvenience to voters by this change and such as there is likely to be to the candidates will not be serious. Any other method of direct representation will entail the formation of new constituencies and preparation of a new register which will only complicate the system without affording corresponding advantages. If, however, the inconvenience to candidates is considered a serious bar to the adoption of this method of direct representation it may be modified by the introduction of a system of panel or delegates to be elected with the special object of voting for a member or members of the Indian Legislative Assembly. This system has obvious advantages over indirect representation and at the same time obviates many of the inconveniences due to an extensive and widely scattered electorate. We are therefore in favour of having the same electorate for the Indian as for the Provincial Council and would give it the right to vote either directly or through specially elected delegates.

1301. (15) The alternative of indirect representation proposed in the report is under the terms of reference to this

committee to be resorted to only if a system of direct election is not found feasible. We have pointed out that in our opinion it is. But if the committee think otherwise we think that a system of indirect representation should be devised on as broad a franchise as possible. The Provincial Council will form too small an electorate for the purpose, but the only practical means of widening it appears to be to extend the franchise to all members of the municipal and district boards in the province. We find that there are under the rules in force 1070 members of the district and 1092 of the municipal boards, making a total of 2162, which may be classified either according to existing revenue divisions or assigned to special electoral divisions to form the required number of constituencies. (A special direct electorate for Muhammadans is already in existence and it can be suitably widened to meet the necessary changes in the constitution. Should therefore an indirect system of representation be decided upon we would confine it to non-Moslems and provide for the desired number of constituencies from among the members of the Provincial Council, district and municipal boards.) This method is no doubt open to all the objections which apply to indirect representation, but possesses at least the merit of extending the franchise to a larger number of voters than would be the case if the right to elect the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly is confined to the Provincial Council.

1302. (16) We note that under the terms of reference this committee is not restricted to the exact numerical strength of the Indian Legislative Assembly suggested in the report, and are of opinion that the number of elected members in the Indian Legislative Assembly should not be less than that in the Provincial Council, and that these Provinces should have the same representation as the three Presidencies.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

1303. (17) We are entirely opposed to the establishment of the Council of State on the lines suggested in the report. We appreciate the reasons for the establishment of an Upper Chamber in the constitution, but such Upper Chamber should in our opinion be so constituted as to afford its justification on constitutional grounds. We think there should be a preponderance of the popular element in such a chamber and that it should not be entirely under official control. If therefore the establishment of a Council of State is decided upon we recommend that a majority of the members should be elected by the Provincial Councils.

DISQUALIFICATION OF VOTERS.

1304. We have no special suggestions to make as to the disqualification of voters. The usual rules as to the age limit and other matters such as unsoundness of mind, conviction for an offence implying moral turpitude and punishable by imprisonment for not less than a certain term, etc., should apply.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, representing the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, called and examined.

1305. (Sir Frank Sly.) PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.—They represented the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee.

1306. They recommended uniform qualifications, but they recognized that it led to different percentages of electors in different districts and as they were prepared to admit a differentiation of franchise in the case of Kumaon, they were also ready to extend the principle in other cases. They accepted the Local Government's proposal for the urban franchise as an improvement on their proposal that a vote should be given to all persons at present entitled to vote at municipal elections.

1307. All graduates of any university should be given a vote. They would, however, agree to a lower qualification and his personal view was that the standard

should be the middle vernacular. They had been given authority from their Association to vary the details of the printed note. The Association was particularly anxious that this educational qualification should be recognized. They understood that it was already recognized in some countries although they realized that there were objections of principle to it.

1308. Their proposed qualifications overlapped and it was therefore probable that the rough figures they had given in the third paragraph of their printed statement were an exaggerated estimate.

1309. The tahsil should be the electoral unit because if the district was selected the candidate would not be in touch with the masses. The tahsil ordinarily covered about 500 square miles and contained a population of

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about 220,000. The grouping of a few of the tahsils would not radically affect the unity of the constituencies, but the matter would have to be considered in detail.

1310. (As a matter of expediency it was proposed to give a seat to Moradabad in addition to the seven towns proposed by the Local Government. The Congress proposed to give separate representation to towns with a population of 75,000 instead of 100,000. In Japan the limit was 30,000. As regards the other towns the Congress preferred that they should be amalgamated with the rural constituencies thereby bringing them into touch and line with them.) If they were amalgamated into urban groups, the differences between the rural and urban areas would be perpetuated and this would work to the disadvantage of the rural areas which already received less than their share of attention. Also, if the towns were amalgamated with the rural areas, the voters in the latter areas would be educated by coming into touch with the townsmen. He did not think they would dislike the proposal.

1311. They did not propose separate representation for the landholders because they were already sufficiently represented in the general constituencies. He thought it possible that their proposal would alienate the landholders' sympathies from the scheme, but this fear should not outweigh all other considerations. He saw no reasons why the taluqdars should be treated as a separate class. With the extended franchise conditions would be even more favourable to the landlords.

1312. The Europeans and Anglo-Indians were too small a community to have separate representation. Besides, they should work with the Indians. Their representatives might come in through the general electorates, for instance at Cawnpore. If it was necessary to give them a separate seat, the Committee had no preference for nomination over election.

1313. At present the Committee thought it impracticable to give separate representation to the depressed classes. They should be given votes and education. The question was not prominent in the United Provinces but if these classes were apprehensive, they might be given special representation in the first instance.

1314. Benares University could not be regarded as an all-India institution. They gave 8 seats to the universities to serve the cause of higher education. He believed that this class of voter had been given separate representation in England with satisfactory results.

1315. They proposed 236 elected members in the Council. This would make difficulties with regard to the Grand Committee, but the Report was tentative and he did not see why the requirements of the Grand Committee, of which the Congress disapproved, should be regarded as decisive. The lower house in Japan consisted of 381 seats although the population of Japan was 42 millions as against 47 millions in the United Provinces. Even if the size of the Council—a less desirable alternative—were reduced to 150, they would still like the tahsil to be taken as the electoral unit.

1316. The Congress accepted the Lucknow compact. He would send a memorandum as to the exact method on which the 30 per cent. should be calculated.*

1316 A. Elections to the Assembly should be made by the same electorate as to the Council. The elections should be on holidays. They had not considered whether the Assembly and Council elections should be held together or apart. The proposed electors were interested in matters which would come up for decision in the Imperial Council, for instance "Income tax." The Congress was opposed to the two alternatives mentioned in paragraph 15 of their memorandum. The system of delegates had been tried. The existing system was bad because it was ridiculous for 20 men out of the whole Province to return a member to the Imperial Council. These 20 men did not represent the electorates for the purpose of electing to the Imperial Council and the election was at the mercy of cliques. These objections would not be removed by the enlargement of the Council.

* Not printed.

1317. (Mr. Sastri.) The reduction of the 217 existing tahsils to 200 seats would be a matter of much time and labour as stated in paragraph (7) of the printed note.

1318. Not all the 236 elected members would be of the same standard but all would be public spirited and intelligent. If knowledge of English was a prescribed qualification for candidature many suitable men would fail. The debates should be conducted in the vernacular.

1319. To begin with the zamindars would exercise great influence at the elections, but the independence of the tenants would grow. He did not think that the comparatively small number of urban representatives would result in lack of efficiency. The representatives of the tahsils would adequately represent the needs of the tahsil. He had no serious objection however, to giving separate seats to towns of a population of 50,000 or more.

1320. The staff of the Benares University was recruited from all over India and outside. Their residence at Benares would give them the residential qualification. It was no argument to say that the university received a grant from the Government of India but not from the Local Government because the Government of India made grants to all other universities. The Visitor of the University was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. The electorate would consist of the registered graduates, the staff, the senate, and the syndicate. He had not worked out the electorate in detail, but they would elect both members and there would be the same arrangement at Allahabad.

1321. (Mr. A/ab.) If the taluqdars were granted a separate electorate and also the right of standing in the general electorate, it would be unfair to withhold the same privilege from the Agra landholders whose relations with their tenants were better.

1322. The general Hindu population regarded the multiplication of special electorates with concern; if these seats were included in the "Indian elected" seats on which the 30 per cent. of the Muhammadan seats were calculated and if in addition the Muhammadans were allowed to stand for them, the Muhammadans' prospects of election would be increased disproportionately to those of the Hindus. The Congress had never favoured separate electorates. They thought the same result could be achieved by the device of reserved seats.

1323. In the long run the Congress thought it wrong to weight the urban vote. The interests of the majority of the town population were agricultural and there was no real difference between small towns and big villages.

1324. (Mr. Banarjee.) They would send in two alternative schemes for the constitution of the Council. They recognized that there were difficulties in accepting a total of 256 at the present time but they thought that some permanent principle for the constitution of the Council should be recognized at once.

1325. Owing to the small electorates which now returned members to the Imperial Legislative Council, it was easy to bring influence to bear and corruption had been known. Similar charges had never been heard in connection with municipal elections.

1326. The representation of the landholders had been introduced under the Morley-Minto scheme as a counterpoise to the educated class, although personally he thought there had been no demand for it. The longer the privilege was retained the greater would be the grievance if it was taken away. He did not approve of its gradual abolition; he would abolish it at once.

1327. The Lieutenant-Governor's consent was necessary to the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University.

1328. If facts could be shown which necessitated the representation of the depressed classes, the Congress would gladly agree. These classes had caste panchayats but the chauthuris and not the panchayats should be made the nucleus of the electorate. Their lack of education made election impossible at present.

1329. PANDIT MOTI LAL NERRU.—In the United Provinces the depressed class problem did not exist as elsewhere. The lower classes did not regard the higher classes with the same distrust.

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1376. My Committee do not regard the system of nomination commendable during these times of advancement. It may lower the prestige of the community as well as of the individual member in the eyes of his colleagues.

1357. According to the working of the scheme they will form 1-25th of the whole which representation of the interest would be extremely nominal. The provision of merely 2 seats, plus the shadowy chance of participation in the mixed elections cannot be accepted as constituting the fulfilment of the pledges given to them and repeated from time to time. In this connection the Committee beg to refer to a passage of so eminent a politician as Lord Morley, in his letter to the Government of India at the time the Reform Scheme was promulgated. His Lordship said "No system of representation would be satisfactory if it did not provide for the presence on the Council of sufficient representatives of communities so important as are the Muhammadans."

1358. In the opinion of my Committee Muhammadans will not be justly and fairly treated and the promise so often repeated cannot be carried out with any less provision of seats definitely allotted to them than 1-5th of the whole, i.e., 10 seats at least. The Committee respectfully submit that it is a very modest demand and anything short of this will cause great dismay and sorrow to Muslim public.

1359. (12) The Committee view with great satisfaction the vesting of the power of veto in the Governor General. This is a guarantee that no measure adversely affecting any particular community or injurious to the interests of any section or opposed to the public policy or affecting public tranquility can be carried in the Councils or Assemblies and given effect to at the will and pleasure of the community which happens to be largely represented thereon.

1380. (14) The Committee, therefore, while recognising the general principles underlying the proposed scheme cannot acknowledge that the Muhammadan interests will be fully safeguarded unless and until the objections herein detailed are removed.

1381. The Committee apprehend that the effect of the proposed Constitution will be the transfer of the Government into the hands of "Hindu Bureaucracy" and this they are not prepared to accept without the safeguards suggested herein for the full protection of the Muhammadan interests.

Further Memorandum of the United Provinces Moslem Defence Association.

1362. (1) The Moslem community should receive, through their own separate electorates, adequate representation commensurate not only with their numerical strength but also with their political importance, that is to say the number of Muslims should in no case be less than that of Hindus.

1363. (2) The Provincial Legislative Councils and the Indian Legislative Assembly should consist of members—both elected and nominated—representing the three main interests, viz., (1) Hindus, (2) Musalmana, (3) Europeans together with Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians—each class contributing an equal number to the Councils.

N.B.—In this memorandum the word "Christian" means and includes Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians.

A.—Provincial Legislative Councils.

1364. (1) The number of members, both official and non-official, elected and nominated, should not exceed 125 in the case of major provinces and 75 in the case of minor provinces.

1365. (2) The franchise in the case of Muslim electorates under the Reformed Councils of 1900 should be maintained with this modification that the land revenue and income tax figures should be cut down to one-third so as to sufficiently broaden the franchise.

1366. (3) Similar franchises should be created for the election of Hindus and Christians—i.e., the qualifications applicable to Muslim voters should apply *mutatis mutandis* to Hindu and Christian voters as well.

1367. (4) There should be special electorates for the Universities. The Fellows should send Hindu, Muslim and Christian members to the Provincial Legislative Council by rotation. If a Muslim is sent up by a University to the Council then the number of members to be returned by the general Muslim electorates should be reduced by one—the loss falling upon some plural constituency. The same rule should apply in the case of Hindus and Christians also.

1368. (5) We beg to propose a full scheme for the United Provinces Legislative Council as a model and suggest that the scheme for other provinces should be formulated on similar principles, due regard being had to the local conditions prevailing in such other provinces.

(a) The number of members both official and non-official, elected and nominated, should be 120. This number should be divided into three compartments of 40 each and the Hindus, Muslims and Christians should have each 40 seats. The number of nominated members should be one-fifth of the whole body, i.e., 24. We are against the principle of nominating non-officials under the new scheme for the reasons, which justified the practice, have ceased to exist as the Councils are going to be enlarged considerably. But if the Government chooses to retain this power then the number of nominated non-officials should not exceed one-sixth of the total nominated members.

The distribution would be as follows:—

Total strength of the Council	120
Nominated members—	Officials.
Christians	20
Hindus	2
Musalmana	2
Elected members—	Non-officials.
Christians	20
Hindus	38
Musalmana	38

We suggest that the number of nominated officials or non-officials who may be Hindus and Musalmana should be equal. Necessarily the 20 nominated officials for many years to come would be Christians. If the nominated officials are all Christians then the figures quoted above would be much simplified.

Nominated Christians	24
✓ Elected—	
Christians	16
Hindus	40
Musalmana	40

The number of elected Christian members would thus be 16 and the two remaining Communities would have 40 each.

(b) The Muslim constituencies in these Provinces together with the number of seats allotted to each such constituency should be as follows:—

Constituency.	Seats.
Allahabad	2
Banda and Hamirpore	1
Jhansi, Jalaun and Lalitpore	1
Ghazipur, Ballia and Basti	2
Azamgarh	1
Agra	1
Aligarh	2
Saharanpur and Dehra Dun	1
Muzaffarnagar	1
Bareilly	1
Moradabad	1
Shajahanpur	1
Kanauj Division	1
Unao	1

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Counting.	Seats.
Shajpur and Kheri	1
Pyzabad	1
Sahasganj and Pardeganah	1
Bahraich	1
Cawnpore and Palespore	2
Etah and Kasarh	1
Benares	1
Gorakhpur	1
Mirzapur and Jaunpur	1
Parmlshah	1
Mathura and Mainpuri	1
Meerut	1
Bahadshahr	1
Bijnore	1
Budhan	1
Pilibhet	1
Lacknow	2
Rai Bareilly	1
Hardh	1
Bareilly	1
Godh	1

1369 We have grouped together certain districts where the Mussalman population is either small or backward. The Hindu constituencies may with slight modifications be similarly constituted.

1370. The Christian constituencies may be fixed in the centres of Christian population, e.g., Lucknow, Cawnpur, Allahabad, Agra, Benares, Bareilly, Meerut, etc.

1371. We further suggest that Government nomination should come first or at any rate the Government should announce the number of its members (nominees) from among the officials or non-officials to the three constituencies.

(c) In the case of the Bombay Provincial Council the Purses should have 2 seats of their own, elected by their special electorate. The franchise being the same as in the other provinces and constituencies.

B.—Indian Legislative Assembly.

1372. (1) The total number of members in the Indian Legislative Assembly should be 151 excluding the Governor General.

1373. (2) The franchise for all the seats—Hindus, Mussalman and Christian should be the same as that provided for the Mussalman constituencies under the Reformed Councils of 1909 with this modification that the income tax and land revenue figures should be cut down to one-third.

1374. (3) (a) Out of 151 members the Purses should have the right to elect one and the Government should have the power to nominate thirty. The remaining 120 members should be elected by Hindus, Mussalman and Christian. We propose that these 120 seats should be further distributed and arranged as follows:—

Nominated Members—	
Christians (officials)	25
Hindus (officials or non-officials)	2
Mussalman (officials or non-officials)	2
Total	30

Mr. Dad Abmal and Syed Ahsa Bekir, representing the United Provinces Muslim Defence Association, called and examined.

1375. (*See First Stage.*) **Mr. HADRA:**—The United Provinces Muslim Defence Association, which they represented, came into existence in 1917. It consisted of about 800 workers who paid an annual subscription of Rs. 4. It had been started because it was thought that the Muslims League did not sufficiently represent Mussalman interests. The view which they set forth was those of the Association.

Reserved Members—	Seats.
Christians	24
Hindus	48
Mussalman	48
Total	120

(b) The allocation of 50 seats in the case of Mussalman should be as follows:—

The Punjab 10, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh 9, Bengal 10, Bombay 7, Bihar and Orissa 5, Madras 5, Central Provinces 1, Beramb 1, Assam 1, Delhi 1. If Government nominates one or more members (Mussalman) from one or more provinces the elected seats of the Mussalman of that province should be reduced by that number.

Now the 9 members of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh should be distributed as follows:—

Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions 1, Benares Division 1, Gorakhpur Division 1, Lucknow Division 2, Pyzabad Division 1, Rohilkhand and Kanton Divisions 1, Meerut Division 1, Agra Division 1.

The same principle as far as possible might be applied to other provinces according to the distribution of population in them.

(c) As regards the Hindu and Christian constituencies it should be noted that they ought to be formed in different provinces according to the distribution of their respective populations, the only restriction being that the total number of the allotted seats in every province should under no circumstances be exceeded.

(d) The Purses should elect one member for themselves for the Indian Legislative Assembly. The voting qualifications should be the same as in the case of Hindus and Christians.

C.—The Council of State.

1375. We beg to submit the following suggestions as regards the Council of State. It should be composed of 50 members of whom 25 should be nominated officials and members of the Executive Council and 3 should be nominated non-officials. The Christian would of course be in an overruling majority and therefore they need not be given any electorate for this body. The remaining 22 seats may be equally divided between Hindu and Mussalman and the Provincial Legislative Council should elect the representatives of their respective provinces for the Council of State. The Hindu members of a Provincial Council should elect Hindus, and the Mussalman members Mussalman.

1376. The distribution of the 11 seats should be as follows:—

The Punjab 2, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh 2, Bengal 2, Bihar and Orissa 1, Madras 1, Bombay 1, Beramb and Assam 1, Central Provinces 1.

1377. The Hindu seats may be distributed according to the census of population in the various provinces.

1378. Having regard to the general character of the scheme formulated by me, it is not necessary to particularly refer to the interests of Mussalman or the large backward provinces.

1368. They wanted communal representation for Mussalman areas where the Mussalman were in a majority. They desired this because Mussalman were a backward community and it might happen that in a mixed electorate a Mussalman candidate might well be elected to the Hindu electorate in order to secure his seat, thereby depriving any chance to represent the Mussalman. Provided that a sufficient number of seats was

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1330. He would no longer allow the Lieutenant-Governor to disqualify at his option, but he would accept the ordinary general disqualifications such as lunacy. The fact that a man had been bound down under section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code should not *per se* be made a disqualification.

1331. (Mr. Hogg.) PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.—By "extra municipal local authorities" in the first paragraph of the printed note the Congress meant "notified towns and municipal areas."

1332. Government could judge whether it would be necessary to extend the elections over more than one day. He would sooner this should be done than that the number of voters should be reduced.

1333. PANDIT MOTI LAL NEHRU.—800 to 1,000 votes could be polled by one man in a day.

1334. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.—Non-officials had co-operated with success at the census and should do so at the elections.

1335. It would be a matter of time and labour to work out which of the 200 electoral divisions would return Muhammadans. Where a constituency contained a majority of Muhammadan voters, the seat might be earmarked for Muhammadans. He would be prepared to add to the number of seats if necessary.

1336. If the number of Europeans in the province justified a separate seat and even if the European community felt any apprehensions, he would be prepared to give them a separate constituency.

1336. (Mr. Hailey.) He had not worked out a system of proportional representation but he would submit a scheme.

1337. It was true that the Japanese Assembly to which

he had referred was an Imperial Parliament.

1338. (In reply to the objection that Benares University could not be regarded as provincial in the sense that Allahabad University was because it was the latter which set the tune to the secondary schools in the Province, he would like to explain that the Benares University had an entrance examination and could recognize schools throughout British India; hence it controlled schools in the United Provinces also.) It was founded only in 1916 and would gather power. At present it did not control provincial education to the same extent as the Allahabad University.

1339. As regards female suffrage they had no mandate from their committee; no opinions were invited on the subject.

1340. (Mr. Chintamani.) The inclusion of the towns in the rural electorates would have the result of swamping the urban representatives whose presence was desirable in support of the tenants against the zamindars. He had already agreed to separate seats for towns of a population of over 50,000.

1341. On the whole he thought it desirable that the registered graduates should vote for the Allahabad University candidate. Matters connected with the Benares University were seldom referred to the Government of India. Most of the university's dealings were with the Local Government and it should be represented on the local Council.

1342. (Mr. Hopkins.) There was a feeling that the Benares University should, in some matters, be free from the control of the Local Government.

1343. Elections should be held during the agriculturists' slack season.

THE UNITED PROVINCES MUSLIM DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement.

(Copy of a letter to the Government of the United Provinces, dated 11th September 1918.)

1344. I am desired by the Committee of the United Provinces Muslim Defence Association to thank the Government for affording an opportunity to the Association to express the views of the Mussulmans on the Indian Constitutional Reforms as promulgated in the report of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India.

1345. (2) The Committee gratefully acknowledge that the authors of the report have evinced a genuine desire towards the improvement of the Constitution of the Indian Government with a view to make it conform to the wishes of the people of the country. The sympathetic effort which has been made by the authors of the scheme calls forth a heartfelt gratitude from the Muslim Community.

1346. (3) I am, however, desired by my Committee to respectfully submit that a careful examination of the scheme has caused a great disappointment to the Mussulmans and they view with great apprehension certain proposals contained therein as they are likely to prove detrimental to their interests. They find that almost in all respects their interests are going to be sacrificed at the altar of a popular system of Government which though suitable to England is wholly unsuitable to the special circumstances of this country.

1347. (4) The idea of moulding the different communities inhabiting this unfortunate country and having different traditions, different history and different religion, though a laudable one, is not so easily realisable as the framers of the scheme appear to think. The Muhammadans as a community are entirely different from the rest of the people of India in regard to all matters that go to constitute a nation. The process by which it is desired to create an Indian nationality, my Committee beg to submit, will result in the total effacement of the Mussulmans as a community. This is a prospect which the Committee is not prepared to accept with equanimity.

1348. (5) Under the Morley-Minto Reforms Muhammadans were given the right of separate representation in all the provinces owing to the peculiar position which they

occupy both politically and historically in this country. They were also given the right to participate in the election by mixed electorates. The reason for this later concession was that it would give an opportunity to the two rival communities to work together and thus gradually learn to have confidence in each other. Under the proposed scheme their right of communal representation is to be taken away from them in the provinces where they may be in a majority though they may be deficient in wealth and education and may not be politically so organised as the sister community. The peculiar circumstances under which these rights were given to them have been totally ignored by the framers of the report. Although this right of communal representation is conceded to them wherever they are in a minority, yet unless their representation in the several bodies is made numerically sufficient and effective as was claimed by the Association in their address to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India at Delhi they apprehend that even this concession will not be of much value to them.

1349. (6) Before dealing with the Provincial and Imperial Councils the Committee venture to mention at this stage that having regard to the fact that the powers of the municipal and rural boards are enlarged, that they will be allowed to manage their own affairs and that there will be little or no interference with their decisions, the representation of Mussulmans on such bodies should be through separate electorates, not only adequate but effective. Unless and until they are allowed to elect their own representatives on local bodies and their number is such that their voices may be heard effectively, it will be of no avail if they are given a few seats in excess of their numerical strength on Provincial and Imperial Councils. These local bodies, will, to a large extent, decide the questions of education, sanitation and other important matters. The Mussulmans disclaim all suggestions of racial prejudice and are anxious to work in harmonious co-operation with other races in India, but they cannot shut their eyes to sharp differences which unfortunately exist between various communities in this country, and which have become more pronounced in recent years. They have got some interests which concern them and the administration

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[Continued.]

Some of their interests may be supposed to conflict with the ideals of others, and it is for the due advocacy of such questions which are often of vital importance to the welfare of their community as well as for the smooth working of the administrative machine and the maintenance of strict impartiality that they want substantial and effective representation and further that their representatives must be men on whom they can rely and have confidence, and who may be capable of understanding and expressing their views and feelings properly. They want their substantial, effective and separate representations from the initial rungs in the ladder of Self-Government upward to the Council of State as well as on all deliberative assemblies, and that is not anything new which they demand. They have been asking for it from the very beginning. There presentative institutions in India were introduced and solemn promises have been held out to them by high authorities in India as well as in England, that their rights would be safeguarded and their demands met in full. They simply ask the fulfilment of those pledges. Their disregard will surely cause great disappointment and bitterness.

1350. (7) At page 107 in paragraph 218 of the report under discussion it is proposed that in each province the Executive Government should consist of two parts. The one would comprise the head of the province and an Executive Council of two members. The other part would consist of one member or more than one member chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council. In the scheme appended to the address presented to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India by the Association, on his visit to this country, in November last, the Association suggested that the Executive Council should consist of 4 members, 2 of whom should be Indians, one of the latter being always a Muhammadan. But the suggestion embodied in the report is a great improvement upon all the suggestions made in this respect and entrusts the Indians with great responsibility. If this proposal is finally accepted and given a trial, the Committee submit that it would be in the interest of the Empire if both the Communities in these provinces should be represented on the Council. If a member or members of one community, be appointed, they apprehend that it would seriously prejudice their rights and interests. This fair and legitimate demand of the Musalmans of these Provinces can be easily met with by making some such provision in the Legislation that if an Executive Councillor be a member of the Hindu Community the Minister should be a Muhammadan and *vice versa*, or that the Executive Councillor and the Minister should, alternately, be appointed from both the communities and that one community should not have its members in both parts of the Executive Government at one and the same time.

1351. (8) Much as the Musalmans wish to do away with communal representation in these provinces or in India, unfortunately the cleavage between the two communities is so great that whether it is opposed to the teachings of history, or whether it perpetuates class division, it is such an essential and important adjunct that the sweeping away of it will do great injustice to their community and retard its progress to a very great extent. If this principle is done away with at present, one community will be placed in a position of political ascendancy over the other to its great disadvantage. Its interests would be sacrificed and progress stopped. A time may come when the general principle enunciated in the report on this subject may be found capable of practical application without sacrificing the interests of any of the communities, but that time, much as we regret, appears to be yet far far off.

1352. It was after a very careful and thorough study of the problems and the condition of the country and its people that the principle of communal and substantial representation for the Muhammadans was recognised by the great British statesman Lord Morley and great pro-consuls like Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge.

1353. (9) It has often been recognised by the Government of India in its despatches in 1909, as well as by His

Majesty's Secretary of State for India and also by the people concerned, that the principle of proportional representation in this country is wholly unsuited and will work great hardship in the case of the Muhammadans. The compromise arrived at by the League and the Congress indicates the same. Keeping these facts in view and having regard to the enlarged powers of the newly proposed assembly the real non-official character which is going to be given to them in future, the Committee find it all the more necessary, just and equitable, that the representation of Musalmans on such assemblies, as well as on other committees to be established to draw up the details, etc., should be equal to that of the rival community, otherwise the result would be that one community will dominate the will of the other and place Musalman interests in the hands of an unsympathetic majority, as our past experience shows.

1354. After carefully reviewing the whole situation once again, as well as the changed circumstances the Committee most respectfully but earnestly submit that it would be fatal to the principle of local self-government if the Musalman representation is not substantial and effective and one section is allowed to exercise the preponderating influence over the other and that it would also give rise to feelings of grave resentment among the loyal Musalman subjects of the Crown. The reasons given and the demands made in paragraph 6 apply with equal force to the Provincial and Imperial Councils, as well as to the Committees to be appointed under paragraphs 225, 238 of the report.

1355. (11) The Committee regard the proposal of the creation of the Council of State as most healthy and sound but they have the gravest objection to the proposal that the Muhammadan Community should be allowed to return only two members directly to the Council. This is done on the assumption that four more Muhammadans are likely to be returned by indirect election, otherwise the deficiency may be made good by nomination. Considering the interests involved, the total strength of the Council which is fixed at 50, excluding the Governor-General of whom 25 will be non-officials, the seats assigned to them are far too few. They would thus form about 1-25th of the whole, about 1-12th of the non-officials and about 1-10th of the elected representatives. The possibility of there being 6 members on the Council is far remote and is merely an assumption, the fulfilment of which, according to our past experience, has been both variable and capricious, and not satisfactory to the Muhammadan community. The Committee most respectfully beg to urge that the Musalmans would not get what they are even entitled to on a numerical basis, far less on consideration of their status and stake in the country. They regard the proposal as a serious blow to the principle of communal and substantial representation. It is in a sense going back from the pledges as well as setting back the settled and recognised principle. There is no guarantee whatever that there would be any real Muhammadan representation over and above the inadequate total of seats expressly reserved for them, and specially when we find that in most of the provinces the majority of electors would be non-Muslims. Muhammadan candidates will have to take their chance in most of the constituencies where they are in a minority and they will have to face old-established and very well organised forces. If every Muhammadan elector will be entitled to record both his votes in favour of one candidate, the Hindus will have the same right, and consequently there would be practically no chance for a Muhammadan candidate to be successful. Past experience does not leave any shadow of doubt in this respect. The scheme makes Muhammadan representation dependent, so to speak on a gamble. Even if a Musalman would be fortunate enough to be elected by a general electorate it would be by favour of voters not of his own faith but by subscribing to the political doctrines of the majority and hence he would not be of the type to represent the overwhelming mass of Muhammadan opinion and his presence may prove detrimental to the community.

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Mr. ISKI AHMAD and Saiyid AGHA HAIDAR.

[Continued.]

given to the Muhammadan community, they did not wish to press for participation in the general electorates. The Lucknow compact had been formed by the League, the views of which they did not accept. Although the Muhammadans were only 14 per cent. of the population, they claimed for them 33 per cent. of the seats.

1381. In the Punjab he would divide the Council into representatives of the 4 main religions. In Bombay he would give, say, 2 seats to the Parsis, who were a small community. In proof of the necessity for this representation by religions he would refer to the case of a Hindu Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University who had not given Muhammadans their fair share of nominations for Deputy Collectorships. He agreed that the number of representatives of each religion might be decreased by the number of members of that religion nominated by Government.

1382. He did not contemplate separate representation for landholders.

1383. (Mr. Hailey.) His Association did not accept the Lucknow compact. His proposal of one-third of the seats for Muhammadans, one-third for Hindus and one-third for Christians was not a device to reduce the number of Hindu seats. The presence of a strong European element would be very valuable.

1384. (Mr. Banerjee.) From the nationalist point of view it was a matter of indifference how many seats were allotted to the different communities.

1385. (Mr. Aftab.) His Association was a branch of the All-India Moslem Association. It was not recognized by the League. They were not authorised to speak on behalf of Muhammadans from outside the province. There was a branch of the Association in Bengal and he thought in Bombay and Bihar.

1386. They had no mandate to accept the Lucknow compact as the second best alternative to their own scheme; but personally he would agree to do so.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN FEDERATION.

Written Statement.

1387. (1) It is the considered opinion of the community not only in the United Provinces but throughout India that without continuous representation its interests cannot be adequately safeguarded.

1388. The Report indicates that the community may be awarded representation by nomination.

1389. It is, however, the unanimous opinion of the community throughout India that representation by nomination will not meet the case.

1390. There is no satisfactory reason why the community should not be given representation by election, nor has any such been advanced. In loyalty it is second to none. It has given of its man power a comparatively higher percentage than any other community in India.

1391. While the community may not be able to show a large array of graduates, in primary and secondary education it is comparatively better educated than any other class in India and certainly is educated enough to beneficially exercise the privilege of a 'vote.'

1392. Lastly and primarily the community is not temporarily but permanently resident in India, and thus first and last its interests circle only in the country, hence the Anglo-Indian Association, United Provinces, and the Provincial Branches of the Anglo-Indian Empire League at Jhansi and Lucknow earnestly pray that the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Community be awarded on the Provincial Council, the Indian Legislative Assembly and on the Council of State. Thus only does the community consider its interests can be adequately safeguarded, and the recommendation of both His Excellency the Governor General and the Hon'ble the Secretary of State be efficiently given effect to.

1390. (2) In view of the unusually important position which the community occupies in India (an importance which, it is feared, the Government frequently loses sight of, since it apparently altogether fails to take into consideration the fact that the community forms by far the most important and reliable portion of the staff on Indian Railways, of the Indian Defence Force, of the Indian Medical Department, of the Government Telegraphs, of the Secretariat, the High Court, the Board of Revenue, and other Government offices, of the Educational Service, the Subordinate Public Works Department, of the Forest Service, and of the assistant staff in non-official concerns—in other words the foundation for an extremely formidable Labour Party, it is urged that at least five per cent. (5%) of the seats) be earmarked for the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Community.

1394. (3) While it is considered that the Franchise should be on as broad a basis as possible, and that generally every man or woman who pays direct taxes or land cess should have the right to elect a political representative it is recognized that the elector must be literate as well as possessed of property, hence it is suggested that all who pay direct taxes or land cess and can read and write English shall be entitled to vote.

1395. In forwarding the above the Domiciled and Anglo-Indian Community in the United Provinces assures the Government that it is both willing and ready to take its place and to play its part in the political life of the country, as suggested in paragraph 155 of the Report, provided always that full facilities for doing so be afforded it.

1396. Its representatives, therefore, pray that the suggestions herein set forth may be carefully and sympathetically considered.

Submitted by order of the Presidents of—

- (1) The Anglo-Indian Association, United Provinces.
- (2) The Anglo-Indian Empire League, Jhansi.
- (3) The Anglo-Indian Empire League, Lucknow.

Written statement of the Anglo-Indian Empire League.

1397. In paragraph 155 of the Report it is stated "we offer them representation and we expect to make good use of it; to learn to play their part in the political life of the country;" continuing it states, that the community must not rely on artificial protection; yet in contradiction to this admission my Council learn with regret that the community, in conjunction with all other minorities, is practically disfranchised. My Council strongly urge, with all the force at their command, that representation be granted the Anglo-Indian community on a communal electoral basis in all Provincial Legislative Councils and on the Legislative Assembly; and that one permanent nomination be granted the community on the Council of State when this body is created. In confirmation of this request my Council have to state that the Anglo-Indian community is as much an integral part of the population of India as the Hindu, Muhammadan or Sikh communities, and to shut out its members from offices that are open to members of other communities, whether directly or indirectly, through the operation of one-sided regulations, must be regarded by my Council as a great injustice and a failure on the part of Government to fulfil their admitted obligations. Further, nomination will not meet the rights and aspirations of the community, tending as it will to foster dependence, reliance on artificial protection and strangulation of communal growth, with the consequent result of producing a weak social and political position. Communal representation by election was allowed to the Muhammadans in 1909; and in recognition of their "sturdy loyalty" it is proposed to continue this concession. It is proposed also to extend this concession to the Sikhs, and to the Sikhs alone, while the interests of other communities and other minorities will, it is thought, be sufficiently protected by representatives nominated by Viceroys and Governors. It is urged on behalf of the Sikhs that they are everywhere in the minority and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented, but if these are sufficient reasons for making a concession to them, they may be urged with

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THE ANGLO-INDIAN FEDERATION.

[Continued.]

equal force on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community, which is also everywhere in the minority and is virtually unrepresented. Anglo-Indian loyalty is quite as "sturdy" as that of the Muhammadans and is beyond all question; their services, though not a word is said about them in the Report, have frequently been acknowledged; their position is admitted to be a "peculiar position,"

and yet it is not thought unfair to withhold from them a right which is conceded to others whose claims to consideration are not as great as those of Anglo-Indians.

1398. It must also be remembered that the Anglo-Indian community is the most literate and the most fitted to exercise the right of vote, and that therefore electorate representation is the *sine quâ non* to its future welfare.

Mr. C. T. Robbie, representing the Anglo-Indian Federation, called and examined.

1399. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He represented the Anglo-Indian Federation; i.e. the Anglo-Indian Association and the Anglo-Indian Empire League which were federated throughout India. There were probably a thousand members of the federated body in the United Provinces.

1400. They desired a separate electorate and not nomination.

1401. The definition of "Anglo-Indian" was 'a European domiciled in the country, or a man of mixed ancestry with a European ancestor on the paternal side.' He would send a copy of the definition adopted by the League.

1402. His community claimed 5 per cent. of the seats as the minimum that was adequate for their requirement. They numbered from 18,000 to 20,000.

1403. The proposed qualifications were the payment of direct taxes or a cess. He could think of no direct taxes except income tax. By cess he meant land revenue, but he did not wish to exclude tenants. He would agree to the qualification of house rent or income in towns. Literacy in English should be a qualification; he did not think there would be any cases of Anglo-Indians literate only in the vernacular.

1404. (*Mr. Hogg.*) The two Associations were federated and not amalgamated.

1405. The census figures for their community were much too small, probably owing to the adoption of a different definition.

1406. He objected to nomination because the result did not ordinarily represent the people concerned. He had not considered how the elections should be conducted. About 40 per cent. of the community were on the railways. In the United Provinces the qualifications proposed would not lead to any considerable omissions.

1407. He was in favour of female suffrage for his community.

1408. His community would not like to be amalgamated with the non-domiciled Europeans, but they would prefer an amalgamated electorate to nomination.

1409. (*Mr. Chintamani.*) His objection to an amalgamated electorate was that the interests of Europeans permanently and temporarily resident in India were not identical.

1410. (*Mr. Hopkins.*) Government servants might have a vote.

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The Hon'ble Raja Sir RAMPAL SINGH.

[Continued.]

At Lucknow, Thursday, November 28th, 1918.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon'ble Lord SOUTHBOROUGH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., (President).

Sir F. G. STY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

Sabibzada AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. M. R. HOPKINS, I.C.S., Commissioner of the Meerut Division.

The Hon'ble Mr C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

P. C. TALLENTS Esq., I.C.S. (Secretary).

The Hon'ble Raja Sir RAMPAL SINGH, K.C.I.E.

Written Statement.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1411. (1) The experimental stage of Responsible Government which the illustrious authors of the New Reform Scheme have recommended for India requires all the more in a far greater degree not only the careful rearing and ungrudging solicitude without which no delicate institution can attain to robust and healthy maturity but also a wise constructive policy on sound lines so that no interests in proportion to their influence and importance may be left without a voice in its constitution. It is but a truism to say that success can only be achieved by constituting proper electorates to whom the representatives elected would have to be responsible. No representative is worth the name who does not command the confidence of the electorate and is not in close touch with it, not only to take mandates from its constituents but also to lead and guide them in the duties of citizenship of the State. It would be inexpedient, impolitic and harmful to leave out of consideration or to pay meagre and indifferent regard to the masses of the rural areas who, though steeped in superstition and ignorance, form the bulk of the population. It would not meet the requirements of the conditions prevailing here if in the electorates that may be determined upon the townspeople, forming but a very small portion of the population of India, get the upper hand out of all proportion to their number or the taxes which they pay to the State Exchequer. No doubt they have an importance of their own due to greater diffusion of education and political ideas which the rural areas lack and to the extent of that importance I would not grudge a certain number of seats in the councils of India to be given to them but to allow them a greater representation than their importance, population or payment of taxes warrant would be to mar the representative character of the Responsible Government. No misgivings ought to be entertained as to the existence of intelligent and capable material for the formation of electorates in rural areas. It only requires training and that can be acquired by the exercise of power. The authors of the scheme have themselves observed that "if a sound beginning is to be made, the foundations of the building must be laid deeper."

1412. (2) It also seems to me to be necessary for the sake of fairness and justice and to avoid inequalities that there should be no differentiation in the qualification of electors on racial or religious ground. I mean to say that if franchise be granted to a Subedar Major of one religious persuasion, the same should be granted to persons having the same rank and status but professing a different religion. This will inevitably lead to the lowering of franchise to the level to which the formation of electorates for communal representation may necessitate.

1413. (3) The Districts of the Provinces (or for the matter of that two or three districts may be joined together or any large district may be split into two) will form best units for general electorates but the circumstances of different districts vary so considerably from one another that the application of one definite franchise will not suit the rural conditions of all the districts. It will have to be laid down to meet the varying conditions of the districts.

1414. (4) In determining the number of voters for a general electorate in each such constituency population ought to have the first consideration that is to say that the number of voters to form an electorate for general election should be in proportion to the number of people inhabiting that district. I am of opinion that there should be at least one voter for every 200 of population that is 5 per thousand. But it would be far better if the proportion be one per cent. A large district like Gorakhpur may better have two electorates and the district having small population may be joined together for the purpose of returning a representative to the council. Unless a representative is elected by a general electorate consisting of about five or six thousands of voters he cannot be called representative in the true sense of the word.

1415. (5) For want of detailed statistics I feel unable to suggest with any amount of definiteness the qualification that should entitle a person to become a voter in the rural areas in the general electorate but it should be based on the amount of revenue, cess, rent or income-tax paid by him.

1416. (6) As I have observed above, the rural areas of districts, subject to the consideration of population, should have their separate electorate, consisting of revenue, cess, rent, or income-tax payers. The urban areas of a division should have an electorate of their own consisting of income-tax and municipal-tax payers. If in any way such constituencies be not considered feasible or justifiable then as an alternative I will suggest that the payers of a minimum amount or above of revenue, cess, rent or income-tax of rural and urban areas be enrolled together as electors and formed into a constituency for the purpose of electing one representative to the Provincial Council. In either case one constituency would have to be formed for urban areas of the division consisting of the persons paying a minimum amount or above of municipal taxes.

1417. (7) I would like the limitation of the payment of tax to be put on the qualification of an elector but if that be not workable owing to the exigencies of communal electorates, Indian Government employes and pensioners above certain rank, titleholders, graduates, etc., may also be enrolled as voters. In every case it is necessary that residential qualification should be enforced.

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The Hon'ble Raja Sir BAMPAL SINGH.

[Continued.]

1418. (8) I have already noted above that conditions of the districts vary considerably and so one tax paying qualification shall not suit the requirements of all the districts of the province. It will have to be adjusted according to the circumstances of the district and in such a manner as the proportion of the electors to population may come to 5 per thousand. I do not think the difficulties of polling will be such as to necessitate any great limitation on the number of electors. In a general manner I take liberty to suggest that the payment of Rs. 50 or above as revenue or Rs. 75 or above as rent for fixed rate, under proprietary, or sub-settlement holding or Rs. 100 for occupancy or tenant-at-will holding may entitle a person to be enrolled as voter. This property qualification would have to be highered or lowered as the conditions of the district may demand. All income-tax payers should also be enrolled as such. Besides that I am of opinion that no village should be left without a voter and so if no person could be found possessing the minimum qualification any person paying proportionately the highest amount of revenue or rent should be taken in on the list of voters.

1419. (9) Such electoral rolls should be prepared subject to the rules about disqualification which the Government might impose.

1420. (10) These electorates may be given a free discretion to elect whomsoever they may like provided the candidate is a resident of the district in the case of rural electorates, and in the case of municipal electorates, is a resident of the division. Of course such elections should be made subject to the rules of disqualifications.

1421. (11) In this way there will be about 45 rural constituencies, if I may so call them and about 8 urban constituencies each returning one member to the Provincial Council.

1422. (12) The big landlords of Agra may have the right to return 4 representatives from among themselves and the British Indian Association a similar number from amongst its members.

1423. (13) The Allahabad University, the Hindu University, the Indian and European Chamber of Commerce may each return one representative.

1424. (14) The large municipalities such as Lucknow, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Agra, Benares, may further be given a right to return one member each to represent them in the Provincial Councils.

1425. (15) Thus the Provincial Council will consist of members as follows:—

45	members from rural electorates.
8	" " Divisional municipal electorates.
8	" " big landholders.
5	" " large municipalities.
1	Allahabad University.
1	member from Hindu University.
1	" " European Chamber of Commerce.
1	" " Indian Chamber of Commerce.
30	members from Muhammadan electorates.
25	ominated officials and non-officials to represent minorities.

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1426. (16) I have strong objection to the idea of Grand Committees which the authors have recommended. There should be an upper house in the Provinces also similar to that of State Council suggested in the Government of India. It is needless to say anything as to its constitution at present.

INDIAN, LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND STATE COUNCIL.

1427. (1) The most important point which I have very strongly to urge in connection with the Indian Legislative Assembly is that in the recommendation for the representation of these Provinces the authors have failed to recognize the importance which they have as compared with other Provinces. If population, revenue or the his-

tory of these provinces be taken into consideration, I am sure, they would yield to none in their political importance. Whatsoever, may be the criterion from which the matter may be judged these provinces are entitled in justice to get the same number of seats in the Indian Legislative Assembly as Bombay, Bengal or Madras. It would be a cause of great resentment and discontent if this recommendation will be allowed to stand as it is and the number of seats will not be increased to 11.

1428. (2) Fully convinced of the justness of the claim of these provinces for an equal representation with the presidencies of Bombay, Bengal or Madras I presume that 11 seats will be allotted to them in the Legislative Assembly.

1429. (3) For the purpose of returning 11 members to the Assembly the provinces would have to be divided for election purposes into divisions on the consideration of population, area and revenue. Each such division ought to have at least about a thousand electors and the qualifications of the electors to be determined on the basis of payment of revenue, rent or income-tax.

1430. (4) These seats may be allotted to the following electorates as follows:—

2	Provincial Legislative Council.
1	Big landholders of Agra.
1	British Indian Association.
1	Muhammadan landholders of Agra and Oudh.
2	Muhammadan communal electorate for the province.
4	Divisional electorates.

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11

1431. (5) As far as the divisional electorates may be concerned their discretion should not be fettered by any restrictions excepting those of ordinary disqualifications. Residence within the division should be imposed as a qualification.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

1432. (6) In connection with the proposed Council of State I wish to make only two observations. In paragraph 256 while treating the question of upper houses in the provinces the eminent authors have been pleased to remark as follows:—

"We might secure men for the upper houses who would not seek election or even accept nomination to a composite assembly where the majority of members were of a different status from themselves; and so the second chamber might develop a conservative character which would be a valuable check on the possibly too radical proclivities of a lower house." They rejected the idea on very weak grounds. But in the Government of India they have recommended and rightly the creation of a second chamber to be called the "State Council." If this chamber is to act as a moderator and brake upon the "too radical proclivities of a lower house" it is necessary to impart to it something of a "conservative character." Instead of that their suggestion for the return of 15 members by the Provincial Legislative Councils out of 21 elected members would make it *ultra radical* if the Government majority be left out of consideration.

1433. (7) The claims of the aristocracy of the country—a class believed to be always conservative—have been very inadequately recognized. The six seats which are to be shared between the landed classes, Muhammadans and the chamber of commerce are quite insufficient to give adequate representation to the landed aristocracy in proportion to the importance and influence which it has in the country. It might well be composed of elected and nominated members of the aristocratic landed classes so that it may appeal to the sentiments and hearts of the masses who look upon them as their natural leaders. The indirect election which the authors recommend for the constitution of the State Council should not be accepted. Anyhow the large landholders of these Provinces ought to get one seat on the State Council

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The Hon'ble Raja Sir RAMPAL SINGH.

[Continued.]

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E., called and examined.

1434. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) After seeing the Government scheme he proposed as a qualification a revenue payment of Rs. 25. He also wished to reduce the number of Muhammadan seats from 30 to 27 which he thought was in accordance with the Lucknow compact.

1435. He was a zamindar and represented the taluqdars of Oudh on the Imperial Legislative Council.

1436. It was of primary importance that the rural interests should be adequately represented on the Council. He adhered to giving separate constituencies to 5 big towns even after seeing the Government proposal to give seats to the 7 towns. He was against including urban areas in the rural constituencies partly because the interests of town and country were diverse and also because, while it might be possible to broaden the franchise in urban areas fairly soon, it would be difficult to do so in the rural areas for some time to come. The interests of town and country differed because it was to the interests of the town to get cheap what was produced in the country and it was often to the interests of the town to stop the export of these commodities when export would be in the interests of the country. The interest of the country was agriculture; the interest of the town was trade; moreover the town population was altogether more progressive than the rural population.

1437. He had included Government employes and pensioners before he had seen the Government scheme. He was wholly in favour of the property qualification. For this reason he would now exclude military pensioners as such and also title holders.

1438. He no longer considered that it was necessary to vary the franchise from district to district in order to get a suitable number of electors. He approved of the uniform qualification proposed by the Local Government even though it produced electorates of various sizes in the different districts.

1439. Candidates should be resident in the district in which the constituency was but need not reside in their constituency.

1440. There should be separate constituencies for the big landholders. The existing qualification of Rs. 5,000 land revenue payment should be retained because there was a difference of interest between the big and the small landlord. The former had an historical position in Oudh and in some cases in Agra.

1441. As regards Muhammadans he accepted the Lucknow compact.

1442. He considered the United Provinces of equal importance with the Presidencies and therefore recommended an equal number of seats with them in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

1443. He thought that landlords were inadequately represented on the Council of State.

1444. Election to the Assembly and Council of State should be direct. The present indirect system did not command confidence and the man elected was not really representative.

1445. (*Mr. Aftab.*) It was desirable that candidates should be resident in the district because outsiders would not be in touch with the constituency.

1446. Both in population and in historical and political importance the United Provinces stood above Bombay and Madras.

1447. The number of Muhammadan seats in his original scheme had been mis-calculated.

1448. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) The landlords should vote also in the general electorates. He saw no objection to their influencing those electorates, in which they would vote as members of the community. It was possible that to begin with they would have a preponderance at the elections, but this was necessary in the public interest. There was no divergence of interest between the landlords and the tenants. The former did not oppose wise legislation in the interests of the tenants. It was possible that conflicts of interest might arise but they could be evaded by compromise. If the tenants found that the landlords did not represent them adequately they would not re-elect them. Personally he was prepared

to agree to a reduction in the percentage of landlords' seats in the new Council but 4 was his irreducible minimum.

1449. He would give 5 separate seats to the 5 big towns and 8 to the divisional urban electorates, i.e., a total of 13. To give seats to towns with a population of 50,000 or more would mean excessive urban representation. He would not agree to this on the plea that the presence of competent men on the Council should be ensured. His conclusion that the interests of town and country were divergent was the result of everyday experience. The outlook of the two was different.

1450. He was not prepared to depart from his principle that franchise should be based on taxation in order to admit graduates as such.

1451. He could not cite cases of corruption under the present system of indirect election to the Imperial Council.

1452. He felt strongly against female suffrage.

1453. He would exclude minors, lunatics, etc. He would not disqualify a man simply because proceedings had been taken against him under section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code. He would not allow the Local Government to disqualify any one at its discretion.

1454. He was in favour of utilising non-official agency at the elections.

1455. (*Mr. Hasley.*) The taluqdars had claims on the community quite apart from their position. They had founded the Canning College and a number of charitable institutions. They had rendered services to the public collectively and individually on their own estates.

1456. The interest of town and country would diverge in this respect that if further taxation was necessary it would probably take the form of a cess on revenue payers which would not affect the towns.

1457. If closely examined the bugbear of the landlords' preponderance at the elections appeared of less importance.

1458. He would abolish the disqualification imposed by proceedings under Section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, even though it might mean that notorious dacoits might get a vote.

1459. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He imposed certain restrictions on candidates to ensure close touch between them and their constituencies; otherwise he would allow the electors a free choice. Their residence in the district should be for six months. This qualification should be required also in the case of electors.

1460. He did not agree to a separate seat being given to towns with a population of 50,000 or more, the smaller towns being included in the rural constituencies; this would not be a suitable substitute for his scheme of divisional urban electorates. He omitted Meerut and Bareilly out of the 7 towns to which Government proposed to give separate seats. He deducted 3 seats from the Muhammadan electorates and added one to Hamirpur, one to Jalaun and one to Bareilly.

1461. (*Mr. Chintamani.*) He excluded Muhammadans from the general electorates because they had excessive representation. He did not exclude the landlords because their representation was not excessive in view of their position and importance. They might obtain seats in some but not in many general electorates. He did not think it excessive, if the criterion of payment of taxes was adapted, that nine out of the 19 elected seats should be held by landholders and that 4 of the 10 nominated non-officials should also be landholders. It was true that the revenue paid by the landlords came out of the rent paid by the tenants but the tenants were best represented by the landlords. The landlords had opposed agrarian legislation only when it was defective. In future it was possible that zamindars returned by special electorates would oppose legislation with regard to the grant of occupancy rights but the representatives of general electorates were likely to support it. The friction between the two parties was due to defects in law and other causes difficult to enumerate.

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The Hon'ble Raja Sir RAMPAL SINGH.

[Continued.]

1462. He had no objection to adding registered graduates to the electorate for the Allahabad University post.

1466. Personally he did not favour communal electorates, but he gave a seat to Muhammadan landlords because that was the present arrangement.

1464. He did not lay stress on the residential qualification in the case of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

1465. The zamindars who were a conservative class should be strongly represented in the Council of State which was to exert a moderating influence.

1466. (Mr. Hopkins.) He would not relax the principle on which he based his franchise in the case of soldiers,

even though many soldiers might be younger sons with no property qualification but well qualified to vote by reason of their knowledge of the world.

1467. There would be community of interest between the towns in his proposed divisional urban electorates, as townsmen were generally advanced, and were engaged in trade or professions and could easily meet together owing to good communications. He admitted that the law that buyers wanted low prices and sellers high prices applied both ways as between town and country.

1468. If the judicial and executive were separated he would accept proceedings under Section 110 as a disqualification.

Pandit JAGAT NARAYAN.

Written Statement.

1469. (1) The strength of the Legislative Council of these Provinces should not be less than 100 members. I would fix the strength at 120 in order to give adequate representation to all classes and interests.

1470. (2) It should consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

1471. (3) The Moslems to get separate communal representation in the proportion of 30 per cent. of the elected Indian Members by general electorates, but shall not participate in any of the other elections save and except those representing special interests.

1472. There is no Brahman and non-Brahman question in our Province. Sikhs are not more than a few hundreds throughout the Province. No separate representation to any other community.

1473. (1) Electoral units :-

- (a) Districts.
- (b) Important cities.
- (c) Revenue Divisions.

1474. Some of the Districts to be grouped together for purposes of election. In case of Moslems an absolute necessity.

1475. Seven important cities having a population of more than one lakh to have a separate existence.

1476. Other district towns to have separate existence in their respective Divisions.

1477. (5) Qualification of electors:-

Every male and female who has completed 21 years and

- (a) who is a tenant paying a yearly rent of Rs. 50 or more.
- (b) who is a landlord paying Rs. 25 as revenue or more.
- (c) who is an income-tax payer.
- (d) who is recorded as a municipal voter.
- (e) who earns Rs. 15 per month and is literate.

1478. (6) Distribution of seats :-

(a) Hindus or non-Moslems	63
(b) Moslems	27
(c) Special representation to Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Talukdars' Association, etc., etc.	10
(d) Nominated officials and non-officials	20
TOTAL	120

1479. (7) Distribution of 63 Hindu or non-Moslem seats :-

48 Districts	43 seats
8 Divisions	8 "
*7 Cities of more than one lakh of population	12 "
TOTAL	63 "

1480. (8) The existing electoral laws to be modified and amplified—the method of voting to be made as simple as possible—no complication even at the risk of being unfair and illogical.

* For one lakh of population one representative and for every 50,000 up to one lakh an additional member.

Further Memorandum of Pandit Jagat Narayan.

1481. (1) Composition of the Council of these Provinces—

- (a) 120 members.
- (b) 75th to be elected and 45th to be nominated.

1482. (2) Separate Communal representation—

- (a) Only Moslems to get separate communal representation in the proportion of 30 per cent. of the members elected by general electorate.
- (b) Moslems not to participate in any of the other elections save and except those representing special interests.

1483. (3) Electoral units—

- (a) Districts.
- (b) Cities and towns.

1484. (4) Qualification of voters—

Every male and female who has completed 21 years, and is either—

- (a) a tenant paying an yearly rent of Rs. 50, or
- (b) a landlord paying Rs. 25 as revenue, or
- (c) an income-tax payer, or
- (d) a recorded Municipal or District Board voter, or
- (e) a person having an income of Rs. 15 per mensem, or
- (f) a graduate of any University resident in the Province.

1485. (5) Qualification of candidates—

- (a) Every person who is ordinarily resident of the Province or has resided for 12 months preceding the date of the election and is on an electoral roll anywhere in the province and is not subject to the usual statutory disqualifications.
- (b) Sex to be no disqualification.

1486. (6) Distribution of seats—

	No. of members.
(a) Hindus or non-Moslems	64
(b) Moslems	27
(c) Special representation	5
(d) Nominated officials and non-officials	24
TOTAL	120

1487. (7) Some of the Districts to be grouped together for the purposes of election—Leaving Moslem seats I will propose the following distribution :-

	No. of members.
(a) 48 Districts	42
(b) 5 cities of Lucknow	} 2 each . 10
Allahabad	
Benares	
Cawnpur	
Agra	
(c) 12 towns having a population of 50,000 and over	1 each . 12
TOTAL	64

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Pandit JAGAT NARAYAN.

{Continued.

	No. of members.	1488. (6) Electoral Laws, rules and regulations—
(d) The British India Association, Oudh	2	(a) to be modified and amplified.
(e) United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1	(b) present method of Municipal voting to be adopted.
(f) Upper India Chamber of Commerce	1	(c) no special arrangements to be made for female voters.
(g) University of Allahabad	1	
TOTAL	5	

Pandit Jagat Narayan,

1489. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He had been Vice-Chairman of the Lucknow Municipality 2 years ago. He now represented the municipality on the provincial Council.

1490. He accepted the Lucknow compact except the proviso which stated that when a Hindu and a Muhammadan both objected to a resolution the resolution should be withdrawn.

1491. He did not propose to give separate electorates to landlords at present. With a restricted franchise the landlords had obtained 9 seats out of 19 and with the big rural electorates they would swamp the Council. They were not a separate class. Anybody with money could become a landholder. Taluqdars were different; he would give them 2 seats. Some of the Agra landholders might be in the same position but he would not give them special representation. No scheme could be absolutely consistent. It was true that his scheme deprived the Agra landholders of a seat which they already had, but the objection was not real because they would obtain at least half the seats under the new scheme.

1492. In his amended scheme he proposed to give 22 seats to the urban Hindu constituencies, that is to say 12 seats to the 12 towns with a population of 50,000, and over and 10 seats to the 5 towns with a population of over 100,000. He proposed 42 seats for the rural Hindu constituencies. He therefore gave the towns 1/3rd of the representation although they represented only 8 per cent. of the population. He had not divided the 27 Muhammadan seats between town and country. He justified the weighting of the urban vote by the necessity for making a success of the scheme. In the towns were to be found all the industries, and professions and most of the educated and intelligent classes. With the district unit candidates from the town would be at a disadvantage as compared with the local candidate, that is to say the landlord.

1493. (*Mr. Sastri.*) The right of women to vote should be recognised though very few would vote. Certain restrictions should be imposed in the case of women, for instance there should be an age limit of 30; they must make an application; they must not vote by proxy; they must be literate. Prostitutes should be disqualified. There was no need to treat women on an equality with men. His proposal would give an impetus to female education.

1494. He proposed to give 3 nominated seats out of 24 to Anglo-Indians and Europeans. He would if necessary give another one to Indian Christians. There would be 18 or 19 Europeans on the council who could look after European interests.

1494 A. He had had no time to draw up a scheme for the Indian Legislative Assembly but his idea was that election should be direct. This would necessitate a higher franchise than in the case of the Council. He thought 10 members a very limited number for the United Provinces.

1495. He had inserted the qualification in para. 5(e) of his memorandum in order to give votes to clerks, calculating that the income of a clerk drawing Rs. 15 a

month would be about the same as that of a tenant paying an annual rent of Rs. 60.

1496. He had amended the disqualification as regards literacy in his revised note.

1497. In the electorate for Allahabad University seat he included registered graduates. Benares University had only been left out because of the limited number of seats on the council.

1498. (*Mr. Aftab.*) He had interpreted the Lucknow compact in accordance with its original intention.

1499. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) The majority of the thinking classes were not against votes for women. It was possible that the majority of conservatives were against it, but the demand had been made.

1500. The Local Government should not have the power of disqualifying at its discretion. He believed that Section 110 of the C. P. Code was being widened in its application; if so and if it was used for political purposes he was against proceedings under this section being regarded as a disqualification.

1501. (*Mr. Hogg.*) He recommended voting by ballot.

1502. (*Mr. Hailey.*) There were associations in the province representing political opinions some of which had newspapers. Some of them supported female suffrage. No respectable Urdu paper now opposed it. It was possible that there might be one Association definitely formed to support the cause. He would admit women as candidates.

1503. (*Mr. Chintamani.*) He thought the system of giving votes to all persons entitled to vote at municipal elections was preferable to the Local Government's scheme. The franchise differed in different towns in accordance with local conditions, but there was no objection to Government taking power to compel municipalities to adopt certain uniform qualifications.

1504. He was in favour of giving votes to the educated classes. He would give the vote to teachers as such, patwaris and other educated classes of men. Votes should be given to women, however few availed themselves of the privilege.

1505. He had been a member of the deputation of the Provincial Congress Committee to the Secretary of State which recommended that out of 125 members on the Provincial Council 4th should be elected. 11 seats were to go to special electorates and 30 per cent. of the balance of 89 to the Muhammadans; this was the basis of the Lucknow compact.

1506. His experience at the Lucknow municipal elections showed that he could conveniently record 250 votes in 4 hours with the assistance of 2 clerks. He had sent to the Local Government a note containing certain proposals for amending the election rules and would send a copy to the Committee.*

1507. (*Mr. Hopkins.*) The Congress and League had formulated no scheme for an electorate.

1508. (*Lord Southborough.*) The Agra landholders could be added to at any time and to any extent. This was not the case with the taluqdars.

* Not printed.

The Hon'ble Munshi NARAYAN PRASAD ASTHANA.

Written Statement.

I.—THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1509. As happily in these Provinces there is no communal controversy, there is no necessity to provide for any separate communal representation except that of

the Muhammadans. The other special electorates to be provided for are: the University, the Landholders, the Commerce and the Europeans.

1510. In all electorates, whether special or territorial, the election should be direct by the voters.

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[Continued.]

1511. To broaden the franchise in the University, election should be made by the ordinary and honorary fellows, the registered graduates and the professors of the affiliated colleges.

1512. The franchise for landholders should be the same as at present, viz., all landlords paying a revenue of Rs. 5,000 or more.

1513. The Commerce will be represented by two members, elected by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce and the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce.

1514. In all other electorates, including the Muhammadans and the Europeans, the qualification for voters should be:—

- (a) All persons assessed to any Imperial or Provincial tax;
- (b) All persons on the Municipal or District Board Voters' lists;
- (c) All persons paying a land revenue of Rs. 25 a year;
- (d) All tenants paying a rent of Rs. 50 per annum;
- (e) All persons having attained a certain standard of literacy.

1515. The qualification for a candidate would be one year's residence in the Province and his name being on the electoral roll.

1516. A voter should be given the option to have his name enrolled either in the lists of the general electorate or in the lists of any special electorate for which he is qualified.

1517. The Muhammadans, Landholders and Europeans who have been given separate representation should not be allowed to vote in the general territorial electorate.

1518. No voter to have more than one vote in the Province. If a person is qualified to be registered as a voter in more than one district, he should be given the option to choose in which district he should be enrolled.

1519. To fix the limits of the territorial electorates and to arrive at the number of the Council members it is necessary to know what would be the probable numbers of voters in each district. The Government has so far not published any statistics, and therefore any suggestions now made are open to correction and amendment.

1520. I would in the first instance proceed to give each revenue district in the Province, one member, and each municipality, with a population of 50,000 and over, one member. If in any district or municipality, the number of voters exceeds the average for each district or municipality by one-half, I would give that district or municipality an additional member. If the number is three times the average, it will return three members and so on.

1521. The average for each district or municipality will be taken by dividing the total number of district or municipal voters by the number of the districts or municipalities.

1522. According to the Congress-League scheme, the number of Muhammadan members would be three-tenths of the number elected by the general electorate.

1523. Working out roughly, I would like the United Provinces Legislative Council to be formed as below:—

	Member.
1. Allahabad University	1
2. Benares Hindu University	1
3. Upper India Chamber of Commerce	1
4. United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1
5. Europeans	4
6. Zamindars (Agra 3, Oudh 2)	5
7. Districts	48
8. Municipalities	16
9. Additional for bigger districts and municipalities	25
10. Muhammadans	38
11. Nominated officials and non-officials	35 (1/3 of the total)
TOTAL	175

1524. The Muhammadan members will also be elected by territorial electorates constituted of Muhammadan voters. But in their case, two or more districts may have to be united into one and municipalities having a population of 100,000 or over may alone be given a right to return a member. But all this can be worked out when the number of voters is known.

1525. The number 175 has been fixed with due regard to the population, the area and the various interests of the Province, as well as with a view to give opportunity to as many aspiring young men to serve the community as possible. Considering that the authors of the Report suggest 100 for the Indian Legislative Assembly, this number for a Provincial Council is not too large.

II.—INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1526. In my opinion it is practicable to have direct election for the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

1527. The constituency should be the revenue divisions in the Province, possibly two divisions united into one according to the number of the voters.

1528. The qualifications for a voter, according to my suggestion, may be as follows:—

- (a) All persons assessed to any Imperial or Provincial tax on an annual income of Rs. 2,000 or above;
- (b) All persons paying a land revenue of Rs. 50 a year;
- (c) All persons paying an annual rent of Rs. 100 a year;
- (d) All members of the Municipal and District Boards;
- (e) All Honorary Magistrates, Honorary Assistant Collectors, Honorary Munsiffs;
- (f) All title-holders;
- (g) All graduates of 3 years' standing;
- (h) All retired Gazetted officers of the Government, enjoying a pension of Rs. 100 or more.

1529. The number of members to be elected from these Provinces for the Indian Legislative Assembly may be taken at 13, divided as below:—

	Members.
General electorate (Divisions)	7
Muhammadans	3
Europeans	1
Landholders	2

The last three will not be allowed to vote in the general territorial electorate.

1530. The franchise for landholders may be retained as at present, viz., those paying a land revenue of Rs. 10,000 or more.

1531. The qualifications for candidates to be residence in the Province for one year and their names being on the electoral roll of the Province.

III.—COUNCIL OF STATE.

1532. The members for the Council of State will be elected by the Provincial Legislative Council, in which Landholders, Muhammadans and Europeans will also take part. If, however, the Government finds that a Muhammadan or a Landholder is to be elected from the Province (out of the six mentioned in paragraph 277), then I would suggest to maintain the present franchise for the members of the Viceroy's Council for these classes.

1533. A person will be qualified to be elected to the Council of State if—

- (a) he has been or is a member of a Provincial Legislative Council or the Viceroy's Council;
- (b) he has been or is the chairman of a municipality having a population of 50,000 persons or more or the chairman of a District Board;
- (c) he has been a gazetted officer of the Government and draws a pension of Rs. 250 or more;

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The Hon'ble Munshi NARAYAN PRASAD ASTHANA.

[Continued]

(d) he pays a land revenue of Rs. 10,000 or more per year;

(e) he pays an income-tax on an annual income of Rs. 10,000 or more;

(f) he has been nominated as a candidate by any ten members of a Provincial Legislative Council, or Indian Legislative Assembly or both.

The Hon'ble Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana, called and examined.

1534. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He represented the Agra Municipality on the Provincial Council. He was a vakil by profession.

1535. He accepted the Lucknow compact.

1536. He would give separate representation to landlords in Agra and Oudh who paid revenue of over Rs. 5,000. He would not lower the franchise, because he thought it better that the smaller landlords should be merged in the rural constituencies.

1536 A. He would like to give a vote to all literate persons but there were difficulties about this; so he proposed to give it to certain kinds of employes. Many of these persons would be Government servants and their qualifications could be tested by Government.

1537. Candidates for election should be resident in the province.

1538. He preferred direct election on a higher franchise to the Indian Legislative Assembly, in spite of the inconvenience caused by two separate general elections. The two elections should be separate. The United Provinces should have 13 members on the Assembly; the province could not be adequately represented by the number suggested in the Report.

1539. The election to the Council of State should be by members of the Provincial Council because the number of seats (2) was so small.

1540. (*Mr. Allah.*) On grounds of population and land revenue the United Provinces should receive equal treatment as regards the Assembly with Madras and Bombay.

1541. In his memorandum he proposed that the professors of affiliated colleges should be included in the university electorate. These professors should be of a certain standing.

1542. He could not give definite facts but the Agra landholders were more numerous and paid more land revenue than those in Oudh.

1543. His scheme contemplated a total of 175 seats. He could and would forward a scheme for a total of 125 seats.

1544. As regards the Council of State he had included qualification (f) in the last paragraph of his memorandum because there might be public men who were not otherwise qualified.

1545. (*Mr. Hogg.*) Muhammadans should have the option of voting in their special or in the general electorates.

1546. The intention of the eleventh paragraph of his memorandum was that one member should be given to a district with a population of 10,000, 2 to a district with 15,000 and 3 to a district with a population of 30,000.

1547. (*Mr. Hailey.*) He had been a member of the Agra municipal board for 12 years.

1548. The Benares University was a new institution. The number of students sent to it from institutions outside Benares was not large but it might increase. The position of the Allahabad University was different.

1549. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He allowed persons qualified to vote in the special electorates the option of voting in the general electorates as an expedient for eventually getting rid of communal representation. The special electorates should not however be abolished till the communities affected agreed. He realized that this might lead to the excessive representation of a special community.

1550. (*Mr. Chintamani.*) The difference in local circumstances was a reason against uniform municipal franchise.

1551. He would accept the maintenance of a roll of village teachers as simpler than a list of persons with a particular educational qualification.

1552. He would still allow the Muhammadans 30 per cent. of the seats even though they preferred to vote in the general electorates.

1553. He would not object to plural voting if its prevention was a matter of much labour.

1554. He included the Anglo-Indians with Europeans.

1555. Hitherto only one non-official had been appointed Chairman of a District Board. He would not however approve of Vice-Chairmen of District Boards being eligible for election to the Council of State. He had no objection to honorary and ordinary fellows of the university being eligible.

THE UPPER INDIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Written Statement.

(Copy of a letter to the Government of the United Provinces, dated November, 14th, 1918.)

1556. In response to your telegram of the 17th October requesting this Chamber to nominate witnesses to explain the scheme which it is desired to place before the Franchise Committee in connection with the Report on Constitutional Reforms, I am directed to say that this Chamber has no scheme to submit, nor do my Committee consider that it is any part of their duty to attempt to frame such a scheme. In view of the figures available of Municipal and District Board electorates in these Provinces, which disclose that a maximum of four per cent of the town population and less than one in two thousand of the rural population possess a vote in local affairs, my Committee fail to see how it is possible in these Provinces to attain anything approaching a representative franchise. Even if the proportion of the rural population entitled to vote be brought up to the same inadequate figure as in municipal areas it will be found that the resultant number of voters, i.e., approximately a million and three-quarters, will exceed the total male literate population of the United Provinces by roughly a quarter of a million.

1557. My Committee will, however, be glad to furnish their views when the Franchise Committee submit their report for consideration. They desire now to take the opportunity of pointing out the claim of

Commerce to adequate representation on the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils.

1558. If, as is forecasted in paragraph 225 of the Report on Constitutional Reforms, there is to be an enlarged Provincial Legislative Council my Committee submit that the representation of Commerce thereon should be correspondingly increased so as to secure the increased representation of European and Indian Commerce and also of the Marwari community.

1559. Similarly, if the Imperial Legislative Assembly is to be enlarged, my Committee submit that the commercial representation thereon, instead of being confined, as at present, to the Chambers of Bengal and Bombay, should be extended to the Upper India Chamber as representing the considerable commercial and diverse industrial interests of Upper India.

1560. Although European representation would thus be secured to Commerce there is a large European non-official interest which would still be unrepresented and my Committee submit that adequate representation should be secured to this community in the enlarged Councils. While communal representation has been conceded in the report to the Muhammadans and the Sikhs it has been denied to the non-official European and to other numerically minor communities, and it is in communal representation alone that my Committee see any possibility of obtaining a workable franchise. The claim of the European community is so self-evident that it needs no elaboration in this note.

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THE UPPER INDIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

[Continued.]

The Hon'ble Mr. T. Smith and Mr. J. G. Ryan, representing the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, called and examined.

1561. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) Mr. SMITH.—He was Chairman and Mr. Ryan was Secretary of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce.

1562. The Chamber wished for adequate representation on the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils. The Chamber had been formed in 1889 and was registered as a Company under the Act without the word "Limited." It included 63 members and was managed by a committee of management of 10. The Chamber's operations extended throughout the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bewar and Malhar. Members were elected and firms paid a subscription of Rs. 200 and individuals of Rs. 100 a year. The object of the Chamber was to promote the trade, commerce and manufactures of the North-West Provinces. 17 of the members were Indians.

1563. With the increased Councils there should be increased representation for commerce. Two or three seats might be given on the local council. In the Indian Legislative Assembly a separate seat should be given to the Upper India Chamber. At present the members of the Chamber were called upon to nominate candidates for the local Council and these were then voted upon, each member having one vote. The same method should be followed in future both for the Council and the Assembly.

1564. The lines of business represented by the Chamber were cotton mills, woollen mills, tanneries, banks, railways, sugar mills, engineering, building, electricity, hides, tobacco, cotton ginning, soap, printing, oil, oil imports, paper and chemicals. It would be difficult to give any statement of the capital represented by the Chamber or to compare it in that respect with the United Provinces Chamber but the amount of work done for the military authorities and the extent of the contributions of members of the Chamber to the war loans might give some indication. To the recent war loan the Europeans in Cawnpore had contributed 20 lakhs of rupees and the Indians 7 lakhs.

1565. They wanted commerce as such represented on the new Councils in the present proportion. The representative of the Indian Chamber would be a suitable representative of the commercial interest outside the Upper India Chamber.

1566. The position of the Upper India Chamber justified them in asking for a separate member on the Assembly instead of a joint representative with the Punjab Chamber. If separate representation was impossible, they would have to agree to a joint representative.

1567. No European would ever be elected by the general electorates in Cawnpore.

1568. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) Of the 63 members of the Chamber 7 were individuals and the others were firms or companies.

1569. (*Mr. Hogg.*) Mr. RYAN.—He was the local Secretary of the European Association. It was difficult to say what European population there was in the Province but he calculated that of the 24,300 male British persons shown in the census returns 8,000 would be children and 80 per cent. of the remainder would be soldiers. (The balance 4,300 might be taken as a rough calculation of the size of a general European electorate. Any adult male working for himself who was a European should be eligible to vote. He would like a finer cut definition than that in the Criminal Procedure Code so as to exclude all mixed blood, otherwise the qualifications should be the same as for the general electorates.) The preparation of the electoral roll for the general European seat and the recording of votes should be done before the magistrate at the nearest headquarter town. There was no reason why a magistrate should not nominate a returning officer. The results obtained at each headquarter station would be added up and sent in to some central polling station. Europeans should be separate from Anglo-Indians, their interests and sympathies being different.

1570. (*Mr. Ghintisani.*) There were 17 Indian members on the Chamber but the Chamber was mainly European. The Chamber was authorised to speak on behalf of the European community in the province in so far as the members employed a number of Europeans in their businesses. He would not combine the Europeans and Anglo-Indians as suggested by Mr. Robbie as their interests conflicted in certain respects, for instance with regard to education. The different standards and methods desired by the two communities had been shown in the recent correspondence about the Bishop Cotton School at Simla.

1571. There were indications of a tendency that Government would not always nominate the most desirable member; election was therefore preferable.

1572. Votes should be given to women if they satisfied the qualifications and if they were independent.

1573. It was possible to distinguish the interests of Europeans as such from those of the Chamber. The professions for instance which represented 31 per mille, had to be considered, also agriculture, transport, and the employees whose interests were often diametrically opposed to those of the employers represented by the Chamber.

1574. (*Mr. Hopkins.*) Mr. SMITH.—He had every opportunity of ascertaining the trend of European opinion at Cawnpore which apart from the military and Government officers was the largest European centre in the province.

1575. (*Lord Southborough.*) His opinion against nomination would be softened if Government nominated after consultation with the persons interested, but he still preferred election.

A. P. SEN, Esq.

Written Statement.

GENERAL.

1576. (1) Franchise should be as wide as the present conditions of the Indian people would permit; definite provisions should be made for the gradual extension of the area of franchise with the advance of time and training.

1577. (2) In considering the question of fitness for franchise it should, I submit, be borne in mind that illiteracy does not necessarily imply lack of intelligence required to make a fairly proper choice of a candidate, and in few countries has adequate literary and educational qualification been made the condition precedent for the first exercise of the right of franchise.

1578. (3) I am opposed to separate communal representation, specially separate communal electorate, on principle, but in order to secure unity between the

two great communities, namely, the Moslems and the Hindus, I would allot 30 per cent. of the seats of elected Indian members (excluding those elected by special interests, which could return Muhammadans) in the Legislative Council, to the Muhammadans, hoping that before long this wrong principle of representation will be abandoned by the mutual consent. Qualifications for Muhammadan voters and candidates should be the same as in the case of non-Moslems. Muhammadan voters should not participate in general election.

1579. WHO SHOULD HAVE VOTES.

1. Any man or woman having any of the following qualifications and being of the age of 21 or more—
2. No voter should have more than one vote.
3. Those who pay Government revenue of at least Rs. 25 a year.

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Mr. A. P. SEN.

[Continued.]

4. Those who pay annual rental of at least Rs. 25 a year.
5. Those who pay income-tax.
6. Those who have the right to vote in Municipal elections.
7. Those who have passed the Matriculation, or School-Leaving Certificate or high examinations, or some recognized vernacular or classical degree; provided, no student who is actually prosecuting his studies and who is not a graduate of any of the recognized universities would be entitled to vote.
8. In joint Hindu families as many members thereof will be entitled to vote as the numbers of votable minimum into which the total tax or rental paid by the family could be divided.
9. Members returned by the Universities, Chambers of Commerce, both Indian and European, Taluqdars' Association and any other special interest would be elected by their respective special electorates.

1580. DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

1. Four-fifths of the total number of members should be elected, and one-fifth nominated by the Government from officials and non-officials.

Mr. A. P. Sen, called and examined.

1583. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) His profession was that of a lawyer. He was not a member of the Council and the views he expressed were his personal views. He had once been on the Lucknow Municipal Board.

1584. He accepted the Lucknow compact as a compromise and as an accepted fact.

1585. He proposed a qualification of Rs. 25 rent and Rs. 25 revenue because he thought that the income denoted by these two was approximately equal.

1586. His idea was that out of a Council of 150 there would be 73 members elected by the general non-Muhammadan electorates, of whom at least 60 would be returned by rural electorates. His impression was that if the rent qualification was reduced from Rs. 50 to Rs. 25 each constituency would have another 2,000 votes added to it. There would be 30 nominated members in the Council and 120 elected members in all. He went on the basis of population as well as the number of electors.

1587. He would require all candidates to know English if the business of the Councils was transacted in English.

1588. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He would allow women to stand.

1589. He did not see why there should be any difficulty in giving votes to members of joint Hindu families as proposed in his qualification No. 8.

1590. He had no objection to taluqdars voting in the general electorates if their separate interests were given only a small amount of representation.

1591. As regards the general non-Muhammadan electorates, he would give one seat to each of 48 districts, one each to 10 cities with a population of over 50,000 and less than 100,000, two each to 5 cities of over 100,000 and less than 200,000 and three to Lucknow with a population of over 200,000. Of the balance, he would give an extra member to the more thickly populated districts, and, if any remained after that, he would give them either to groups of towns or to the less thickly populated

2. There should be 150 members as follows:—

- 37 Muhammadans.
- 73 Non-Muslims for general electorates.
- 2 Oudh Taluqdars' Association.
- 2 Universities; one by Allahabad University and one by Hindu University of Benares.
- 2 European Chamber of Commerce.
- 1 Indian Chamber of Commerce.
- 2 Landlords of Agra Province.
- 1 Any other special interest.
- 30 Nominated members out of which 20 should be officials and 10 non-officials.

Total 150

1581. (3) The 73 non-Muslim elected members should represent all the districts and important cities. Each district should be represented by at least one member and the more populous of them by two. Each important city should return at least one member and the more populous of them two or more according to numbers of voters in them. Only non-Muslim population and voters should be taken into account for the purpose of these elections.

1582. QUALIFICATIONS OF CANDIDATES.

- (1) Literacy and knowledge of English.
- (2) Age of 26 and above.
- (3) Entitled to vote.
- (4) Either sex.

districts. His intention was to over-weight the urban vote owing to the educational and commercial importance of the towns.

1592. (*Mr. Aftab.*) He would give votes to teachers in schools down to vernacular middle schools. He thought there would be no great difficulty in preparing a list.

1593. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He would give votes to student graduates. He did not think their studies would be much disturbed by the elections.

1594. He would give women the right to vote. If there was a feeling against their voting, they would not vote. It might be that there was a strong body of conservative opinion against this proposal of which notice should be taken.

1595. Election to the two seats for Agra landlords should be made by their Association.

1596. (*Mr. Hooley.*) He thought a rent of Rs. 25 meant an income of at least Rs. 50, but he would not leave his qualification at this figure if the electorates would be made too unwieldy.

1597. (*Mr. Chinamani.*) He would agree to uniformity of franchise in the different municipalities if practicable. He would like Government to have the power of enforcing uniformity.

1598. He thought most teachers had passed the middle vernacular examination, but, even if they had not, he would give the vote to all school teachers if by doing so he could encourage education.

1599. He would allow votes to as many members of Hindu joint families as the gross income of the family would justify.

1600. He would reduce the number of seats proposed for the European Chamber of Commerce from two to one if the Europeans were given a separate electorate.

1601. (*Mr. Hopkins.*) The European Chamber was no more important than the Indian Chamber.

The Hon'ble Rai ANAND SWARUP Bahadur.

Written Statement.

1602. (1) In devising a scheme for franchise and the composition of Councils, we have to bear in mind the following principles which can be gathered from the report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms:—

- (a) The Councils are to be enlarged.

(b) A system of direct election is to be introduced—the system of indirect election should be swept away in the case of Provinces.

(c) The franchise should be as wide as possible having regard to the materials at hand for the creation of an electorate.

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[Continued.]

- (d) the size of Councils must depend on an examination and measure of the electorate.
- (e) Although an educational qualification for the vote cannot be prescribed, but practical difficulties make a very general extension of the franchise impossible until literacy is far more widely spread than is the case at present.
- (f) Care to be taken that all interests are fairly represented.

1603. (2) We have further to bear in mind that we will have the constituencies into territorial circles and although it may be desirable to have a uniformity in voting qualifications but having regard to different degrees of advancement in different parts, it is quite possible that in order to provide adequate electorate for each circle it may be necessary to differentiate qualifications for a vote in different circles.

1604. Then we have to take into consideration the difficulties connected with the maintenance of the electoral roll, the attendance of voters at polling stations, the danger of impersonation, and the agency available for electoral purposes. For these reasons, although our aim should be to broaden the franchise, as far as possible, we should, at the outset, guard against, to use the words of the report, "any such inordinate and sudden extension of the franchise as might lead to a breakdown of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers."

1605. It is necessary that rules and regulations prescribing qualifications of voters and candidates and the system of election should be clear and simple which may be easily workable and with this object in view we may, if possible, utilise the materials available for electoral purposes in municipalities and rural areas. The simplest course would have been as suggested by late Mr. Gokhale for Bombay Presidency that every district should return two members, one representing the Municipalities and the other the District Boards. But in fixing the extent of representation, i.e., the number of representatives for each electoral circle we should have regard not only to the population but also to the number of electors in the circle as well as to the degree of advance in education and public life and the importance of interests represented in that circle. As regards the rural and urban populations we find a marked variation in districts. The lowest rural population is less than 7,000. Then we find that there is a vast disproportion between the urban and the rural population of a District. For instance the rural population of Sultanpore is 1,039,000, the urban population is only 959; the rural population of Gorakhpur is above 31 lacs and the urban population below 50,000.

1606. (3) It cannot at present be ascertained accurately what would be the average strength of the non-Muslim electorate in a District according to the qualifications of voters suggested hereafter (and we do not know what qualifications may ultimately be laid down by the committee); but roughly speaking on the basis of the qualifications suggested herein it would be about 21,000 in rural area and about 1,400 in urban area. This means that by allowing two members for each district we allow one representative on the average to 21,000 rural voters and one to 1,400 urban voters. The ratio on this basis roughly speaking would be 1 to 13. If we take the basis of population—we find that the average non-Muslim rural population per district is approximately 8 lacs, and the urban non-Muslim population is about 37,500. The ratio would come to about 21 to 1. I have excluded Muhammadans from the calculation, because in these Provinces they will be allowed a separate representation, and presumably to the extent fixed by mutual settlement between the National Congress and the Muslim League—irrespective of the actual strength of their separate electorate or population.

1607. From the above calculation it is clear that the urban population has a greater right of representation than the rural population, and this is what it should be. Because it is to the urban population that we could look for comparatively better qualified men in touch with public life and better fitted to discharge the duties of a councillor.

As at present situated, although the bulk of the population is rural, the urban population is more advanced in education and more enlightened.

1608. (4) Now of the two basis of representation, viz., one furnished by the strength of electorate and the other furnished by proportion of population I would prefer the former because the divergence would be comparatively smaller.

1609. Although Mr. Gokhale's proposal of giving each district a right of returning two members commends itself for its simplicity, but having regard to the great divergence in population and the numerical strength of the electors in each district, and also to guard against undue extension of representation and consequently the return of incompetent persons to the Council I would prefer to make the following proposals:—

A.—On the basis of population,

- (a) All the smaller districts including municipal areas, in which the rural non-Muslim population falls short of 800,000, and the urban population falls short of 40,000 should have a right to return one member only.
- (b) The districts which have a rural population of not less than 800,000 but not exceeding ten lacs, and an urban population of not less than 40,000 but not exceeding 50,000 will have a right to return two members, one representing the rural population and the other representing the urban population.
- (c) Where the rural or urban population exceeds the averages above mentioned the extent of the right of representation shall be as follows:—
- (1) *Districts.*—If the rural population exceeds ten lacs, then for the additional ten lacs or part of it one additional member and subsequently for every additional fifteen lacs or part of it one additional member. For instance if the rural population is 20 lacs—the district will have a right to return two members and if it is 35 lacs, it will return three members—and so on.
- (2) *Cities.*—If the urban population exceeds 50,000 but does not exceed one lac—one additional member. If the urban population exceeds one lac but does not exceed two lacs another additional member and in case the population exceeds two lacs then for every additional lac or a part of it one additional member.

NOTE.—To guard against minor differences entitling a district to excessive representation I would suggest that in calculating the excesses according to the above rules, an excess not amounting to one lac in rural population and not amounting to 10,000 in urban population should not count.

B.—On the basis of electorate which I prefer to the basis of population, the scale should be as follows:—

- (a) The smaller districts where the numerical strength of rural electorates is below 21,000 and that of urban electorates below 1,400 should have a right to return one member only.
- (b) The districts in which the numerical strength of rural voters is not less than 21,000 and that of urban voters not less than 1,400, should have a right to return two members one representing the rural population and the other representing the urban population.
- (c) Where the numerical strength of the rural or urban population exceeds the averages above mentioned the right of representation should be according to the following scale:—

District (Rural population)—

- (a) If the number of electors exceeds 21,000 but does not exceed 30,000 . 1 Member.
- (b) If it exceeds 30,000 but does not exceed 60,000 . 2 Members.

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[Continued.]

1. District (Rural populations)—contd.

- (c) If it exceeds 60,000 but does not exceed a lac 3 Members.
 (d) Afterwards for every additional 50,000 voters 1 Additional member.

2. Cities (Urban population)—

- (a) If the number of urban voters exceeds 1,600 but does not exceed 2,500 1 Member.
 (b) If it exceeds 2,500 but does not exceed 5,000 2 Members.
 (c) If it exceeds 5,000 but does not exceed 10,000 3 " "
 (d) Afterwards for every excess of 10,000 voters 1 Additional member.

1610. (5) On the basis of numerical strength of electorate according to the above proposal the Districts in the United Provinces shall each have one member except the following who shall return the number of additional members designated against their names:—

Saharanpore	1
Meerut	3
Bulandshahr	2
Aligarh	2
Agra	4
Muttra	1
Cawnpore	2
Allahabad	2
Benares	3
Lucknow	3
TOTAL	23+48=71

1611. (6) As to qualification of electors, I think the simplest course for the present would be to adopt the electorate for each Municipal Board and District Board as an electorate qualified to elect members to Provincial Council. In other words the following electors shall be qualified to vote for election of a member to the Provincial Council subject to the rules of disqualification herein-after mentioned:—

- (a) All electors entered on the electoral roll of a Municipal Board in a District.
 (b) All the electors entered on the electoral roll of the District Board in a District.
 (c) All graduates of any University who are not entered on the said electoral roll.

This method will have two-fold advantages. In the first instance the materials and agency for preparing electoral rolls will be found handy and secondly, it will have the effect of creating a more active and healthy interest in the electors for seeing that the Municipal and District Board electoral rolls are prepared carefully and accurately. I do not think that the variation in property qualifications of electors obtaining in different municipalities can be dispensed with to any advantage. The Municipalities Act, 1916, itself has recognized the difficulty of laying down any uniform qualifications of voters for all municipalities. It may be possible to broaden the franchise in municipalities by lowering the property qualifications where they are high and I am sure that when the interest of municipal electors will coincide with their interest as electors for the Provincial Council, the Municipal Board will themselves revise their rules of qualifications of electors. For the present, it would be sufficient to lay down that all municipal electors shall be deemed qualified as electors for the Provincial Council.

1612. The qualifications of the electors of the District Boards have not been yet laid down by any Act or rules governing the District Boards. But I understand that a new enactment is in contemplation in pursuance of the most recent Resolution of the Government of India on Local Self-Government. For the present the qualifications of the electors of the District Boards may be taken as those suggested by the Committee of the United

Provinces Legislative Council in its report published in the Government Gazette, dated the 9th November 1918, viz.:—

- (a) All landholders paying land revenue of Rs. 25 or upwards.
 (b) All tenants paying a rent of Rs. 50 or upwards.
 (c) All income-tax payers outside municipal limits, and
 (d) All persons assessed to any tax imposed by the local authority.

1613. The third category of electors in my proposals is that of graduates as such. I need not discuss reasons for it. The United Provinces Legislative Council by a resolution passed by the non-official members have recommended that a certain standard of education should by itself constitute a qualification of an elector.

1614. In these Provinces a graduate has been given a statutory qualification as an elector in municipalities (vide section 14 of the Municipalities Act) and in all municipalities of the United Provinces he is now recognized as a qualified elector. The reason why I have put down this qualification separately is because the Committee of the Council aforesaid has not adopted it in the case of District Boards. But I see no reason why this statutory qualification should not apply to electors of District Boards as well.

1615. (7) Next as to disqualifications, I think the same disqualifications should apply to electors as are laid down in the Municipalities Act, section 14 (3).

1616. (8) Every person who can read and write English and who is an ordinary resident in the Province or has resided in the Province for a period of not less than one year next preceding the date of nomination shall be eligible as a candidate, unless such person—

- (a) is not a British subject, or
 (b) is a female, or
 (c) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind, or
 (d) is under 25 years of age, or
 (e) is an uncertificated bankrupt or an undischarged insolvent, or
 (f) has been dismissed from Government service and is debarred from employment therein, or
 (g) is debarred from practising as a legal practitioner by order of any competent authority, or
 (h) has been sentenced by a Criminal Court to imprisonment for an offence punishable with imprisonment, for a term exceeding 6 months or to transportation, or has been ordered to give security for good behaviour under the Code of Criminal Procedure, such sentence or order not being subsequently reversed or remitted or the offender pardoned, or
 (i) holds a place of profit under the Crown, Government or any local authority.

1617. (9) In the case of communities allowed any separate representation, the qualifications of the voters and candidates should be the same as in the case of the general electorate.

1618. (10) In the case of special representation, the qualifications of electors and members should be as follows:—

- (a) University.—The members of the Senate, and all registered graduates and honorary fellows should form the electorate.
 (b) Chambers of Commerce.—All members of the Chamber.
 (c) Big landholders or landed aristocracy as they call it in the report.—If special electorate is allowed to them.—Landholders paying a Government revenue of Rs. 5,000 or more. a

1619. (11) A member of a joint Hindu family possessed of a personal qualification such as being a graduate should not be deprived of his vote merely because the *Karta* of the family has got a vote on the basis of property qualifications, and in the latter case other adult male members, other than the *Karta* of the family, should

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[Continued]

a right to vote, provided that they would have the same as electors, if the amount of rent, revenue or other property owned by the family were divided among the members of the joint family, but no voter shall have more than one vote though he may possess more than one qualification.

12. All votes should be by ballot.

B.—Communal representation and special electorates.

1620. *Muhammadans.*—On principle, I am and have always been opposed to communal representation on the basis of difference of religion. But as this right has long been conceded in favour of the Muhammadan community and has now been treated as a settled fact at least for the present, there is no use of disputing it, or of disturbing the settlement arrived at between the Hindu and Muslim communities. But I am not in favour of extending the special privilege to any other community. So far as the Muhammadans are concerned, of course they will have a right of returning, by their separate electorate, their representatives to the extent of 30 per cent. of the total elected members of the Provincial Council. This number will fall short of 48, and they will have to group two or more smaller districts into one electoral circle according to the number of electors available.

1621. *Europeans and Anglo-Indians.*—The European community including the Anglo-Indians does form a class by itself and it cannot be denied that it is an important minority which does not form an integral part of the population of India. But I venture to think that their interests are amply safeguarded by the presence of the European official and non-official element in the Council. With an adequate strength of official element, and with representatives of Chambers of Commerce in the Council and with the power of nomination vested in the Government the European and Anglo-Indian community need not have any apprehension as regards the protection of its interests. However I find that the European Association insists on separate election and if it is decided to give them a special representation by election, I think the group of Europeans and Anglo-Indian non-officials combined should have a right of returning not more than three members to the Provincial Council. In that case the necessity and reason for the Government nominating non-official Europeans should disappear.

1622. *The Sikhs.*—In these Provinces the Sikhs do not form any important minority for whom it may be necessary to give any special representation. Their case does not stand on the same footing in these Provinces as in the Punjab.

1623. *The Indian Christians.*—I do not think they have any distinct interests which must be safeguarded by separate election and they can very well pull on with the general electorate, and if necessary their representation can be secured by nomination.

C.—Institutional representation, or special electorates.

1624. I think the following should be given a right of representation to the extent mentioned below:—

	Member.
1. The Allahabad University	1
2. The Benares Hindu University	1
3. The Upper India Chamber of Commerce	1
4. The United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1
5. The big landholders of Agra	1
6. The big landholders of Oudh	1

1625. *D.—Nominations.*—The proportion of nominated members in the Provincial Council should not be more than one-fourth of the elected members and the nominated officials should be reduced to a minimum necessary for the conduct of business.

1626. *E.—Communities that may be granted special representation by separate electorate of their own class should not have a right to participate in general electorates.*

IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1627. *Franchise and Constitution.*—Although on principle there can be no question that a system of direct representation is superior than that of indirect representation, as the illustrious authors of the report have themselves recognised, but to devise a scheme of direct general electorate for a population of 300 millions composed of different communities and classes and of different shades of civilization and status in life is no easy task. Even if we raise the qualifications of voters to a height double or treble of that prescribed for the voters of a Provincial Council, I am afraid the number would still be so inordinate as may justify the fear of the authors of the report that it might lead to a breakdown of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers. But if instead of creating a general electorate for the whole of India, we confine the electorate to provinces which will return members representing their own province only, the difficulty becomes less acute. Even then the task would be not so easy as in the case of election to the Provincial Council because in the latter case we give each district the right to return a member and so the electoral circle is much smaller, whereas in the case of Legislative Assembly if we keep to the number of representatives suggested in the report, each division in the United Provinces will not have a right to return a representative. If each division were given a right of representation even then the electorate to deal with would be much larger than the electorate with which we will have to deal in case of provincial councils. However the difficulties would not be unsurmountable if we shorten the electorate by prescribing higher qualifications for the electors. I would therefore suggest that:—

1. The total strength of the Legislative Assembly should not be fixed *a priori* at a hundred; but it should be so fixed as to allow a right of representation to each division in a province.
2. A division in a province should form the electoral circle for returning a representative.

1628. (3) The qualification of electors should be as follows:—

- (a) All tenants paying a rent of Rs. 200 or more annually.
- (b) All landholders paying a revenue of Rs. 100 or more annually.
- (c) All persons paying an income-tax on an annual income of Rs. 2,000 or above.
- (d) All persons paying any tax or taxes assessed by local authority the aggregate amount of which is not less than Rs. 50 a year.

1629. (4) The qualifications and disqualifications of members should be the same as in the case of Provincial elections.

1630. (5) The nominated element in the assembly should not exceed one-fourth of the total strength and of this not more than two-thirds be officials.

1631. II.—According to the above suggestions the United Provinces will have right to send ten representatives, one for each division, besides the special representatives of Muhammadans. The other interests in the provinces should also be represented. Thus the United Provinces representatives in the assembly should be as follows:—

1. From general electorate	10
2. Muslim representatives	3
3. European and Anglo-Indians (if allowed separate representation)	1
4. Big landholders of Agra	1
5. Big landholders of Oudh	1

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I do not know exactly the number of divisions in other provinces, so I cannot fix the number of representatives in other provinces.

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The Hon'ble Rai ANAND SWARUP Bahadur.

[Continued.]

1632. III.—If the number of Provincial Representatives to the Legislative Assembly is not fixed by divisions, even then, I suggest that the United Provinces which rank first in population should have a right of representation equal to that given to the Presidencies.

1633. IV.—If perchance the system of direct election as indicated above is not found practicable and the committee decides on adopting an indirect method, in that case I would suggest that the indirect method

should be made less attenuated than what it is at present. The indirect electorate in that case should consist of—

- (a) All non-official members of Municipal Boards in the Provinces.
- (b) All non-official members of District Boards in the Provinces.
- (c) All non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council.
- (d) All fellows of the Universities in the Province.

The Hon'ble Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur, called and examined.

1634. (*Sir Frank Sly*.) He was a nominated member of the Council and a member of the Cawnpore bar.

1635. He would base the franchise on the existing franchise for municipal and other local bodies. The variety between the existing municipal franchises was no objection as it was based on local circumstances. The proposed qualifications for district board elections had not yet been adopted but he would accept the qualifications proposed. He had not considered in detail the percentage of population who would get a vote.

1636. He would give votes to graduates, and he would not lower the standard to include matriculates because, if so, the voters would still in many cases be students, and even if they were not, they would not be of an age to form a mature judgment.

1637. Candidates should know English to enable them to follow debates and because the Ministers would be selected from amongst them.

1638. He would not lower the existing franchise for land-holders in Agra and Oudh.

1639. He accepted the Lucknow compact.

1640. He would not give special representation to Indian Christians, who were not on the same footing as Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Their habits were the same as those of other Indians. He did not think they were a big community.

1641. The depressed classes did not present a separate problem in the United Provinces.

1642. He gave a seat to the Benares University because for the most part it served the United Provinces and every university should have one seat.

1643. In spite of the fact that some classes would be excluded by the high franchise that would be necessary he preferred direct election for the assembly because so the members would be more in touch with their constituents.

1644. (*Mr. Chintamani*.) According to his proposals the Council would consist of 158 seats. He would hand in an alternative scheme for a Council of 125 seats. In districts where the urban population exceeded a certain figure he gave plural seats.

1645. (*Mr. Sastri*.) He thought it would be no more difficult to give votes to the members of Hindu joint

families than it was to give votes to members of Muhammadan families at municipal elections. The minor members would be represented by the *karts*.

1646. By the last sentence of paragraph 11 of his printed note he meant that no voter should have more than one vote though he might possess more than one qualification on a taxation or property basis.

1647. He agreed to a combination of European and Anglo-Indian non-officials returning three members because the officials would be represented by the nominated members. He proposed 2 for the Anglo-Indians and one for the Europeans because he supposed the former were more numerous, but he had no figures to go upon.

1648. The landholders should vote in the general electorates, and so should the members of the Chamber of Commerce.

1649. (*Mr. Aftab*.) He had modified his scheme so as to give separate representation to 8 or 9 large towns. Candidates should be not less than 25 years old to insure that they should be of mature judgment.

1650. Women might vote but not stand.

1651. (*Mr. Banerjee*.) For the present the landlords would not win a large majority of the seats. The tenants would not vote for them exclusively, nor would the landlords like to take part in the general elections.

1652. He would give about 15 members to urban constituencies, including one member to every town with a population of 50,000 or over.

1653. He saw no reason for not giving women the right to vote, as at present, although it was only exercised by prostitutes.

1654. (*Mr. Hogg*.) His scheme deprived Indian officials of the right of voting, but they would be represented by the officials in the Council. Their interests as individuals would be represented by Government.

1655. If it could be shown that the Europeans were more numerous than the Anglo-Indians, he would give the two seats to the former instead of to the latter. He was against separate electorates, but if the principle was to be admitted he had no objection in this case to two separate constituencies.

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[Continued.]

At Lucknow, Friday, November 29th, 1918.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon'ble Lord SOUTHBOROUGH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.S.Y.O. (President).

Sir F. G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

Sahibzada AFTAB AHMAD KHAN.

W. M. HALLEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOOD.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. M. R. HOPKINS, I.C.S., Commissioner of the Meerut Division.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

P. C. TALLENTS Esq., I.C.S., (Secretary).

Rai KRISHNAJI

Written Statement.

1856. (1) In my opinion, the principles on which electorates should be constituted ought to be: a broad-based franchise, due allowance being made for practical difficulties. The rules and qualifications should be clear and simple and, as far as possible, devoid of complications, so that they may be easily understandable by the people and a minimum of difficulties may arise in preparing the electoral rolls and recording of votes. As far as possible, minor considerations should give way for the sake of uniformity in the province. The only exception that suggests itself to me is in the case of districts in the Kumaon division, the economic conditions of which are peculiar.

1857. (2) I am also of opinion that the cities of the province which have a population of over fifty thousand, should have a comparatively larger representation than the proportion of their voters as compared with the districts would justify, as they contain, on the whole, a better educated and more enlightened population than the rural areas do. For the success of the system of responsible Government, it is necessary that the Legislative Councils, which are constituted, should contain a strong leaven of members, with broad political outlook and more or less familiar, by reason of their education and touch with the outside world, with the principles of representative Government. Such candidates will carry greater weight with the city electors than they are likely to do in the rural areas, where besides greater backwardness in education though not necessarily in native intelligence, it may also be that for some time to come voters, particularly the large number of unsecured tenants, will not be able to exercise their free choice to the fullest extent owing to the influence of their landlords. For similar reasons, I also suggest an extra seat each for Allahabad and Lucknow, capitals respectively of Agra and Oudh.

1858. (3) I have been opposed to separate communal representation as well as excessive representation, but the principle was accepted by the Government at the time of the introduction of the Minto-Morley Reforms. Representations were made to the Government from time to time against this excessive and separate representation given to Muhammadans, which went unheeded on the ground, we were told, of pledges given to that community by Lords Minto and Morley; although the latter repudiated the suggestion of 'pledges.' Subsequently, owing to the working of certain political causes, the Indian National Congress reconciled itself to the situation and in order to bring about a united demand for political reforms, made a concession in favour of the Muhammadan community and arrived at a settlement with the All-India-Moslem League, whereby it agreed to the Moslems being allowed 30 per cent. of the elected seats, exclusive of

those reserved for special interests, in the Legislative Council of this province. As I was a member of the Indian National Congress organisation which arrived at the settlement, I feel bound by the compromise and suggest that the Muhammadan community should be accorded separate representation and that the proportion of seats for their representatives should be fixed in accordance with the above-mentioned settlement. With this reservation, I am an opponent of communal representation, and whole-heartedly endorse the views of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State expressed in paragraphs 228 to 232 of their Report, and am of opinion that it should not be extended to any other section of the Indian people. It should be definitely laid down that members of those communities, which are given representation, will not be allowed to take part in the general electorates.

1859. (4) The proportion of nominated members in the Provincial Council should not exceed one-fifth of the total strength of the Council, and in the Legislative Assembly of India it should not exceed one-fourth. In the Council of State the numbers of elected and appointed members may well be equal. This will be in complete accordance with the principles laid down in the Report. The illustrious authors say, as regards the Provincial Council, "We advise, however, that the official element appointed by the Governor should be no larger than is considered necessary for the transaction of business." (Paragraph 233.) These remarks apply to the Legislative Assembly as well, because it is not contemplated that it should, in any event, have a majority of official members. And once the official majority is dispensed with, it is superfluous to have more officials "than is considered necessary for the transaction of business." As regards the Council of State, the underlying principle is that the "Government will be able to command a majority." As the number of fifty, which is fixed as the total strength of the Council of State, is exclusive of the Governor-General, who will also have a second or casting vote, the command of a majority by the Government is certain, even if we shall not take account of the fact that all and every non-official member is not present at every sitting of the Council, while the attendance of the official members can always be commanded, and of the further fact that the non-official European members almost invariably and unfailingly vote with the Government.

1860. (5) I am of opinion that at all elections, the voting should be secret and by ballot, and, except in the case of the Council of State, direct. Every electoral roll should be prepared and kept by special and paid agency, who should have no interest in it as voters or candidates. A Corrupt Practices Act, on the model of the English Act, modified where necessary to suit Indian conditions and requirements, should be passed for India.

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[Continued.]

1661. (6) My proposals regarding the constitution of the United Provinces Legislative Council, are:—

General Electorates	84
Muslims	36
Europeans (if it be decided to give them separate representation)	3
Landholders, Agra	1
Do. Oudh	1
Allahabad University	1
Benares Hindu University	1
Upper India Chamber of Commerce	1
United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1
Total, elected	129 or 126 (if there should be no separate European representation).
Nominated	26 or 29 (if no separate representation be given to Europeans).
Total strength, Provincial Council	155 155

1662. The details of these will be found in an Annexure.

1663. (7) The qualifications of voters for the Provincial Council should be:—

(1) Such as will qualify to vote for the election of Members of the Municipal Boards.

NOTE.—If necessary the franchise should be so broadened as to secure votes to at least ten per cent. of the urban population.

(2) Such as will qualify to vote for the election of members of the District Board.

NOTE.—For this I accept the franchise proposed by the Committee of the United Provinces Legislative Council, published in the Government Gazette of November 9th, 1918, at page 547 of Part VIII, viz.:—

(a) all landholders paying land revenue of Rs. 25 or upwards,
 (b) all tenants paying a rent of Rs. 50 or upwards,
 (c) all income-tax payers outside municipal limits, and
 (d) all persons assessed to any tax imposed by the local authority.

* We find, however, that qualifications (a) and (b) are unsuitable for the Kumaon division, except for the tahsil of Kashipur. In the rest of the Kumaon division we recommend that all persons paying land revenue of whatever amount and all tenants in the Tarai and Bihar estates paying over Rs. 50 rental should have a vote.

(3) Owning or occupying a house outside the municipal limits, the annual rental of which is Rs. 25 or upwards.

1664. The qualifications for the Muhammadan voters, as also for Europeans if they should be given separate representation, should be identical; the voters in the Universities will be the Honorary Fellows, the members of the Senate and all registered Graduates; the special landholders, constituency should consist of men paying Government revenue of Rs. 5,000 or more; and the qualifications for the Chambers of Commerce will be membership of the Chamber concerned. Such adult members of a joint Hindu family paying rent, revenue or taxes, as will be qualified to vote if the amount of such rent, revenue or taxes were to be divided among them in equal shares, should also be given the franchise in addition to the *Karta* of the family. No person should have more than one vote, except that voters who are in the general or a communal or landholders' electoral roll, shall have also the right of voting in the Universities and the Chamber of Commerce elections, if eligible. Saving this, persons qualified to vote in more than one electorate should be given the choice to enrol their names in any one of them.

1665. (8) I propose that the Legislative Assembly should consist of 128 Members, of whom 14 will be elected from this Province, as under:—

United Provinces Representation in the Legislative Assembly of India.

1. General:—	
Meerut Division	1
Agra Division	1
Allahabad Division	1
Benares Division	1
Lucknow Division	1
Fyzabad Division	1
Rohilkhand and Kumaun	1
Gorakhpur and Jhansi	1
	8
2. Moslem—	
Meerut, Rohilkhand and Kumaun	1
Lucknow, Fyzabad, Gorakhpur	1
Agra, Allahabad, Benares and Jhansi	1
	3
3. Landholders—	
Agra	1
Oudh	1
	2
4. Europeans	
	1
TOTAL	14

1666. The rest of the Assembly will be composed of 14 elected members each from Bengal, Madras and Bombay; 11 each from the Punjab, and Bihar and Orissa; 8 from the Central Provinces and Berar; 4 each from Burma and Assam; 1 each from Ajmere-Merwara and North-Western Frontier Province; and 32 nominated Members, of whom not more than two-thirds should be officials. For the purposes of this election Delhi should be considered a part of the Punjab.

1667. (9) The qualifications for voters of the Legislative Assembly should be:—

- Payment of Government revenue, Rs. 100 or more annually.
- Payment of rent of agricultural land, Rs. 200 or more annually.
- Payment of municipal taxes amounting to Rs. 20 or more annually.
- Payment of District Board taxes Rs. 20 or more annually.
- Payment of Income-tax on any amount.

Explanation—

(1) For the purposes of franchise, agricultural land will include besides purely agricultural land, (a) fisheries, (b) pastures, (c) orchards, (d) plantations, and (e) forests; and voters will include such members of a Joint Hindu family paying rent, revenue or taxes as will be qualified to vote if the amount of such rent, revenue or taxes were to be divided among them in equal shares should also be given the franchise in addition to the *karta* of the family.

1668. (10) The following should be disqualified as voters:—

- Aliens,
- Persons under 21 years of age,
- Lunatics and persons of unsound mind,
- Bankrupts and undischarged insolvents,

1669. Any persons convicted of any offence for which he shall have been sentenced to imprisonment without the

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[Continued.]

option of a fine for a term of not less than two years, unless he shall have received a grant of amnesty or a free pardon, or unless such imprisonment shall have expired at least five years before the date of the election.*

1670. A person who has been declared a disqualified proprietor under the Court of Wards Act.

1671. (11) The qualifications for candidates should be—

- (a) are qualified to be registered as a voter,
- (b) are ordinarily residents of the Province or have resided in the Province for not less than 12 consecutive months,
- (c) can read and write English;

Provided that—

- (1) members of any caste or creed, to whom a separate electorate has been assigned shall not be qualified to stand for, or be returned by, election from the general electorates; and
- (2) any person who holds any office of profit under the Crown, the Government of India, the Governments of Provinces and under local bodies cannot stand for election or be elected a Member of the Legislative Council or Assembly;

Explanation—

The following persons shall not be deemed to hold an office of profit for the purposes of franchise:—

- (a) Ministers,
- (b) A person in receipt of a pension from the Government.

Provided—

also a member would be deemed to have vacated his seat if—

- (i) he becomes disqualified,
- (ii) he fails to attend two consecutive Sessions of the Council or Assembly or the Council of State.

1672. Non-official members nominated by Government should also fulfil these qualifications.

1673. (12) The Council of State, will, as proposed, consist of fifty members. But, of these, 25 and not only 21, should be elected. Of these, three should be returned by each of the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa; two by the Punjab and the Central Provinces; and one each by Burma, and Assam; and the remaining six by the supplementary seats as contemplated by section 477 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. They should be elected by the members of the Legislative Councils of the Provinces concerned, together with the elected representatives of that province in the Legislative Assembly. As these will be elected by a select body, presumably well-educated and able to understand the requirements of the country, no special qualifications need be fixed for them in my opinion, while of course, they should be disqualified for any of the reasons mentioned in the case of candidates for other Legislative bodies.

* Vide Section 53 (e) of the South Africa Act, 1909.

Rai Krishnaji, called and examined.

1674. (Sir Frank Sly.) He appeared as an individual and not as the representative of any Association.

1675. He favoured uniformity of franchise as far as possible.

1676. The urban vote should be weighted, partly as a counterpoise to the influence of the landlords in the rural electorates and partly to secure competent educated men on the Council.

VOL. I

ANNEXURE.

THE UNITED PROVINCES PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

1. General Electorate.

1 Each from each District	48
1 Additional Member, when voters exceed 30,000 and 2 when they exceed 60,000 (Meerut, 1; Bulandshahr, 2; Aligarh, 1; Agra, 1; Sitapur, 1; Hardoi, 1; Bara Banki, 1)	8

Towns.—(From 50,000 to 100,000 population, 1 seat; for each additional 1 lakh of population or part of 1 lakh, 1 seat).

Allahabad	2
Lucknow	3
Benares	3
Cawnpore	2
Agra	2
Bareilly	2
Meerut	2
Moradabad	1
Shahjahanpur	1
Jhansi	1
Koil	1
Muttra	1
Saharanpur	1
Farrukhabad	1
Gorakhpur	1
Fyzabad	1
Mirzapur	1
	28

TOTAL FOR GENERAL ELECTORATE	84
Zamindars (Agra)	1
Do. (Oudh)	1
Allahabad University	1
Benares Hindu University	1
Europeans	3
Upper India Chamber of Commerce	1
United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1
	93

2. Muslim Electorate.

Cities (Population over 60,000)	10
Meerut Division (Dehra Dun and Saharanpur = 1)	4
Agra (Aligarh alone separate)	2
Bohilkhand (Shahjahanpur and Pilibhit = 1)	5
Allahabad (Farrukhabad and Etawah and Cawnpore = 1)	3
Jhansi	1
Benares	1
Gorakhpur (Gorakhpur and Azamgarh = 1)	2
Lucknow (Unao and Rai Bareilly = 1)	1
(Kheri and Hardoi = 1)	4
Fyzabad (Fyzabad and Sultanpur and Partabgarh = 1)	4
	36

TOTAL

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1679. He had proposed that the existing franchises should be accepted for the Council, but in view of the great variety of municipal franchise revealed by the Government scheme he would not adhere to this proposal. The existing landholders franchise should be retained in Agra and Oudh. Only large landholders should be included. He himself was qualified to vote in the Agra electorate.

1680. The United Provinces should be represented on the same scale in the Assembly as the Presidencies. This was justified by population, by the number of large cities in the province and by the land revenue paid.

1681. Candidates should be resident in the province. They should know how to read and write English, because the business of the Council was conducted in English.

1682. The members from the United Provinces on the Council of State should be returned by the United Provinces members on the Assembly as well as by the members of the local Council.

1683. (Mr. Aftab.) He accepted the Lucknow compact but there were difficulties about its interpretation.

1684. (Mr. Banerjee.) Every town with a population of 50,000 or more should be represented separately on the Council.

1685. He would prefer that the zamindars should vote in the general electorates and give up their special electorate. He had only included special electorates for them to secure their co-operation.

1686. With regard to the disqualification mentioned in the second proviso at the end of para. (11) of his printed note he should have added the words "without leave." In para. (10) he would accept as a disqualification the conviction of an offence involving "moral turpitude" if that term could be clearly defined instead of the proposed disqualification. He was not prepared to modify his proposal with regard to disqualified proprietors in the same paragraph of his note. Proceedings under Section 110 of the C. P. Code should not be regarded as a disqualification. He did not think it necessary that the Local Government should have the discretion of disqualifying any person.

1687. (Mr. Hailey.) The present qualification for a vote in the municipal elections in Benares was a rental of Rs. 2 a month. In order to secure an electorate of 10 per cent. of the population as he desired he would be prepared to lower this to Re. 1. He thought that a rent of Re. 1 a month would connote a higher income than in the case of landlords paying Rs. 25 or Rs. 15 land revenue. A tenant paying Rs. 50 rent would have a net income of not more than Rs. 150.

1688. The present Vice-Chancellor of Benares University was a Madras. Most members of the Senate came from the United Provinces. He would apply to this electorate also the rule that all voters must reside in the province.

1689. (Mr. Sastri.) In order to arrive at a reasonable interpretation of the Lucknow compact the general clause must be read with the proviso.

1690. (Mr. Chintamani.) If a Council of 155 members was not feasible he would make alternative suggestions.

1691. In the case of landholders paying land revenue of more than Rs. 5,000 he would give them the option of voting in the special or in the general electorate.

1692. He would not include Anglo-Indians with Europeans, because they were really the same as Indians.

1693. Nearly all Government control over Benares University was exercised through the Lieutenant-Governor who was the Visitor. (He did not like the idea that only those members of the Court, senate and syndicate who were ordinarily resident in the United Provinces should vote in this electorate.) The number of members and of graduates from outside the province was very limited.

1694. He had no objection to including the teachers of vernacular schools as such.

1695. He did not like the idea of professors of affiliated colleges of Allahabad University voting in that university electorate. All these colleges were represented on the Senate and the professors were for the most part Europeans who would not be in touch with the people.

1696. He justified his proposal that members of joint families should vote by the precedents of English and Quebec Acts. If joint families paid income tax on a scale on which they would not if the members were divided he thought it equitable that the members should get separate votes. The proposal could be worked without practical difficulties.

1697. The largest of his proposed electorates for the Indian Assembly would contain 51,000 voters. They would be scattered but this would make the polling all the easier by reducing the number of votes to be recorded at each station.

1698. He would not introduce women suffrage at once. This might be done later.

1699. His list of disqualifications was not exhaustive.

1700. (Mr. Hopkins.) As a result of experience at municipal elections he considered that 150 to 200 votes could be polled in an hour.

Pandit GOVIND BALLABH PANT, Honorary Secretary of the Kumaon Association.

Written Statement.

I.—COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL.

1701. (1) The United Provinces Legislative Council should be constituted as follows:—

A.—Elected.

Constituencies.	No. of members.
(a) To be elected by the General Non-Muslim electorate:—	
(1) By the electors of Gorakhpur and Basti: two by each district	4
(2) By the electors of the remaining forty-six districts one by each district	46
(3) By the electors of Lucknow, Benares, Bareilly, Meerut, Allahabad, Agra and Cawnpore; one by each city	7
(b) To be elected by general Muslim electorate	24

Constituencies.	No. of members.
(c) To be elected by special electorates:—	
(1) By the British Indian Association	2
(2) By the University of Allahabad	2
(3) By the Upper India Chamber of Commerce	2
(4) By the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	2
(5) By the University of Benares	1
B.—Nominated and ex-officio	20
TOTAL	110

1702. (2) *Strength of the Council.*—According to the constitution outlined above the proposed Council will consist of 110 members. The strength of the existing Council is 50 and under paragraph 225 of the report on constitutional reforms (hereinafter referred to as the report) an enlarged Legislative Council with substantial elected majority is to be established in each Province.

1703. I would have been inclined, for reasons which I am stating hereafter in paragraph (6), of this note

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[Continued.]

to allot to the constituencies which I have nominated general electorates at least double the number of members specified against each. But paragraph 273 of the report recommends: 'A total strength of about 100 members for the Indian Legislative Assembly.' From this I suspect that the authorities would not accept suggestions for raising the strength of the local Council to about 200, which would be the case if the members under class A were doubled. The Congress League Scheme provided for a minimum of 125, and the United Provinces Legislative Council resolved in August last 'that the proposed Legislative Council should consist of not less than 100 members.' Bearing all these facts in mind I have allotted only a minimum number of representatives to the constituencies mentioned above and thus I have arrived at a figure which happens to be almost a mean between 100 and 125.

1704. (3) *Number of Nominated Members.*—According to the Congress League scheme four-fifths of the members of the Provincial Legislative Council were to be elected and one-fifth nominated. Paragraph 182 of the report accepts the principle of this proposal which was also confirmed by the local Council. In the above table I have set apart 20 seats for nomination. Exact portion would require 22, but the difference is not material. Under the new order of things the Government will not be able to carry any measure merely by means of official block or the weight of numbers. With this point in view paragraph 233 of the report requires that 'the official element appointed by the Governor should be no larger than is considered necessary for the transaction of business,' and that 'there should be (only) so many other official members in addition to the members of the Executive Council who should be *ex-officio* members of the Council as will provide the Government with first hand knowledge of the matters likely to be discussed in the Council and Committee.' I think that for these objects the Government will not require the presence of more than 13 officials, *viz.*—

- 1-4. The four Secretaries to Government.
5. Director of Public Instruction.
6. Director of Industries.
7. Director of Agriculture.
8. Inspector-General of Police.
9. Inspector-General of Hospitals.
10. Inspector-General of Jails.
11. The Legal Remembrancer.
12. The Chief Engineer.
13. The Chief Conservator of Forests.

1705. Two seats will be filled by the two members of the Executive Council. Still the Government will have a reserve of five, two of these can be utilized for nominating representatives on behalf of the Indian Christian and Anglo-Indian Communities. This will still leave three which the Governor may dispose of at his pleasure. Ordinarily out of these twenty members only 15 should be officials.

II.—ELECTORATES.

1706. (4) *The District should be the unit of representation.*—In the above constitution I have assigned two seats to Gorakhpur and Basti and one to each of the remaining 46 districts. I am conscious of the fact that there is a wide diversity in numbers as well as in area between the various districts of the United Provinces. Lucknow has an area of 967 square miles against 5,629 of Garhwal while the population of Dehradun is 205,075 against 3,201,180 of Gorakhpur. Still I am positively of the opinion that each district should be represented at least by one member. 'The principal unit of administration (in British India) is everywhere the District' (Imperial Gazetteer IV, page 48), and 'the fabric of our Indian administration may roughly be said to have the district administration for its base' (Gokhale:—Speech in Imperial Council dated the 27th February 1912). In the course of their remarks on district organization the signatories of the report observe in paragraph 123 that 'it is so close-knit, so well-established and so

thoroughly understood by the people (that) it simultaneously discharges easily and efficiently an immense number of other duties.' The District is a distinct entity in Indian polity. Physical, historical, social, economic and administrative circumstances have brought about such cohesion and fusion among the residents of a district that they form a compact group by themselves, and there is such genuine communion of interest between the constituents of a district that the district is decidedly the most congenial unit for training in responsibility. It is not possible to parcel out this vast country into equal electoral units. In fact there are wide diversities between a number of constituencies even in the most advanced countries including England. It may be as well to say that it is not possible under the present circumstances to devise any other standard—the village would be too small while the division would be too large and unwieldy. Having accepted the district as a unit for constitutional purposes also, we must allot at least one member to each district, irrespective of its size or numbers. This practice obtains in almost all the countries and even the smallest countries, provinces or states are allowed to return one or more representatives to the legislature of the state of which they form component parts. In our own country though Bombay has not even half the population of United Provinces both return an equal number of members to the Imperial Council from their provincial council.

1707. So I submit that each district should be allowed to elect at least one member

1708. (5) *Two members for Gorakhpur and Basti.*—I have given two members to Gorakhpur and two to Basti, as Gorakhpur and Basti are the only districts in the provinces which have a population of above a million and a half, and which do not comprise any city. Gorakhpur has an area of 4,520 square miles and a population of more than three millions. Basti has an area of about 2,600 square miles, and a population of 1,830,421 which bears a ratio of 4 per cent. to the provincial total. Excluding Gorakhpur and those districts in which the 7 cities mentioned in the table are comprised, Basti has the largest number of literates of the age of 20 and above. I suppose that one single constituency for Gorakhpur or Basti will be quite unwieldy, and it will be almost impossible for a single representative to keep himself in touch with the huge number of his constituents in his district. Hence this suggestion for two members for each.

1709. (6) *One member for each of the districts of Almora, Garhwal and Naini Tal or three members for Kumaon—the essential minimum.*—On this subject of electorates I consider it necessary to lay stress on my suggestion for the allotment of three seats to the districts of Almora, Garhwal and Naini Tal, which constitute the Kumaon Division. I am not thoroughly acquainted with the districts down country and it may not be impossible to adjust the constituencies there in a manner different from that proposed by me. But so far as Kumaon is concerned I beg to give expression to my reasoned conviction that three members would be the very minimum for Kumaon. Kumaon forms one of the nine divisions of these provinces while in extent it covers about a sixth of the provincial area. On this basis it would be entitled to many more members than three. But I do not urge any claims on this ground. My minimum number is determined by the scope and purpose of the proposed constitutional reforms. The proposed reforms are valued not so much for the powers that are to be transferred forthwith from the bureaucracy to the popular assemblies as for the hopes that they hold forth for the future by serving as means for the training of the Indian people in responsibility. They are designed to do the work of calling into existence an electorate capable of bearing the weight of responsible Government (para. 83 of the report).

1710. This object is to be achieved by bringing the primary voter into direct connection with his representative in the Council so that in course of time the primary voter may realize the value of his vote and the effect it can have on the proceedings of the Legislative Council. The

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same idea has been lucidly explained by Mr. Lionel Curtis in these words:—"With what objects in view are electorates to be brought into existence? Our answer is clear and precise The object in view should be to fit the voters placed on the list for the exercise of wider political responsibility, for which purpose we contend that some such responsibility must be given them at the outset, etc." (page 114 Letters to the People of India). For the attainment of this end and the political training of the people at large the relations between the primary voter and his representative should be incessant, direct and uninterrupted. Having given this outline of the scheme and its object I would just refer to the nature of the country. Kumaun may be roughly divided into the mountainous region and the submontane tracts. The districts of Almora and Garhwal with the exception of the small tract of Kotdwara are hilly portions of the Himalayas while Naini Tal comprises 16 hill patts of an area of about 400 miles and population of 60,000, the Bhabar or sandy submontane belt of 1,279 square miles and about a lakh of individuals and the Tarai with an area of about a 1,000 miles' and a population of 175,000.

1711. The Districts of Garhwal and Almora have an area of 5,372 and 5,629 square miles respectively (District Gazetteer). Even these areas are not quite correct as they are the areas of the projections of these districts on a horizontal plane. The real area must be more than this. Over this vast territory are scattered the two small towns and 5,036 villages of Almora District and 3 notified Areas and 3,321 villages of Garhwal. The total number of inhabited towns and villages in Meerut and Agra Divisions comes to about 8,000 in each, while it is about 10,000 in Kumaun Division which is equivalent to the figure for Lucknow Division. I have no hesitation in saying that an electorate will be altogether unmanageable if it is to cover a larger area than either of these districts. Along with the stupendous extent of these districts we have to take note of the nature of the mountainous country and the inseparable difficulties of communications. I would take the liberty of making an apt quotation from the report. "The physical circumstances of electorates thinly scattered over wide area with indifferent communications will render the task of educating them particularly difficult especially for men who will have to undertake a work of which they themselves have little experience (para. 263)." This description exactly fits in with the conditions of Almora and Garhwal Districts. These physical disadvantages can be overcome only through the instrumentality of small and easily manageable electorates while they will be multiplied many-fold times if the constituencies are made unduly large at the outset. It will be simply impossible for the primary voter and his representative in the Council to be in touch with each other or for the representative to study the needs of the various localities and to keep himself informed about the state of affairs in various parts of his constituency if he is made responsible for more than one district. In fact it is only a sense of modesty and the desire to avoid the charge of partiality which prevents me from proposing two members for each of the districts of Garhwal and Almora. I may also state here that though Garhwal and Almora along with the 16 hill patts of Naini Tal are under the same Act of administrative and political conditions, the district of Garhwal differs broadly from the rest socially. The existing boundaries of the district of Garhwal were fixed as early as in 1838 and Mr. Pauw remarks that the boundary between Almora and Garhwal is very irregular as the villages inhabited by Garhwals were assigned to Garhwal and those by Kumaunese to Almora—to such an extent are the two nationalities distinct (Pauw's report).

1712. Though there has been a steady development of national spirit among the educated, still the masses in Garhwal and Almora are separate from each other, and so far as social relations such as intermarriage and interding are concerned the two districts are quite exclusive. Few in the north of Garhwal know any body

in Kumaun and *vice versa* about Almora. So, a resident of Almora cannot do justice to the requirements of Garhwal and the same thing can be said of a representative belonging to Garhwal, so it is necessary to have two district electorates. Naini Tal has, in addition, many diverse interests of its own. It has three systems of land tenure. So far as 16 hill patts are concerned they are similarly conditioned as Almora. The Tashil of Kashipur has Zamindari tenure similar to that of other plains districts. The Tarai and Bhabar Kham Estates include a few settled villages, which have a tenure similar to that of hills or plains accordingly as the villages are situated in Bhabar or Tarai, but far the largest number of villages are under direct Government (kham) management. These tracts are notorious for their unhealthy climate and they need wholesale overhauling. There are two municipalities and a number (six) of notified and town areas in Naini Tal District. Besides Naini Tal is the summer capital of these Provinces and the varied interest stated above can be represented only by a resident of Naini Tal district.

1713. It may also be noticed here that apart from the general questions such as those relating to public services, commissions in the army, arms act, stamps, income-tax, education, excise, etc., in which Kumaun is interested as much as any other part of India, there are a number of local problems of the first magnitude which hardly affect anybody outside Kumaun. The land tenure of Kumaun hills is quite distinct from that of the plains. The peasant proprietary system prevails throughout the hilly tracts which is akin to the Ryatwari or Bhayachari tenure but is distinguishable even from these. Then there are other questions relating to mill rents Banap land, Coolie Utar, forests, etc., which affect the people of Kumaun alone. In order that these long standing and ever-expanding grievances may be fully expressed and removed Kumaun should have adequate representation. To that extent we want members for protecting our special interests. As the elected members belonging to the other parts of the province will not be able to speak on these subjects with any authority, Kumaun must be allowed at least three members for representing her special needs adequately. In this connection I would refer to the speech which Babu Brijnandan Prasad, a non-Kumaun, delivered in the Local Council, on 19th July 1915 when he observed that Kumaun Division is not densely populated, but in area, number of villages and importance, it does not fall much behind other divisions. Ordinarily the circumstances and conditions of one division are not so essentially different from those of another that it is absolutely necessary that each should have its own representative to represent its matters, but the Kumaun Division is so different in its manners, mode of life and system of administration that it stands in an unique position, etc.

1714. These three districts of Almora, Garhwal and Naini Tal form a separate division as owing to the extent of the territory and importance, variety and speciality of the local questions they are considered quite enough for the exclusive charge of one Commissioner.

1715. Even on the consideration of members alone Kumaun will not be over represented by three members. Out of a population of 13 lakhs there are only about 79,000 Muhammadans in Kumaun which gives a proportion of about 1.2 per cent. of the Provincial Muhammadan population.

1716. Thus the Muhammadan residents of Kumaun will have no appreciable share in the election of Muhammadan representatives, nor will the division have any substantial voice in the special electorates; thus it can be safely promised that out of 90 elected members, Kumaun will be represented only by three in the Provincial Council. While the population of the United Provinces has been almost stationary during the last 30 years, the numbers returned at the census of 1891 hardly varying from those of 1911, the census of Kumaun division has shown an increase of 10 per cent. every decade. So taking into consideration the variations since 1911, I am justified in saying, that the ratio of the

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people of Kumaun to that of the province will in no way fall short of 3 to 90. I think my proposal allotting one member to each district and three members to Kumaun Division does not need to be elaborated further. I shall refer to the question of franchise, advanced state of literacy of the division and some other local circumstances which are favourable to the introduction of responsible Government in Kumaun, hereafter.

1717. (7) *Seven City Electorates.*—The seven cities named in the table represent the wealth and culture of these provinces. Each has a population of more than a lakh, and they have the privilege of returning members to the local Council under the existing regulations. As the Councils are enlarged they are entitled to one member each.

1718. (8) *Muhammadian Representation.*—I have fixed the number of Muhammadian seats on the basis of the Congress League compromise. I would leave the distribution of these seats to the Muhammadian community as in this respect the views of the leaders of the Musalman community should naturally carry the greatest weight.

1719. (9) *Special Electorates.*—The Special Electorates do not need any elaborate justification. Excepting the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce and the University of Benares others have their representatives in the Council at present also. When the regulations under the Indian Councils Act of 1909 were framed the two bodies named above were not in existence. The recommendations of the Industries Commission lead us to expect a rapid development in Indian industries and as this development proceeds the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce will gain in importance, organization and strength. The two Universities represent highest seats of learning in the provinces. The jurisdiction of the University of Benares is confined to the city of Benares only, so for the present I would be satisfied with one member only.

1720. The zamindars of Agra do not form a distinct class so they should not be grouped under a special electorate. The payment of a certain minimum amount of land revenue must form one of the qualifications for the franchise for the general electorates so all zamindars will come under this head. The case of Talukdars of Oudh is quite different. They form a unique body and they possess distinct privileges and statutory status. The Talukdars should, however, have no vote in the general electorate.

1721. The total number of Europeans according to the census of 1911 comes to about 32,000 only. This number should be inclusive of Government officials. The two members returnable by the United Chamber of Commerce will represent this community. It does not seem necessary or desirable to form separate electorates for any other community. The Anglo-Indians form a small number—about 8,000 only, and they have no special interest of their own. The Government may, however, nominate representatives on behalf of Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. There are no other communities or interests in these provinces, and the constitution proposed in this note will secure the representation of all classes and interests.

III.—FRANCHISE.

722. (10) *Different nature of Franchise for Kumaun.*—Paragraph 226 of the report as embodied in the terms of reference to the Committee requires the Franchise to be framed on as broad a basis as circumstances in the province permit. Subject to the predominant condition of the workability of the electorates the franchise should be so framed as to qualify the largest number of residents of the constituency. On account of the peculiar conditions prevailing in Kumaun to some of which I have referred above and which I will briefly state in this connection it will be necessary to frame a different nature of franchise for Kumaun in some respects. This state of dissimilar conditions prevailing in the same province has been duly noticed in the report. The signatories observe that 'It is possible that owing to unequal distribution of population and wealth it may be necessary to differentiate the qualifications for a vote not merely

between provinces, but between different parts of the same province.'

1723. Barring the tahsil of Kashipur which had a population of 61,484 in 1901, the land tenure in Kumaun is quite distinct from that prevailing in the rest of the province.

1724. In Almora, Garhwal and 16 hill patts of Naini Tal the system of peasant proprietorship is prevalent. There is very little distinction between cultivators and proprietors. The ordinary condition of things in a village is that the *hisadars* or proprietors are each in cultivating possession of their own holdings, which are not very much in excess of their own requirements and ability to till successfully. The average holding is 2 or 2½ acres and measured area 3.34 bisis per family (Goudge's Settlement report 1903 Almora and Naini Tal hill patts). Speaking of Khaikars, practically the only class of tenants in the hills, Sir H. Ramsay observes:

'In fact these tenants are in all respects equal to proprietors with the exception that they cannot sell holdings and they pay a small sum in addition to the quota of revenue due from the land recorded in their names' (Beckett's Settlement report).

1725. Speaking of Garhwal Mr. Pauw remarks 'the people consisting mostly of peasants, proprietors or tenants with a vested interest in land are settled in village communities, etc.' (Pauw's report, para. 33) and again the whole population consists of peasant proprietors or cultivators with occupancy rights, (*Ibid*, page 34).

1726. In Almora and Garhwal 909 and 918 per mille live by agriculture and in Naini Tal 705. While according to the provincial average there are only 8.15 land-lords per hundred of population as against 23 occupancy and 40 non-occupancy tenants and labourers in the Kumaun hills there are at least 65 per cent. *hisadars* and 20 per cent. Khaikars.

1727. In Tarai and Bhabar we have a large number of tenants directly under Government without any intervening zamindars, and in Kashipur we have the zamindari system.

1728. The percentage of land-holders to population in the division is 47, while in Rohilkhand and Lucknow Divisions the corresponding figure is 4, in Allahabad 5 and in Fyzabad and Benares 6. In arriving at this figure for Kumaun the large number of tenants in Tarai and Bhabar and the zamindars and tenants in Kashipur pargana have been taken into account.

1729. In the hills revenue is assessed on an altogether different basis from the plains and the average quota of a *hisadar* comes to about Rs. 4 per annum, and of a Khaikar from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8. Thus it is evident that the qualifications for agriculturists of Kumaun should be different from those of the plains.

1730. (11) *Qualifications for Voters.*—Following classes of persons should be qualified for purposes of electing members for the Provincial Council:—

- (1) Non-Official members of District Boards, Municipalities, Notified Areas, and Town Areas.
- (2) All persons paying income tax.
- (3) Persons living in the urban areas and assessed to local taxes on an income of Rs. 250 per annum or paying to the municipalities or notified areas a minimum tax of Rs. 5 per year or occupying premises of the annual letting value of Rs. 50 per year.
- (4) Persons paying minimum amounts of revenue or rent as stated below:—

1	Revenue.	Rent as occupancy tenant.	Rent as non-occupancy tenant.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
In Kumaun Division	5 0 0	3 0 0	20 0 0
In rest of the province	20 0 0	40 0 0	50 0 0

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(9) Persons who have passed the Matriculation Examination of any University, the School-Leaving Certificate Examination or European Boys High School Examination or any public examination in Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic.

1731. No person shall be qualified to vote who is below 21 years of age.

1732. Above-mentioned qualifications are wide enough to comprise all persons, who can make a use of the vote. They will give very large electorates, and, considering the proportion of voters to total population in Japan, they will yield quite a decent proportion.

1733. In Almora and Garhwal the number of *hisadars* is about 90,000 and 80,000 respectively.

1734. Mr. Paw in his settlement report for Garhwal puts the numbers of *hisadars* at about 35,000, but I am convinced that my figure correctly represents the existing state of things. The names of large numbers of *hisadars* are not entered in the village papers. Besides through the sub-division of holdings and the addition of *nayabad* grants the number of *hisadars* has considerably increased since the settlement took place more than 20 years ago. The total population of Garhwal comes to about 500,000 and each family on the average consists of 5 individuals. There are very few Sirtans.

1735. In Naini Tal there are about 20,000 landholders and a large number (about 50,000) tenants. Of these about half the *hisadars* and a third of the tenants should be qualified. There are also about 900 income-tax payers in the Naini Tal District. I believe, that the numbers satisfying the tests stated above will be quite enough for forming the electorates in each District. I would have liked to give the vote to every *hisadar* and to all *Khalkars* or occupancy tenants paying Rs. 5 and non-occupancy tenants paying Rs. 10 as rent, but I have refrained from putting forth this suggestion lest the electorate should become unmanageable.

1736. (12) *Some educational qualifications desirable.*—I am strongly of opinion that some educational qualifications should by themselves entitle the holder to a vote. In paragraph 226 of the report its august authors conceive the likelihood of some educational qualifications being accepted as qualification for a vote. In most of the Western countries adult suffrage is the rule and primary education is compulsory so no educational qualification is specifically mentioned in connection with Franchise. In British Isles only property qualifications are prescribed but there, too, primary education is compulsory and Universities return their own representatives. In our country homage has always been paid to learning, and knowledge has been the subject of respect and reverence against wealth. So, it is necessary to accept some degree of education as one of the qualifications for the vote. Our Provincial Council was also in favour of educational qualifications.

1737. (13) *No qualifications should be prescribed for candidates.*—I also suggest that no qualifications should be prescribed for candidates apart from the statutory disqualifications on the ground of minority, etc. I have no objection to 25 years being fixed as the minimum age. The electorate should be perfectly at liberty to choose any resident British subject of the United Provinces. A Rule of this nature will be in accordance with the practice obtaining in England and other advanced countries. If the possession of property or payment of income-tax, etc., is prescribed as a condition which will determine the eligibility of a person then we may have to exclude persons and patriots like Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Paranjpe, Mahatma Munshi Ram, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, etc. In this connection, I would like to submit that some of the provisions of the existing regulations which disqualify a person for purpose of election to the Council should be omitted, e.g., dismissal from Government service. A person may be dismissed from the Government service for overstaying his period of leave, for insubordination, for negligence, and sometimes even for patriotism. There is no reason why a person who has been dismissed from Gov-

ernment service should also be disqualified for other useful services. Nor should imprisonment for any period debar a person unless the offence for which the man was convicted involved some moral turpitude. Same can be said about a legal practitioner debarred from practice. It should not lie within the power of the Governor-General to disqualify any person.

1738. (14) *Single vote.*—A person may be possessed of a number of qualifications but he should have only one vote. Plural voting should not be permitted.

1739. (15) *Polling Centres.*—There should be as many polling centres as it is possible to arrange. Excepting the 7 city constituencies all others will be composite rural urban constituencies extending over extensive areas and comprising large numbers. People have yet to learn the value of the vote. So far as possible a polling centre should not be at a distance of more than 10 miles from the voters' residence in the plains and 15 miles in the hills. All gazetted officers, headmasters of schools, Chairmen of Boards, Deputy Inspectors of Schools, and respectable non-officials should be employed as returning officers at various centres. Where sufficient numbers cannot be made available in the district, assistance of neighbouring districts should be sought.

IV.—FITNESS OF KUMAUN FOR REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

1740. (16) Before I conclude I beg leave to say a few words as to the fitness of Kumaun for the proposed constitutional reforms. Kumaun is at present one of the scheduled districts. Under paragraph (4) of the terms of reference the Committee has been asked to have regard for the decision of the Government of India as to the areas which are to be the subject of special treatment under paragraph 199. I notice that the Committee has not been directed to decide this question. But it will not be out of place to touch on the subject as it is closely connected with the question of composition of the Council, Constituencies and Franchise. In this connection I beg leave to refer to the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Pt. Tara Datt Gairola when he moved for the application of the reforms to Kumaun Division in the Legislative Council on the 13th August 1918 and to the articles that were published in the Leader newspaper of these Provinces in its issues of 10th and 13th March last. I may state here that the above resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Gairola was unanimously passed by the Council and similar resolutions were also passed at the special sitting of the Provincial Conference that was held at Lucknow to discuss the Reform Scheme and also at the ordinary annual session of the United Provinces Provincial Conference. Numerous meetings praying for the extension of the reforms to Kumaun were also held at various places in this Division. Kumaun will soon cease to be a scheduled district as the Government had decided ten years ago to affiliate it with the High Court of Allahabad in the civil side also. It has always been, so in the criminal side. It was formerly subordinate to the Sadr Diwani Nizamat Adalats. It was scheduled later on in 1861 as there was very little litigation and crime in the districts to engage full-time Judges, and as railway connection was not feasible at the time and there were difficulties of communication the officers at the Provincial headquarters could not always keep themselves in touch with these parts. The districts were never regarded as backward and were not scheduled on that account.

1741. These parts are quite fit for the introduction of the proposed constitutional reforms. Referring to the difficulties which stand in the way of the early fruition of complete responsible Government, the report contains the following:—

1742. "Two dominating conditions will be quickly apparent, viz., one is that immense masses of people are poor, ignorant, helpless and the other is there runs through Indian society a series of cleavages of religion, race and caste which constantly threaten its solidarity" (page 131).

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1743. Fortunately Kumaun is the least handicapped in these respects. While the proportion of literates per mille was 34 for the United Provinces in 1901, it was 59 for Naini Tal, 64 for Almora and 72 for Garhwal. Kumaun Division has been holding the first place in literacy in the provinces. Taking the figures for males of the ages of 20 and above which alone should count for purposes of electorates while there were 82 literate males per mille in the province the figures per mille for Almora, Garhwal and Naini Tal were 164, 197 and 113, respectively. Out of every hundred males of the above ages in this division 20 were literate. All other divisions were far behind. The total number of literate males of 20 and above for Rohilkhand Division which has many times more souls than Kumaun was 64,664 while it was 64,683 for Kumaun. Similarly Kumaun was first in literacy in English also: while the provincial average per 10,000 was 67 it was more than a hundred for Kumaun for males of 20 and above, while for Naini Tal and Almora corresponding figures were 125 and 151. English education had not made equal headway in Garhwal. Referring to Himalaya west, the Census Commissioner observes that incentive for education is very large, etc.

1744. I have already referred to peasant proprietary system of tenure. The total number of *Misadars* in Kumaun is almost equal to the aggregate of landholders in Rohilkhand, Allahabad and Lucknow Divisions. Ownership of a holding with a homestead invests the peasantry with a grit and the people of Kumaun are not lacking in those qualities which result from the possession of independent means of livelihood. At one place the report observes that in India the curve of wealth takes a steep descent.

1745. It is not so in Kumaun—thanks to even distribution of wealth. The wealth index in a graph would take a horizontal course. Mr. Traill observed in 1830 that the people of Kumaun were the most prosperous in the whole of the Company's Dominions; the same statement was repeated with greater emphasis by Sir H. Ramsay about 50 years later. There are no millionaires in Kumaun but at the same time there are no hungry sheep nor dumb driven cattle. Almost every person has a holding to live upon, stonebuilt, slated roofed house for dwelling purposes and metal utensils for use. In a way Kumaun is free from many depressing circumstances and the Kumauni does a lot of public services. Practically speaking there is no police force in the hills. The village headmen and the *Thokdars* maintain peace and order. They also discharge a number of other duties. The villagers also maintain the roads and do a number of other administrative tasks. This tract of country is most peaceful and crime is almost non-existent here. Village communities have got much of the republican spirit even to-day. Their panchayats are still in existence.

1746. There are no cleavages of religion or race. The vexed Hindu-Muhammadan question has no place in Kumaun. The total Muhammadan population for the Division comes to about 5 per cent. while in Almora and Garhwal it does not come to 1 per cent. even. Of these, too, large numbers resort to the hills only for purposes of trade, etc.

1747. Harmony, homogeneity and uniformity are the ordinary features of life in each district. All persons whether rich or poor, belong to the same strata. There are no distinct classes as compared with masses or urban as distinguished from rural folk. Every individual, whatever his position or profession, is connected by birth or marriage with the residents of the village and the tillers of the soil, and his interests are identical with theirs. Paragraph 140 of the Report says that prospects of advance greatly depend upon how far the educated Indian is in sympathy with, and capable of, fairly representing the illiterate masses. In Kumaun the educated Indian and his illiterate co-villagers form one group.

1748. Residents of Kumaun Division have held very responsible positions in British India as well as the Native States and they are holding such offices even

to-day. No Kumauni has ever proved unequal to the burden imposed on him.

1749. The Kumaunese are possessed of enterprise and they do not shrink from going to distant lands for earning their livelihood. They have given unmistakable proofs of imperial patriotism at the time of the mutiny, and recently in this war, which is being fought for justice and liberty. On the population standard Kumaun has contributed largest proportion of men for military purposes. Thousands have joined the Army since the commencement of this war, and, when peace is established and all these men return to their homes, one in every ten adult males in the hills of Kumaun Division will be he who has seen the struggle on the battlefield and who in response to eloquent appeals had joined the Army for protecting the sacred principles of liberty and self-determination. As the signatories of the report say "the minds of India's peasant soldiery who have returned from abroad will never again act quite in the old way and they will relate their experiences to many who stayed at home." I also beg leave to refer to the quotation made by the Hon'ble Pandit Tara Datt Gairola from a letter received from a soldier from the front which ran thus: "We have been fighting with the heroism which has won the admiration of the world. But permit me to give out my mind to you freely. When I think of the slavery of my countrymen who are even forced by petty officials to clear their dishes I feel ashamed of myself and cry that all this praise is mere cant!"

1750. Even if we had been backward we would not have been kept out of the Councils for the policy of specially protecting the interests of backward classes has been repeatedly declared and acted upon. But what meaning can this comparison carry? We are all entering the first entrance door that will gradually lead to the citadel of responsibility for the first time. Whatever may be the differences in other respects so far as this aspect of the problem is concerned we are all equally unused to it and will be initiated into this doctrine of responsibility for the first time. Then, how is it considered possible to make distinctions between different parts of this province in such matters as education, sanitation, medical relief, excise, etc.? Will there be different rules as to courses of study, examinations, etc.? And after all, is an executive councillor, however efficient he may be, preferable to a minister? In fact the process of curtailing the rights of the people and imposing additional liabilities on them has been steadily acted upon for many years in Kumaun. The bureaucratic system has its inherent disadvantages and Kumaun administration exhibits all the traits of this system. The present system of administration is quite out of date and, whatever else it may achieve, it cannot satisfy the cravings of the soul. Then, if any community or area is excluded now, how is it to come into line with the rest hereafter? The disparity will ever grow wider and the twain will never meet. When the scheme expressly reserves the fundamental questions of law and justice, and order and peace, to the executive Government there is absolutely no risk in giving the opportunity for political education through the exercise of modicum of responsibility to all and sundry. For as the report admits 'there can be no general improvement except through the awakening of public spirit which we believe that our reforms will stimulate (para. 125.)' and also 'the character of political institutions reacts on the people.' The report further says that 'the fact that the exercise of responsibility calls forth the capacity for it, is the best ground for confidence in the working of self-government in India.'

1751. The statement in the report that 'free constitutions have the faculty of re-acting on the adverse circumstances on which [the] start is made,' and 'that political capacity can come only through the exercise of political responsibility,' is indubitable and incontrovertible. Kumaun is entitled to take its stand on the momentous declaration of 20th of August 1917, and Kumaun claims an equal opportunity with the rest of the provinces. With the rest of India Kumaun profoundly believes 'that the

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sheltered existence which the British people and British Government have given her for more than a century cannot be prolonged without damage to her national interests that there is a richer gift for her people than any that has yet been bestowed on them,' and that granted an

opportunity for self-development she will prove equal to the responsibilities that may be imposed on her people.

N. B.—I have not ventured to express any opinion regarding the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, as I do not consider myself qualified to deal with these all-India institutions.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, called and examined.

1752. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He resided in Kumaon, mostly in Nainital. By profession he was a pleader.

1753. The Kumaon division should have 3 seats. The area was large, communications were difficult and the candidates should be in touch with their constituencies. He did not think that Nainital and Garhwal should be combined and given one member. Nainital had questions peculiar to itself. There was no direct communication with Garhwal and the residents in Kashipur and the two Government Estates had no intercourse with the Garhwals. Its backwardness also was an argument for the treatment he advocated.

1754. The number of *hissardars* was much in excess of the 35,000 mentioned in the Settlement Report, but it was unnecessary to labour the point as he had since seen

and accepted the Government scheme in preference to his own.

1755. (*Mr. Chintamani.*) There would be disappointment in the Kumaon Division if they only got 2 members. The Division had been prejudiced by a lack of representation in the past in the matter of forests and as regards the affiliation of the Civil Courts and also as regards roads. Education was advanced in Kumaon and on a comparison with the number of seats proposed by the Local Government for, for instance, Muzaffarnagar and Bijoor the number of seats which he proposed for Kumaon was justified.

1756. There were three systems of land revenue in the district of Nainital.

1757. (*Mr. Hopkins.*) Nainital was the summer headquarters of Government.

The Hon'ble SAIYID WAZIR HASAN and the Hon'ble SAIYID RAZA ALI representing the United Provinces Provincial Moslem League.

Written Statement of the Hon'ble Saiyid Wazir Hasan.

I.—Composition of Council.

1758. In my opinion the position of the United Provinces as regards population, education and public revenues is such that it should have a Council of not less than a hundred and twenty-five (125) members. This is the number fixed for major provinces in the Congress-League scheme, and I find no justification for making a departure therefrom. But if the proposed strength of the Council is a hundred (100) members the Muhammadans should have thirty per cent. of the elected seats as proposed by the Congress-League Scheme. This formula, I am glad to note, is accepted by the United Provinces Government. I note however that in working out the details as given in Table I, the Muhammadans are allotted twenty-one (21) seats out of seventy-nine (79) to be filled up by election. Thus the proportion allotted to them falls short by three (3) seats. Apparently the nine (9) seats allotted to the special interests have been excluded in fixing the number of seats to which the Muhammadans are entitled in virtue of the Congress-League Scheme. By the scheme the Muhammadans are entitled to thirty per cent. of the total number of elected seats and not of seats allotted to general constituencies only. The number of Muhammadans should therefore be increased by three (3).

II.—Franchise.

1759. I generally agree with the proposals as regards the franchise put forward in the scheme prepared by the United Provinces Government. I think however that some standard of literary qualification should be recognised for entitling a person to a vote. The danger of a constituency becoming too large to be workable can be very much minimised by enhancing the property qualification to double figures. I think that it would be pertinent to observe that, inasmuch as we are not considering the question of franchise in relation to a complete self-government but only in relation to a step towards it, the broadening of franchise should be commensurate with that step. Tenants, landlords, and income tax assesses who are proposed to be given votes in the election for the Council might well first be given votes in the election of local bodies, and to entitle a man to a franchise for the Legislative Council a higher qualification than the proposed one, but certainly much lower than the existing one, may reasonably be regarded as sufficient broadening of the franchise. It need hardly be pointed out that

persons possessing the qualification stated in the scheme have so far no vote even in the local bodies.

III.—Constituencies.

1760. As to the formation of constituencies I generally agree with the Government memorandum but the distribution of seats allotted to the province can well be modified with advantage. For instance Lucknow and Unao may be given one seat, considering the position which Lucknow occupies in relation to the Muslim community. Hardoi might well be grouped with Kheri and Sitapur.

Additional written statement of the Hon'ble Saiyid Wazir Hasan.

Composition of the Council.

1761. It has been suggested in the previous notes that the total strength of the Provincial Legislative Council should be 125 members as laid down in the Congress-League Scheme. It would appear from the details given herein that the said number is the most desirable from several points of view—

- (i) The number of nominated members will be 25 instead of 21 as set out in the proposals of the United Provinces Government.
- (ii) This increase of 4 members will enable the Government to nominate at least two secretaries belonging to the departments under the minister or ministers and in case of need two experts.
- (iii) The remaining number of 100 affords a very convenient basis for the formation of the constituencies both urban and rural.

Elected Members—100.

1. Muslim constituencies	20
2. General rural non-Muslim constituencies	48
3. British Indian Association, Oudh*	5
4. Upper India Chamber of Commerce	2
5. United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	1
6. University of Allahabad	1
7. Benares Hindu University	1
8. Seven large cities (2 each)	14

TOTAL 100

* Provided that no Taluqdar shall participate in the election by the rural constituencies, Muslim and non-Muslim.

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The Hon'ble SAHYD WAHID HASAN and SAHYD RAZA ALI

[Continued.]

Muslim Constituencies—30.

1. Rural Constituencies	18 as proposed by United Provinces Government.
2. Urban	12
Lucknow	3
Bareilly	2
Benares	2
Agra	2
Cawnpore	1
Allahabad	1
Meerut	1

1762. Lucknow has the largest Muslim population, i.e., nearly 100,000, and the three cities to which two seats have been given have each Muslim population above 50,000, and the remaining three cities, which have been allotted one seat each, have population below 50,000.

1763. It may be noted that when the Muslim Aligarh University is established the seats allotted to the urban constituencies may be reduced by one, and given to the said University.

General Non-Muslim Constituencies—46.

Dehra Dun and Saharanpur	1
Naini Tal and Garhwal	1
Of the remaining 44 districts one each.	44
TOTAL	46

1764. This distribution of seats has the advantage of allowing every district to be treated as a unit except in the case of the 4 districts mentioned above and the principle is in accordance with the proposals of the United Provinces Government.

1765. A candidate should not be restricted for election to the constituency in which he resides, but should be free to stand for election in any constituency within the Province.

Written Statement of the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali.

THE UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Franchise.

1766. I welcome the proposal to abolish the system of indirect elections. The qualifications of voters should, as far as possible, be uniform not only in various parts of the United Provinces but in the communal as well as general electorates. A man having more than one qualification should have only one vote in a single constituency.

1767. I would give a vote to the following:—

- (1) A tenant who pays an agricultural rent of Rs. 50 per annum;
- (2) a landholder who pays land revenue of Rs. 25 per annum or who owns revenue free property assessed to a nominal revenue of Rs. 25 per annum;
- (3) a tenant or occupier of a house with an annual letting value of Rs. 36;
- (4) a payer of income-tax;
- (5) a payer of Rs. 6 per annum in local taxes which are in force at present or may be imposed hereafter; and
- (6) a person above 21 years of age who has passed the matriculation examination or any examination equivalent thereof held by an Indian University.

1768. It is not necessary to distinguish between urban and rural areas in the matter of voters' qualifications. Some municipalities may have to be grouped with rural areas. On the other hand there will generally be found a number of tenants living in urban constituencies. To differentiate between the qualifications of urban and rural electorates will lead to unnecessary complication.

VOL. I

Strength of Council.

1769. I propose that the United Provinces Council should consist of 180 Members of whom 150 should be elected. My proposal is based on two grounds. First the common object of the Government and the people being the progressive realization of responsible Government in India it is of the utmost importance to train as large a number of people as possible in the art of the working of representative institutions. Now looking to the area, population, revenue, orderly development of healthy opinion and the traditions of these Provinces whose people were associated with the administration of the country for centuries under the Moghal Empire, is it too much to ask that the representative assembly of the heart of India should not be second to any Provincial Council in strength? Men can grow to their full height only if they have opportunities. A Council of 150 elected Members is none too large for a Province with a population of 48 millions. The second reason in support of my proposal is that the extension of franchise must not be out of all proportion to the size of Council. In fact the qualifications for a vote suggested by me are so low that I am not sure whether I am justified in asking for a Council of much larger size. Novel as the experiment in India is it is important to consider whether a huge extension of vote without a corresponding increase in the size of the Council will not lead to a breakdown of the system.

The Grand Committee.

1770. A moment's thought will show that the suggestion contained in paragraph 242 of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that the Grand Committee in every Council should comprise from 40 to 50 per cent. of its strength is impracticable. To give effect to it you must perforce nominate a large number of officials as members who will have no work in the Court except when the Grand Committee sits. Again the suggestion presupposes the presence of 7 or 8 nominated non-official members (116 of 40 to 50) in every Provincial Council. The extension of the elective principle has rendered nominations almost unnecessary and it is somewhat difficult to guess what can be the interests to represent which as many as 7 or 8 non-official members may be required in a Provincial Council. In the proposed Council of 180 members for the United Provinces 4 or 5 seats are sufficient to secure the representation of those interests or minorities for whom an electorate cannot be found at present.

1771. Proposed strength and composition of the United Provinces Legislative Council.

To be elected by general constituencies including small municipalities	85
To be elected by general electors of 14 municipalities with a population of 50,000 and over	14
To be elected by Moslem constituencies (rural)	35
To be elected by Moslem electors of the municipalities of Lucknow, Benares, Agra, Bareilly, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Moradabad and Meerut	6
To be elected by Upper India Chamber of Commerce	3
To be elected by United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	2
To be elected by the University of Allahabad	1
To be elected by the Hindu University of Benares	1
To be elected by M. A. O. College, Aligarh, till Moslem University is established	1
To be nominated by Government of whom 25 to be officials the remaining 5 to represent minorities, special interests and backward classes	30
TOTAL	180

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The Hon'ble SAYYID WAJEE HASAN and SAYYID RAZA ALI.

[Continued.]

General Constituencies (Urban and Rural).

1772. The first thing to consider is whether it is advisable to form small municipalities into groups excluding the rural population. Having regard to the fact that a small municipality has more in common with the neighbouring rural area than with another such municipality 50 to 80 miles far off I would suggest that except in the case of 14 towns the population of which exceeds 50,000 the remaining municipalities should be included in rural electorates. Speaking generally I would allow a general rural electorate with a non-Moslem population not above 6,00,000 to elect one member; above 6 lakhs but not above 12 lakhs to elect two members; and above 12 lakhs to elect three members.

1773. The constituencies established on these lines are:—

Scheme of General Constituencies (Rural).

Name of town.	No. of members.
1 Dehra Dun	1
2 Saharanpore	2
3 Muzaaffarnagar	1
4 Meerut	2
5 Bulandshahr	2
6 Aligarh	2
7 Muthra	1
8 Agra	2
9 Mainpuri	2
10 Etah	2
11 Bareilly	2
12 Bijore	1
13 Badaun	2
14 Moradabad	2
15 Shahjahanpur	2
16 Pilibhit	1
17 Farukhabad	1
18 Etawah	2
19 Cawnpore	2
20 Fatehpur	1
21 Allahabad	2
22 Jhansi	2
23 Jalaun	1
24 Hamirpore	2
25 Banda	2
26 Benares	2
27 Mirzapore	2
28 Jaunpore	2
29 Ghazipore	2
30 Ballia	2
31 Gorakhpore	3
32 Basti	3
33 Azamgarh	3
34 Kumaon	2
35 Lucknow	1
36 Unao	2
37 Rae-Bareilly	2
38 Sitapore	2
39 Hardoi	2
40 Kheri	2
41 Fyzabad	2
42 Gonda	2
43 Bahraich	2
44 Sultanpore	2
45 Partabgarh	2
46 Barabanki	2
TOTAL	85

1774. Coming to urban constituencies I suggest that each of the municipalities of Lucknow, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Cawnpore, Bareilly, Meerut, Saharanpore, Moradabad, Aligarh, Mathura, Shahjahanpore, Fatehgarh and Jhansi should be accorded the right to return a representative. Every one of them has a population exceeding 50,000.

Moslem Constituencies.

1775. I propose that the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh be divided into 35 rural and 8 urban constituencies.

The Musalman population is so unevenly distributed in various districts that it is very difficult to establish electorates uniform in population. Yet the population test appears to be the soundest and the least likely to give unequal results to different districts. Districts with a Moslem population above 1,90,000 have been treated as constituencies. In the case of small districts two or three of them have been grouped together to be formed into a constituency. Population being the basis of representation it is proposed that an electorate with a Moslem population not above 2,50,000 should send one member; above 2,50,000 but not above 3,50,000 should send two members; above 3,50,000 should send three members.

1776. Care has been taken to group together, as far as possible neighbouring districts or those which have some common features, for instance Kumaon and Dehra Dun. The population of constituencies varies but in no case is it below 1,00,000 and in most cases about 2,00,000.

Scheme of Moslem Constituencies (Rural).

Serial Nos.	Constituencies.	Population.	TOTAL.	No. of members.
1	Saharanpore	3,29,094	3,29,094	2
	Dehra Dun	27,794		
	Pilibhit	86,274		
2	Naini Tal	71,883		
	Almora	3,548		
	Garhwal	3,614	1,93,111	1
3	Muzaffarnagar	2,31,873	2,31,873	1
4	Meerut	3,08,227	3,08,227	2
5	Aligarh	1,15,035		
	Etah	91,399		
			2,06,434	1
6	Agra	60,361		
	Mainpuri	44,477		
	Mathura	61,759		
			1,66,597	1
7	Bareilly	2,17,760	2,17,760	1
8	Bijore	2,80,501	2,80,501	2
9	Shahjahanpore	1,39,159	1,39,159	1
10	Badaun	1,76,376	1,76,376	1
11	Moradabad	4,05,216	4,05,216	3
12	Farukhabad	1,04,293		
	Etawah	43,628		
	Cawnpore	62,167		
			2,12,088	1
13	Allahabad	1,49,687		
	Mirzapur	68,507		
			2,18,194	1
14	Jalaun	30,055		
	Hamirpur	34,169		
	Banda	27,408		
	Jhansi	37,068		
	Fatehpore	78,308		
			2,07,008	1
15	Benares	41,450		
	Jaunpore	1,01,296		
	Ghazipur	76,661		
			2,19,307	1
16	Gorakhpore	3,22,946	3,22,946	2
17	Basti	3,04,676	3,04,676	2
18	Azamgarh	1,86,543		
	Ballia	62,677		
			2,39,520	1
19	Balandshahr	2,08,367	2,08,367	1
20	Rae-Bareilly	87,566		
	Lucknow	61,580		
			1,49,146	1
21	Sitapore	1,71,779	1,71,779	1
22	Hardoi	1,19,540		
	Unao	76,033		
			1,95,573	1
23	Fyzabad	1,27,954	1,27,954	1
24	Gonda	2,26,907	2,26,907	1
25	Bahraich	2,01,460	2,01,460	1
26	Sultanpore	1,16,320		
	Fatehgarh	93,613		
			2,09,933	1
27	Barabanki	1,80,537	1,80,537	1
28	Kheri	1,33,281	1,33,281	1
			TOTAL	35

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[Continued.]

Moslem Constituencies (Urban).

1777. The eight municipalities having a Moslem population of more than 40,000 are:—

1 Lucknow	99,117
2 Bareilly	68,470
3 Benares	55,407
4 Agra	54,194
5 Moradabad	48,053
6 Allahabad	47,934
7 Cawnpore	41,834

1778. There are two municipalities with a Moslem population above 35,000.

Shahjahanpur	39,773
Meerut	36,661

1779. On a purely numerical basis it is not possible to deny the right of representation to Shahjahanpur but having regard to the tests of literacy and intelligence of voters as also the fact that Meerut is one of those cities who have hitherto enjoyed the right of representation I would prefer Meerut to Shahjahanpur. If we lower the population test to 30,000 four more municipalities will have to be included in the urban list, viz., Shahjahanpur, Saharanpur, Amroha and Sambhal. In none of these places is political life sufficiently developed. Another objection may be that Amroha and Sambhal are situated in the district of Moradabad and it is not desirable that three out of 12 urban electorates should be constituted in one district. The result is that according to my scheme there will be eight urban constituencies for the return of Moslem members and Meerut will be one of them.

The future Moslem University.

1780. It is not out of regard for Aligarh as a centre of Moslem thought, great though the respect of the entire Moslem community as also mine for Aligarh is, that I have included it in the scheme of representation. University education will be one of the subjects committed to the charge of ministers. We soon hope to have a University at Aligarh. Higher education will be one of the foremost subjects that will demand our attention. It is important that all the Universities in the United Provinces should be represented in the Council. The Moslem University is not yet but we all trust that it will soon be. Till it is founded the right to return a Member can safely be exercised by the trustees of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which is the largest and most important Moslem educational institution in India.

Proportion of Moslem Members.

1781. As one who took an humble part in the joint deliberation of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League on constitutional reforms I may be permitted to make a few remarks on the real meaning of the clause relating to Moslem representation. The material portion of the clause runs thus:—

"The Muhammadans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Council in the following proportion. United Provinces 30 per cent. of the elected Indian Members: Provided that no Muhammadan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Council save and except those by electorates representing special interests."

1782. The first sentence of the clause means that seats allotted to the Moslem community shall be filled by Muslims on election by Muslims. The plain meaning of the words *elected Indian Member* is that in working out Moslem proportion in various Provincial Councils the number of nominations reserved to a Government as also the number of seats held by Europeans by election should be deducted from the total strength of the Council. In the next place it should be clearly understood that Muslims identified with special interests, for instance, the University of Allahabad or the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce, are not debarred from taking part in elections by these bodies. The same will be the case with the mining industry if it is important enough

in any province to be accorded representation. The above illustrations were cited when the clause was under discussion by the Committees of the Congress and the League.

Representation of Landlords.

1783. I consider it wholly unnecessary to accord special representation to landlords either in the Province of Agra or Oudh. For reasons stated by me in my memorandum on the division of functions the land owning class will be in the ascendant in the first two, may be three, Councils. At present their interests are not imperilled. Rather there is a remote danger of their imperilling the interests of others. If it is found on examination by the periodic commission that there are difficulties in the way of their election by general and communal electorates a case will have been made out for special treatment. Reasonable representation can be then accorded to them. Looking to the proposed constitution of electorates in which the tenant will have a majority at any rate in rural electorates any special representation conceded to them at present will practically mean "heads I win tails you lose." I consider that no case for a preferential treatment has been made out in favour of the Taluqdars of Oudh who being the owners of large estates will have greater control over their tenants and can have their tenants' vote at their disposal more freely than can ever be the case in the Province of Agra. If however any special representation is granted to the Taluqdars it will be but just and fair not to deny the same to the landlords of the sister Province.

Payments of Members.

1784. Future Councils will generally require the services of whole-time men. Persons desirous of devoting their energy and time to the service of their country may not always be possessed of private means. It is therefore desirable that the question of the payment of the non-official Members should be considered. The allowance should not be on a liberal scale. Many of the Members, specially those belonging to the landed aristocracy, will not perhaps care to draw the allowance which should be fixed with reference to the needs of a person belonging to the middle class. My proposal is that the non-official members should be paid a sum of Rs. 3,000 per annum. The cost to the tax-payer will be Rs. 4,50,000 a year (1,503,000) but looking to the character of the proposed constitutional changes I believe that the money is well worth spending.

An Alternative Scheme.

1785. From certain statements recently prepared by the Government of the United Provinces it appears that the number of voters under heads 1, 2 and 4 in the list given in the 2nd paragraph of this Memorandum is 15, 81, 455. The number of elective seats in my scheme being 147 the average number of electors per seat will be 10,768. This does not compare unfavourably with Ireland where the total number of electors at the general election in 1910 was 698,800 and the number of members 103 or an average of 6,784 per member. In Scotland the average was 10,905 and in England 12,569. But it is to be remembered that the voters in the United Provinces will be considerably more than 1,581,455 since large numbers are to be added under heads 3, 5 and 6 in the list for which the figures are not available at present. But if for any reasons the Franchise Committee thought that the strength of the United Provinces Council should be between 100 and 125 I would not be prepared to keep the qualification for a vote so low as I have done. The smaller your Council is the more unwieldy will your electorates become unless you raise the qualifications of electors. In a Council of 100 to 125 members the person should not be entitled to vote unless he fulfils any of the following conditions:—

- (1) That he pays an agricultural rent of Rs. 100 per annum.
- (2) That he pays a land revenue of Rs. 50 per annum or owns revenue free land assessed to a nominal revenue of Rs. 50 per annum.

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[Continued.]

- (3) that he occupies a house of the minimum annual value of Rs. 72;
- (4) that he is a payer of income-tax.
- (5) That he pays Rs. 12 per annum in local taxes which are in force at present or may be imposed hereafter; or
- (6) that he being above 21 years of age has passed the matriculation or an equivalent examination of an Indian University.

1786. By the adoption of this basis we get 579,237 voters under heads (1), (2) and (4). The remaining heads, for which figures are not available at present, will give us, it may be presumed, something like 15,000, thus raising the total number of voters in the United Provinces to 729,237.

Additional Written Statement of the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali

1787. This note, which deals with the constitution of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, should be read in continuation of the memorandum which I have already submitted to the Franchise Committee.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1788. Elections to the Assembly should, as far as possible, be direct. In the formation of constituencies due regard should be had to the varying conditions of the provinces. It may not be possible to establish electorates on the basis of uniform qualifications. In those provinces where it may not be possible to form sufficiently large electorates the election may be made by non-official members of provincial Councils. In the United Provinces I propose to give a vote to every person who pays a land revenue of Rs. 1,000 per annum or pays income-tax or any other tax on an annual income of Rs. 1,000 or is a graduate of a University. Figures are not available but it is hoped that the electorates thus formed will be sufficiently large in numbers and thoroughly representative in character. I must point out that the num-

The Hon'ble Saiyid Wazir Hasan and the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali, called and examined.

1790. (*Sir Frank Sly*).—SAHYD WAZIR HASAN.—They had been chosen as representatives of the Provincial Moslem League but they had received no instructions as to the evidence which they were to give. He was the General Secretary of the All-India Moslem League.

1791. After two sittings with the representatives of the Provincial Congress they had been unable to arrive at an interpretation of the Lucknow compact acceptable to both. (The League included as "Indian elected seats" all seats except that of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce and any seats that might be given specifically to Europeans. They included university seats and the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce seat.) As regards special electorates the intention was that the Muhammadans should share in them and that they should be taken into account in reckoning the 30 per cent. For instance the constituency given to the British Indian Association had been carved out of a larger land-holder constituency in which the Muhammadans would take part. The larger constituency would be included for the purpose of calculating the 30 per cent. and therefore the smaller constituency which formed a part of it should also be included. He included the proposed Aligarh University seat in the 30 per cent.

1792. In his second note he had shown 30 Moslem constituencies. This figure should be reduced to 29, the urban constituencies being reduced from 18 to 17, and the rural constituencies being redistributed as follows:—

Lucknow (2 seats), Bareilly, Benares, Agra, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Meerut, Moradabad, Shahjahanpur, Saharanpur, and the Trustees of the Aligarh College (until the Aligarh University was formed) 1 each, giving a total of 12.

1793. He would accept an educational qualification but would not exclude illiterate persons. He would not go below the matriculation standard nor would he include students.

ber of representatives assigned to the United Provinces should not be less than that assigned to each of the three presidencies. Personally I would like that the strength of the Indian Legislative Assembly should be 120. In a Council of 100 eleven seats should be given to the United Provinces of which three should be thrown open to election by Muslim electorates. The question of adjusting seats allotted to Musalmans in various provinces in such a manner as to obtain one-third of the Indian elective seats for the community in the assembly without some variation in the proportions fixed for the provincial Councils will present difficulties, but they can be overcome by adopting the device of giving one more or one less seat to the Musalmans in a province at alternate elections. The North-West Frontier Province should be represented in the Assembly. That province has sufficient material for founding a constituency on lines similar to those on the basis of which elections are made to the United Provinces Legislative Council by the existing Muslim constituencies.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

1789. Elections to this body should be made by non-official members of provincial Councils. The provision made for Muslim representation in the report is wholly inadequate. I suggest that the Musalman members of the Councils for the Punjab, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bombay and Bihar should elect one member each. At alternate elections one seat should be given to the Musalmans of Madras and Assam. One seat should be placed at the disposal of the Governor-General for securing Muslim representation from such part of the country as he may deem proper. Nominations should be avoided in the matter of representation but, having regard to the smallness of the Muslim population, it is not practicable to devise a scheme for minor provinces. On the basis of the Congress-League formula one-third of the elected Indian members in the Council of State should be Musalmans.

The Hon'ble Saiyid Wazir Hasan and the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali, called and examined.

1794. The danger of having too large constituencies was that no experience had been gained regarding the arrangements necessary for polling so many votes. If the Local Government considered their electoral machinery adequate the League would accept their statement.

1795. In urban constituencies he would allow, if necessary, more than one seat but rural constituencies should be single-seated. He did not wish to press his proposal for departing from the Government scheme contained in his original note, viz., the proposal to group Hardoi with Kheri and Sitapur.

1796. The landholders in Oudh were a compact body united by traditions, legislation and their Association. They already had a representative on the Council. In Agra similar conditions did not obtain though they might develop. The Agra land holders would in theory be deprived of their existing seat, but in practice the elections in Agra would for some time be almost entirely controlled by them. He would not however insist on this proposal if political considerations stood in the way.

1797. He had deliberately overweighted the urban vote. He proposed 4 members for Lucknow. He would accept the proposal that towns with a population of 50,000 or more should be given a separate seat but he would prefer that the representation should be spread over a larger number of towns.

1798. (*Mr. Sastri*). If the Provincial League and the Provincial Congress could not come to an agreement about the interpretation of the Lucknow compact the League at all events would send in their interpretation.

1799. (*Mr. Hailey*). Saiyid Raza Ali's views with regard to the Legislative Assembly might be taken as those of the Provincial Moslem League.

1800. No taluqdar should vote in the general rural or urban constituencies, because they had so much influence. He would however allow the members of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce to vote in the general

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[Continued.]

electorates; it was impossible to be strictly logical in these matters.

1801. The result of applying the 30 per cent. rule to a Council of enlarged size was that some of the Muhammadan electorates would be small, but there was no very serious objection to this. The basis adopted by the League was that of population and not number of voters, for instance, the Muhammadan population of Bareilly was 5,847 even though the number of Muhammadan electors was 540 only.

1802. Generally speaking a voter should reside in his constituency; candidates should be required to reside in the province. He would apply this formula in the case of the special electorates also, other than the universities.

1803. (Mr. Hogg.) He would object to election rather than nomination in the case of Europeans. In the case of Europeans, Government were in a position to appreciate their special interests whereas in the case of the Muhammadans, for whom he recommended election and whose interests were more wide and varied, they could not do so to the same extent.

1804. One consideration that weighed with him in deciding that the Council should consist of 125 members was the difficulty of obtaining competent men if the number was substantially increased.

1805. He understood that the Upper India Chamber of Commerce represented larger interests than the United Provinces Chamber.

1806. (Mr. Banerjee.) Speaking generally the large influence of the taluqdars would be harmful in the general electorates. He would allow them to vote but not to stand in those electorates. Generally speaking he accepted the proposition that all voters should be eligible to stand but he would not apply that in this particular case.

1807. (Mr. Aftab.) The Muhammadans were more numerous proportionately in towns than in rural areas.

1808. (Mr. Chintamani.) He did not differ from the Local Government as regards the franchise but only as regards the number of seats; he did not think that the larger number of seats which he proposed would necessitate a lowering of the franchise.

1809. He expected the taluqdars to play fair. Five seats were proposed for the British Indian Association on the merits of the case. He was not prepared to say whether this number should be reduced if the taluqdars were allowed to stand in the general electorates.

1810. (Mr. Hopkins.) The League had never prepared a franchise scheme.

1811. The All-India League contained about 1,500 members. In the United Provinces League there were from 1,500 to 2,000. There was a separate method of election in each case.

1812. (Sir Frank Sly.) SAYYID RAZA ALI.—His scheme provided for 150 elected members on the Council in order to give a larger field of training. The Municipalities and District Boards had not hitherto been a suitable field of training because the members had no real power. They had greater opportunities now but they were still inadequate. He did not think that to begin with the Councils would have any very real power. When he recommended that the franchise should not be out of proportion to the size of the constituency, he was thinking of the available electoral machinery.

1813. He disapproved of the Grand Committee consisting of 40 or 50 per cent. of the members of Council. He would reduce the number in order to reduce the number of officials on the Council. He accepted the internal proportions of the Grand Committee.

1814. A seat should be given to the trustees of the Aligarh College of whom there were 120 resident all over India. The votes could be cast before the Collector or the Commissioner, as was already done in the case of some Muhammadan electorates. He proposed no restriction with regard to residence in this case. He treated this seat as a special one corresponding to that proposed for the Benares University. 40 or 50 of the trustees were residents of the Province. He preferred that the

members should be returned by the whole body rather than by those resident in the Province.

1815. No special representation was necessary for the landholders.

1816. His views with regard to the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were endorsed by Mr. Wazir Hasan. The election to the Assembly should be direct on a high franchise. This was the lesser of two evils, even though it had the effect of practically excluding tenants. His proposal that in some cases the Muhammadans should be returned alternately from certain constituencies was to meet the proviso of the Congress League scheme, that the percentage of 30 should be adopted as near as may be. This was the existing system in the Province and, if the objection was raised that such an arrangement was incompatible with responsible Government, the reply was that under the reforms scheme the Government of India would be no more responsible than the existing Provincial Council.

1816. A. The Congress League compact should apply also to the Council of State.

1817. (Mr. Sastri.) He had no information with regard to the size of the Councils proposed in other Provinces. If the number of seats was reduced to 125 he would say that the ratio of voters to members which he considered desirable had been disturbed.

1818. Votes in the Assembly elections should be given to persons paying a land revenue of Rs. 1,000. This was the equivalent of an income of Rs. 2,000 because land revenue represented roughly 50 per cent. of rent.

1819. (Mr. Hasley.) Select committees and standing committees were the best training ground for members. It would be impossible to find employment for all the members in this manner but this was no reason for keeping the number of members down.

1820. The figures in Table V appended to the Government scheme were much underestimated because they represented the existing urban electorates. This was also the case with the figures of non-Muhammadan urban electorates.

1821. (Mr. Hogg.) Personally he hoped that communal and special electorates would disappear, but his impression was that friction would arise between landlords and tenants and that then a special electorate for the landlords would be necessary. If a landlord seat was given to Oudh, it would be highly unfair to refuse it to Agra.

1822. He was glad to know that paragraph 252 of the Report contemplated that some of the nominated majority of the Grand Committee would be elected members of Council.

1823. (Mr. Banerjee.) The urban vote was weighted in his scheme to secure men with a higher sense of civic duty and intelligence.

1824. Intelligence not being the monopoly of the wealthy, he had originally proposed that members should be paid Rs. 250 a month to secure the necessities of life for the poorer members whose whole time would be occupied with their work in Council. He now withdrew the proposal because it might be used as an argument against enlarging the Councils.

1825. (Mr. Chintamani.) Even though it was shown that there were more than seven towns of 50,000 population, he would still be prepared to give each of them a seat.

1826. He had increased the Upper India Chamber seats from 1 to 3 because the Council would be enlarged. He would reduce the number if the Europeans were given a separate constituency of their own.

1827. So far as he knew no backward class had asked for special representation.

1828. Provided the election to the Legislative Assembly was direct he did not wish to insist on the system proposed in his scheme which was only tentative.

1829. Out of 21 members on the Council of State seven should go to the Muhammadans. He had no views with regard to the distribution of the remaining 14. Only very predominant interests should be represented on this body, that is to say, the Hindus and Muhammadans. The Europeans could be represented by nomination.

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experience and conservative tendencies should prove a healthy check on the impatient idealism of the educated middle-class politician.

1914. It is not proposed that the competition for these four seats should be on a communal basis. One seat would be allotted to the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions jointly, where the number of large landowners is comparatively limited, and one each to the Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions. The property qualification will be fairly high and the electoral roll will therefore be a small one. The probability is that the two western divisions would invariably return Muhammadans and that the other two seats would be held either by two Hindus or by a Hindu and a Sikh.

Representation of trade and industries.

1915. (12) The Lieutenant-Governor considers that the interests of the trade and industries of the province as a whole are of sufficient importance, especially in view of the anticipated expansion in the future, to render their special representation desirable in the reformed council. At present the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, in which British firms predominate, returns a member, but some additional representation is clearly required. The provincial demand under part IV, schedule 2, of the now repealed Income-Tax Act of 1886 rose from Rs. 12.14 lakhs in 1913-14 to Rs. 19.38 lakhs in 1916-17, and these figures, though remarkable in themselves, do not correctly express the wealth and prosperity of the province, since the large exporting firms do not pay their tax in the province where a large proportion of their profit accrues, but in the great Presidency towns where their principal places of business are situated. During the same four years the number of companies taxed under part II of the Act rose from 58 to 89. In the last three years the value of provincial imports has increased from 31.23 crores, to 34.29 crores, and that of exports from 27.58 crores to 33.90 crores. The bulk of the exports consists of wheat (8.3 crores), raw cotton (4.4 crores), hides and skins (3.2 crores), gram (3.1 crores), and piece-goods, oilseeds and wool (3.7 crores).

1916. It is proposed that there should be two special trade and industry constituencies with one seat each, representing respectively European and Indian interests, which are not in all respects identical. Each of them would of course be provincial in area. In the case of these constituencies it is difficult to draw the line between the question of their constitution and that of the franchise appropriate for them. The latter question may therefore be conveniently disposed of here. The Lieutenant-Governor proposes that the members of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce and of the European Trades Association should conjointly form one of the two constituencies, representing in the main European commercial interests. Membership of the Chamber or of the Association would be the sole qualification for a vote. At present the two bodies have an aggregate membership of 109. The electors for the second constituency would be (1) every owner of a factory or factories, subject to control under the Factory Act, "owner" including a firm; (2) all non-private joint-stock companies registered under the Indian Companies Act with a paid-up capital of not less than Rs. 25,000. Concurrent qualifications under both the above classes would not give more than one vote and in the case of a company the vote would be exercised by a duly accredited agent. The number of factories controlled under the Act, excluding Government and Local Fund factories, is 171. The number of public joint-stock companies is 65, and nearly all of these have a paid-up capital of not less than Rs. 25,000.

1917. It is possible that at a later stage other qualifications for a vote in the second constituency may suggest themselves. It is not proposed that any one individual should be allowed to vote in both these constituencies, even if he should have the necessary qualifications.

University representation.

1918. (13) The Punjab University is represented in the existing council by a member elected by all members of the Senate and all Honorary Fellows of the University having a place of residence in India. There are at present 84 members of the Senate and 36 Honorary Fellows. The qualification for a University vote should, in His Honour's opinion, be the same in the Punjab as in other provinces, but subject to this proviso he would add to the electoral roll all registered graduates. The existing number of these is 535, of whom 189 hold a Master's degree and 346 a Bachelor's degree. It is probable that if the franchise is extended as proposed, a large number of graduates will add their names to the register. In 1917 over 700 students graduated and the average for the last 5 years exceeds 400.

Nominated non-officials and officials.

1919. (14) The six nominated non-official seats would be utilised to represent the interests of the Army—there are now about 400,000 Punjabis serving in the Indian Army—the domiciled community, both European and Anglo-Indian, the Indian Christians and the more backward and inarticulate classes, such as village menials. Nomination might also occasionally be necessary to redress inequalities in the results of the elections or to secure the presence of experts on the council.

As regards officials the Lieutenant-Governor considers that the number should not be less than ten or eleven in view of the necessity of having the main departments of Government duly represented and of providing official experience for the Standing Committees which will play an important rôle in training the non-official members in the system of administration.

III.—FRANCHISE.

Electoral rolls for Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs.

1920. (15) There would seem to be no good reason for any differentiation in franchise qualifications as between the 5 special Sikh constituencies and the 16 rural constituencies to be distributed between Muhammadans and Hindus. It would of course be necessary to maintain three separate electoral rolls, as is now the case in municipalities where Muhammadans, Hindus and Sikhs have separate representation. Any one claiming to be a Sikh, a Hindu or a Muhammadan, and being *prima facie* what he represents himself to be, would if possessed of the other qualifications be entered in the appropriate roll and would thereby be debarred from voting in a constituency allotted to either of the other two communities. It is not proposed that there should be any official inquisition into a candidate's claim to belong to a particular religion. As between Hindus and Muhammadans there could never be any reason for doubt. In the case of Sikhs such an inquisition might be a difficult matter, as the line of discrimination between Sikhs and non-Sikhs is often a subject of acute controversy. Some regulations may, however, be necessary, and the Franchise Committee will doubtless receive valuable advice, especially as regards the views of the Sikhs, from their colleague the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh.

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Interests to be represented in rural constituencies.

1921. (16) In defining the franchise for the rural constituencies, Sikh, Hindu and Muhammadan, the aim should obviously be to form an electorate of manageable size which will adequately represent the chief interests of the rural population. The latter may be defined briefly as follows:—

- (a) *Agriculture.*—This is practically the supreme interest and landholders, who in land-revenue and water rates alone contribute three-fourths of the total revenue raised in the Province from all sources, must clearly form the bulk of the rural electorate.
- (b) *Rural trade and industry.*—To some small extent this interest will be represented in the legislature through the special trade and industry constituencies, but it is nevertheless thought advisable that the rural trader, generally the village money-lender or shopkeeper, should, *quâ* income-tax payer, be given a vote in his rural constituency, in the same way as the payer of land revenue.
- (c) *Co-operative interest.*—This, of course, might be regarded as merged in the general agricultural interest, but in view of the great importance and potentialities of the co-operative movement, which now embraces over 130,000 members, it is proposed to give rural co-operative societies a special electoral voice to be exercised through their presidents.
- (d) *Tenants, artisans and menials.*—The Punjab is essentially a country of the small peasant proprietor and there is not, as in the United Provinces, a special class of tenants. Most of the tenants are the proprietors of small holdings who also cultivate part of their neighbours' land. In their case no special representation is considered necessary. As regards artisans and menials, their interests are generally speaking identical with those of the landholders, and it does not appear to be either necessary or practicable to give them separate electoral weight otherwise than possibly by means of a nominated member.
- (e) *The military interests.*—This is of great importance, as the agricultural community provides practically the whole of the Punjab contingent in the army. Retired military men would form an element in the electorate whose intelligence has been sharpened by contact with the outside world and has moreover been subjected to the wholesome influence of regular discipline. The question whether officers and men on the active list should be entitled to vote is one primarily for the military authorities. There should obviously be uniformity of practice in this respect throughout India.

Classes of rural franchise.

1922. (17) The Lieutenant-Governor proposes that all males not disabled by insanity, insolvency or serious criminality, who are British subjects of not less than 21 years of age and who are included in one or more of the following classes, should be entitled to vote in the Muhammadan or Hindu rural constituencies or in the special Sikh constituencies, as the case may be:—

- (i) *Lambardars (village headman) as such.*—This proposal is based on the desirability of giving each of the 33,421 villages in the Province an indirect voice in the elections. The lambardar is usually the most influential member of the proprietary body and is also the officially recognized representative of the village or of its sub-division in its relation to the administration and the outside world generally, his primary and most important duty being the collection of the land revenue. He is therefore a man accustomed to exercise some authority and responsibility both as the representative of the village on the one hand and the agent of Government for certain purposes on the other. Appointment to the post is made by the Collector, hereditary claims under a rule of primogeniture being by legal prescription the most important consideration in deciding between rival candidates, though capacity, influence and extent of land owned can to a certain extent be taken into consideration. The total number of headmen's posts is 65,327, giving an average of two per village, and though in a few cases one individual may be headman in more than one village, it is proposed to allow such persons a vote in respect of each such village, as the intention is that headmen should vote not in their individual but in their representative capacity. This will form an exception to the general rule forbidding plural voting within the limits of a single constituency. For the same reason it is not proposed to prescribe a minimum property qualification in the case of lambardars, as in the village it would certainly be regarded as an anomaly that the lambardar, whatever his financial position, should be excluded from the franchise, while landowners who are not lambardars are admitted. Moreover the prescription of a property qualification so low as an annual land revenue payment of at least Rs. 25 would exclude over 38,000 lambardars, while a similar limit of Rs. 50 would exclude more than 50,000. Either limit would defeat the whole object of the proposal which is, as explained above, to give every village in the province, however low its average wealth and however minute its individual holdings, a voice in the elections through its local and officially recognized representative.

The urban politician will no doubt criticize the inclusion in the electoral roll of some 65,000 voters who can be represented with some plausibility as owing their votes to an official appointment. To such criticism the most effective reply is the unanimous resolution giving every lambardar the vote passed by the non-official members of the existing Legislative Council, to whom the views of the Local Government had not been communicated, on the 21st November. If further justification is required it may be pointed out that the appointment is in the vast majority of cases merely an official recognition of an inherited right to succeed, that if we postulate a direct electorate of manageable size, the plan suggested is the only practicable way of enfranchising every village, and that a secret ballot precludes, at all events in theory, the pressure of official influence on the electors. It should be added that in most districts headmen as such are now entitled to vote in district board elections.

- (ii) *Owners of land, exclusive of mortgagees, whose holding, or share in a holding, is assessed or assessable to land revenue of an annual amount not less than a certain sum to be fixed; and crown tenants holding lands under the Punjab Colonisation of Land Act (Punjab Act 7 of 1912), or lessees for a term of not less than ten years under the waste land lease rules, subject in both cases to a similar property qualification as that prescribed for landowners.*—In fixing the amount of the property qualification, which must obviously be expressed in terms of land revenue, two objects must be kept in mind. Firstly, the electorate must be of manageable size and, secondly, it must be sufficiently large to provide for the adequate representation of the 3½ million land-revenue payers of the province. On the whole the Lieutenant-Governor considers that, including the lambardars, the total rural electorate for the 16 Hindu and Muhammadan and for the 5 Sikhs seats should be somewhere between 125,000 and 200,000. The average annual land revenue payment per owner is between Rs. 10 and Rs. 12 and there are only about 304,000 (including crown tenants) or just over 8½ per cent. of the total, who pay more than Rs. 25 a year. It will be observed from the enclosure

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Copy of a letter No. 21220 (Home Judl.), dated 23rd November 1918 to the Government of India in the Home Department.

1901. With reference to paragraph 4 of Mr. Hignell's letter No. 950, dated the 15th of July 1918, I am directed to address you, in amplification of paragraphs 13-16 of Mr. Thompson's letter No. 19351 (Home—Judicial), dated the 5th of November 1918, on the subject of franchise and electorates under the Reform Scheme. The Lieutenant-Governor has consulted several of his senior officers in regard to these questions, and has also before him the discussions (of which a summary is attached) on the subject by the non-official members of his Legislative Council; but the views set forth below are those of His Honour alone. He regrets that owing to other pressing pre-occupations, as explained in paragraph 11 of my letter of 16th November on the Subjects proposals, he has not been able to give to the consideration of the subject the time which its great importance demands, and for this reason the proposals contained in this letter must be regarded as to some extent tentative and subject to revision.

I.—SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Existing Punjab Council.

1902. (2) In the matter of Legislative Councils the Punjab started later than the other major Provinces. The first Council was constituted in 1897 and consisted of nine nominated members, five officials and four non-officials—two Muhammadans, one Hindu and one Sikh. By the Reform Scheme of 1909 a Council of 24 members was established, composed of 19 nominated members (of whom not more than 10 were to be officials) and 5 elected. At the instance of the Local Government the number of elected members was raised to 8 in 1910 and in 1916 it was raised to 11.

The Council now consists of 28 members, viz.—

Nominated officials	10
non-officials	7
Elected non-officials	11

of whom 5—one per Division—represent rural and 4 urban constituencies, while the University and the Chamber of Commerce each elect a member.

Proposals for reformed Council.

1903. (3) In paragraph 13 of the letter of the 5th of November, 1918, it was proposed that the future Council should consist of 51 members, of whom 17, or one-third, would be nominated and the remainder elected. Of the nominated members, 11 would be officials and 6 non-officials. The elective seats would be distributed as follows:—

Rural constituencies—3 members for each revenue division	15
Special Sikh constituencies—Lahore Division 2 members, Jullundur Division 2, Ambala, Rawalpindi and Multan jointly 1	5
Large land-holders' constituencies—1 per Division	5
Trade and Industries	2
Punjab University	1
Urban constituencies—Lahore Division 2, other Divisions 1 each	6
TOTAL	34

1904. Paragraph 225 of the Report contemplates that the legislative councils should differ in size and composition from province to province. The Congress-League scheme suggests that they should consist of not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in minor provinces (Report, paragraph 162). Sir Michael O'Dwyer is of opinion that the enlargement proposed by him will for the present at any rate be sufficient. The more advanced politicians will doubtless demand a larger council. Indeed among the resolutions dealing with the Reform Scheme, which were discussed at a recent meeting of the Punjab Council, was one recommending that its size should be enlarged to 100 members, of whom four-fifths should be elected, and that only half the nominated members should be officials. This resolution was carried by 14 votes to 2, and an amendment that the elected proportion should be two-thirds was defeated, the official members neither voting nor taking part in the debate. The principal argument adduced in support of the resolution was that the Punjab should be placed in all respects on the same footing under the Reform Scheme as the three Presidencies and the United Provinces. But the argument has, in His Honour's opinion, little weight. The Punjab has a total population of a little under 20 millions as compared with nearly 47 millions in the United Provinces, over 46 millions in Bengal and 41 millions in Madras. The population of Bombay is about equal to that of the Punjab, but the standard of education in the Presidency is much higher, and its great industrial and commercial interests have also to be considered. In the words of the report "India is still a country marching in uneven stages through the centuries from the fifth to the twentieth Even within the limits to which the new constitution can be applied, there are differences of conditions of which account must be taken in applying it." The Lieutenant-Governor believes that with a council of 51 members it should be possible to secure adequate representation for all important Punjab interests, and is doubtful whether the Punjab is at present in a position to furnish a larger number of fully qualified non-official members in addition to the provincial representatives on the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of States.

II.—ELECTORATES.

Distribution of elected seats.

1905. (4) The Lieutenant-Governor desires to make two slight changes in the distribution of the elected seats described above. On further consideration he considers that the interests of the large land-holders will be sufficiently represented if they are allotted 4 seats instead of 5. These four seats might be distributed, one to the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions jointly and one each to Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan. The fifth seat would be thrown into the general rural constituencies, the total number of which would thus be increased from 15 to 16. Secondly, the allocation of the special Sikh constituencies should, for reasons of local contiguity, be Ambala and Jullundur Divisions 2, Lahore Division 2, Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions jointly 1, instead of the distribution originally proposed. This distribution harmonises with the historical division of the Sikhs between the Malwa (eastern), Manjha (central) and the western portions of the province.

Special Sikh representation.

1905. (5) Before proceeding to deal with the larger constituencies, whether general or communal, it will be convenient to discuss the question of special Sikh representation. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has already expressed his

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Paragraph 13 of Mr. Thompson's letter of the 5th of November 1918 his agreement with the proposal made in paragraph 232 of the Report that the Sikhs should be given communal representation, and he does not think this proposal requires further justification. A resolution proposing special representation for the Sikhs was defeated at the recent meeting of non-official members of the existing council. The Muhammadans would perhaps be ready to concede special representation to the Sikhs provided their own interests were adequately secured. But the Hindus' attitude apparently is that the Sikhs are Hindus and should vote in Hindu electorates. Both Muhammadans and Hindus were opposed to the somewhat extravagant claim put forward by the Sikh members to one-third of the total elected seats. Although they number a little over 2 millions in all, or nearly 11 per cent. of the total population, the Sikhs are in a minority in all districts and could not hope to secure adequate representation save by means of communal electorates. At the present moment there is not a single Sikh elected member on the local legislative council. The Sikh urban population is only 115,000 and their interests are thus almost entirely rural. On the basis of total population the Sikhs would be entitled to two or three seats only out of 21 (i.e., 16 rural plus 5 special Sikh constituencies), or between 3 and 4 out of the 34 seats to be filled by election. But their influential position in the province, which is based partly on historical and political factors, partly on their military prestige and partly on their comparatively high educational-level and economic importance in the central and colony districts entitles them to a considerably greater degree of representation than is indicated by numbers alone. The number of Sikhs in the Army is now believed to exceed 80,000—a proportion far higher than in the case of any other community—and the amount which they pay to the State in the form of land revenue and canal charges is out of all proportion to their numerical strength. These considerations, in His Honour's opinion, justify the allocation to them of as many as 5 special seats.

Rural and Urban Electorates. Population by revenue divisions.

1907. (6) The rural population is roughly 18 millions or 9-10ths of the whole, and the urban population, i.e., those resident in towns with a population of over 5,000, is one-tenth. The rural population is almost wholly dependent on agriculture, and its interests in many respects are different from and occasionally clash with those of the urban population. The Lieutenant-Governor hardly thinks that further arguments are required in support of this view, which was very strongly urged by rural members at the recent discussion, when a resolution in favour of separate rural and urban electorates was carried by 10 votes to 4. A resolution that the representation of each group should be in proportion to population was also carried by 8 votes to 6.

1908. It is obviously desirable that constituencies should so far as possible coincide with well-recognised administrative units, and unless a seat is to be allotted to each district in the province, which would mean an unduly large council, the units must clearly be as at present the five revenue divisions. The relevant statistics of each of the revenue divisions are shown in the following table:—

Division.	HINDUS.			SIKHS.			MUHAMMADANS.		
	TOTAL.	TOWN.	RURAL.	TOTAL.	TOWN.	RURAL.	TOTAL.	TOWN.	RURAL.
Ambala	2,589,519	226,791	2,362,818	148,693	7,645	141,023	1,003,944	172,984	830,960
Jullundur	1,894,378	135,120	1,759,258	781,536	20,974	760,562	1,272,311	169,250	1,103,061
Lahore	1,131,794	814,351	317,383	733,136	52,453	680,683	2,570,800	574,238	2,096,562
Rawalpindi	200,902	82,552	118,350	166,219	24,520	141,693	2,005,680	163,261	1,842,419
Multan	546,247	104,046	442,201	261,522	9,793	251,729	2,977,529	153,488	2,824,041
TOTAL OF PROVINCE	6,422,789	762,770	5,660,019	2,691,781	114,791	1,976,990	10,830,064	1,035,256	9,794,808

Arguments in favour of communal electorates for Muhammadans and Hindus.

1909. (7) These figures are for the total population, and no information is at present available to show what the number of voters of each community would be under the proposed franchise in each division. Such figures could only be compiled after a most laborious process of exception practically amounting to a census of certain classes, but it is certain that the proportion of voters would be lowest among the Muhammadans and probably highest among the Sikhs. The difference will be specially marked between the Hindu and Muhammadan urban populations, as the standard of education and wealth is much higher among the urban Hindus than among the urban Muhammadans. Making due allowance for these factors, the Lieutenant-Governor calculates that, assuming the Sikhs to be given special electorates, of their own and the other two communities to compete in general rural and urban constituencies co-terminous with revenue divisions, the Muhammadans could not count on obtaining more than 9 out of 16 rural and 2 out of 6 urban seats, or 11 in all against 11 Hindus though they outnumber the Hindus by 70 per cent. Of the 4 seats reserved for large landholders, the Muhammadans would be practically certain to obtain 2. Of the 3 special constituencies (i.e., trade and industries 2, and University 1), the probability is that they would obtain none. Thus the total Muhammadan representation on a general non-communal electorate would amount to 13 out of 34 elective seats (or, excluding the three special constituencies, 13 out of 31), as compared with 5 Sikhs, 15 Hindus and 1 European, the latter representing one of the special trade and industries constituencies. This calculation is based on a view favourable to the Muhammadans, but the result would certainly not satisfy their expectations. As the Muhammadans form over 55 per cent. of the entire population and as the Congress-Muslim League agreement allotted to them 50 per cent. of the elected Indian membership, they will certainly press for not less than that proportion. It will be observed from the enclosure to this letter that a resolution affirming the Congress-League agreement was passed at the recent meeting of non-official members of the existing council with only 2 dissentients, both of whom were Sikhs, after an amendment prefixing the words "subject to the just claims of the Sikhs" had been defeated by a similar majority. The Muhammadans' claim to one-half of the elected seats is thus, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, entitled to very great weight. It must be remembered that, should any sectarian question arise between the two great religions, the Sikhs would probably side with the Hindus. His Honour is therefore confirmed in the view tentatively expressed in paragraph 15 of the letter of the 5th of November, 1918, that the simplest solution will be to give communal representation to all the three great religions. The scheme described in the succeeding paragraphs accordingly provides for communal electorates, both rural and urban. Its effect would be to secure to the Muhammadans at least 15 or 45 per cent. of the 33 elected Indian seats with the possibility of capturing one other seat. Another argument in favour of communal electorates is that without them the voters of certain tracts, e.g., the Muhammadans of the Ambala Division, and the Hindus of the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions, could scarcely ever hope to be represented in the council by a member of their own religion, and this might lead to their taking little interest in the elections or even to the risk of widespread

electoral corruption. It might be possible to prevent these results by the use of such devices as the limited or cumulative vote or by a system of proportional representation for minorities. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has no personal experience of the working of these devices, but he thinks it essential that in an untried and unsophisticated electorate, to whom the idea of the ballot box is entirely novel, the system of voting should be in all respects as simple as possible.

Distribution of rural seats.

1910. (8) Dealing first with the 16 rural constituencies it will be observed from the figures given in paragraph 6 that the total population of the different revenue divisions varies from 3½ millions in Rawalpindi to 4½ millions in Lahore, but the differences between the rural population (excluding the Sikhs) are much less marked. Multan has the largest rural population, just over 3½ millions, while Jullundur, the smallest, exceeds 2,800,000. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly proposes the following allocation of the 16 rural seats:—

	Hindus.	Muhammadans.
Ambala Division	2	1
Jullundur Division	2	1
Lahore Division	1	2
Rawalpindi Division }	1	3
Multan Division }		
TOTAL	6	10

In other words three seats have been allotted to each division, but in order that the small minority of Hindus in the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions should not be permanently unrepresented, the odd seat should, it is suggested, be shared by them jointly. It might of course be argued that these large plural constituencies are likely to lead to the capture of seats by the politician from the town, and that in rural districts the men of character, capacity and influence, whom it is desirable to attract to the councils, are as a rule little known outside the limits of their own districts. The Lieutenant-Governor admits that there is some, though not considerable, force in this argument, but he hopes that the danger alluded to would be avoided by enforcing a residential qualification, as suggested in paragraph 24 below, for all candidates. It would also be possible to split up the plural constituencies into smaller territorial divisions, though His Honour does not, as at present advised, think this will be necessary. Thus of the two seats for the Hindus of the Ambala Division, one might be allotted to the Hissar, Rohtak and Gurgaon Districts and one to the Karnal, Ambala and Simla Districts. Of the two seats for Jullundur Hindus, one might go to Kangra and Hoshiarpur and one to Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ferozepore. The two seats for Lahore Muhammadans might be allotted, one to Sialkot and Gujranwala and one to Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur. In the Rawalpindi Division, one seat might go to Rawalpindi and Attock, one to Jhelum and Gujrat, and one, to Shahpur and Mianwali. In the Multan Division the distribution might be Dera Ghazi Khan and Muzaffargarh one seat, Lyallpur and Jhang one seat, and Montgomery and Multan one seat. These sub-divided constituencies would be somewhat unequal in size, but such anomalies are common in the United Kingdom and are almost impossible to avoid. The constituencies returning a single member, such as that for the Ambala Division Muhammadans, Jullundur Division Muhammadans and the Lahore Division Hindus, could not of course be sub-divided.

Distribution of urban seats.

1911. (9) Turning to the urban constituencies, which would consist of all municipalities, cantonments and notified areas the following distribution is proposed, based on the figures given in paragraph 6 of this letter. The Hindus of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions jointly would return one member and the Muhammadans of these two Divisions jointly would return one. For the Lahore Division, which comprises the two largest cities in the province (Lahore and Amritsar), there would be one Muhammadan and one Hindu member. The Hindus of Rawalpindi and Multan would jointly return one member and so would the Muhammadans of these two divisions. There would thus be three Hindu and three Muhammadan urban seats. It should here be explained that it is proposed that the small body of Sikhs resident in towns should vote not in the urban but in the special Sikhs constituencies.

Distribution of Sikh seats.

1912. (10) As already explained, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that for administrative reasons it would be more convenient to group Ambala and Jullundur together as a two-seat Sikh constituency and to let the Sikhs of Rawalpindi and Multan jointly return one member. The Sikhs of the Lahore Division would return two members. Here again the two double constituencies could perhaps be sub-divided without serious inconvenience, but the Lieutenant-Governor does not consider that there is much danger of the special Sikh seats being captured by politicians from the towns. The interests of the Sikhs are almost wholly agricultural, and they are shrewd enough to elect members who will not subordinate their interests to those of the urban residents with whom the Sikhs have little in common.

Landed gentry constituencies.

1913. (11) If justification is required for the special representation of the landed gentry, a reference may be made to paragraph 147 of the Report. The Punjab is not a province of great landed proprietors like Bengal, Bihar and Oudh; but it possesses a landed aristocracy who, in a country where feudal traditions are still strong, are the natural and acknowledged leaders of the people in most of the rural areas. They almost invariably reside on their estates and as a class have always been distinguished for their military traditions and their loyalty to the British Raj—a loyalty of which the last four years have furnished many striking examples. Many of them are descended from historical families or high officers of the Sikh and Mughal governments; others are cadets of the families of ruling chiefs, and some, such as the Chakkars of the North Punjab, still recall with pride the legendary past when their ancestors were rulers in the Punjab. There are also among the large landed proprietors a few successful business men, who set an excellent example of enterprising and scientific farming. The landed gentry are generally men of character and intelligence and many of their sons join the Provincial Civil Service or the commissioned ranks of the Army, but only a small proportion of them have had an English education, and the Lieutenant-Governor is convinced that for many years to come few of them would stand as candidates in any but a special constituency where the electors were for the most part men of their own class. Anything like touting for votes among their social inferiors would be abhorrent to them, but their interests and those of their tenants and dependants undoubtedly deserve adequate representation, and His Honour feels that the four seats which he proposes to allot them are the minimum to which they are in justice entitled. Their representatives will form a valuable steady influence in the council chamber where their practical

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- that the non-official members are in favour of putting the property qualification as low as Rs. 20, which would probably enfranchise some 400,000 revenue payers. This would, in His Honour's opinion, be an unmanageably large electorate. If the minimum property qualification be fixed at Rs. 50 land revenue per annum, the total number qualified would be 110,000 landowners and 18,000 crown tenants or 128,000 in all. But making a roughly calculated deduction for minors, females and plural counting the net number of voters would be about 100,000. Of these, 15,000 would already be enfranchised as lambardars, so the net addition to the electoral roll with a property qualification of Rs. 50 would be 85,000. If this figure is considered needlessly high the Lieutenant-Governor would fix the minimum property qualification at Rs. 75 per annum. This would give a gross total of 75,000 persons qualified and a net total, after making the necessary deductions, of about 60,000 voters. Probably as many as 8,000 of these would enjoy the franchise as lambardars, so the total addition to the electoral roll under this qualification would be about 52,000. In other words, the effect of a Rs. 50 minimum qualification would be an addition of 85,000 voters to the roll, whereas a Rs. 75 qualification would add about 52,000.
- A suggestion has been made that the property qualification should vary in different parts of the province. The point is of practical importance only in the colony districts and notably in Lyallpur where, owing to the enhanced value of the land and relatively high incidence of land revenue, the proportion of owners or crown tenants paying more than Rs. 50 per annum is very much higher than in other districts. For example, with a property qualification of Rs. 50 the total number of persons enfranchised in the whole Multan Division would be 54,143, of whom no less than 34,873 would be residents of Lyallpur District. If the qualification were raised to Rs. 75, the number of persons enfranchised would be 36,005, of whom 24,824 would belong to Lyallpur. In either case Lyallpur landowners and crown tenants would have a preponderating voice in the elections for their division. At the same time it is a fair enough general principle that voting strength should correspond roughly to the amount contributed to the revenues of the State, and the Lieutenant-Governor does not think that the peculiar circumstances of the colony districts justify the imposition of a special property qualification.
- (iii) *All zaildars (rural notables appointed by the Collector for a zail or circle of villages for general assistance to the administration) and all sufedposhes and inamdars (rural notables of a lower status but exercising functions similar to those of zaildars).*—The rural notables known as zaildars, sufedposhes and inamdars are as a rule selected from among lambardars of a superior class in consideration of their merit, influence and property. There are in all 1,636 zaildars and 2,671 sufedposhes and inamdars. But nearly all of these would enjoy the franchise as lambardars. The addition to the electoral roll on account of this class would therefore be inconsiderable, but His Honour thinks it desirable to provide for such cases as may exist.
- (iv) *Assignees of land revenue.*—Persons enjoying by the bounty of Government assignments of land revenue are an important rural class, the grants being generally hereditary and dating often from the time of native rule. They range in status from men of rank and importance enjoying jagirs of an annual value of many thousands of rupees to small *muafidars* whose grants are worth only a few rupees per year. The Lieutenant-Governor proposes to give the vote to assignees enjoying an annual sum of not less than Rs. 200. The total number of such assignees is at present 1,289, but many of them are also owners of land. The net addition to the electoral roll may be estimated at 900. A resolution to enfranchise all assignees of Rs. 20 or more was carried by the non-official members, but there is no need to fix so low a limit, which would admit a number of petty *muafidars* of little position or influence.
- (v) *Non-official members of district boards resident in rural areas.*—Such members are voters for the election of members of the existing Legislative Council, and it would be inadvisable to disenfranchise them. The present number of non-official members of district boards is 841, but most of them would be included among one or other of the previous classes and the net addition which they would provide to the electoral roll may be taken at only 200.
- (vi) *Honorary Magistrates and Honorary Sub-Registrars resident in rural areas.*—The present numbers are 111 Honorary Magistrates and 15 Sub-Registrars. Here again many individuals would be included in previous classes, but where this is not the case the Lieutenant-Governor considers that the official status in question should qualify the holder for a vote. This again is in accordance with the views of the non-official members of the existing council. A net addition of 60 may be made to the electoral roll on this account.
- (vii) A.—*Retired and pensioned Indian Military Officers of or above the rank of Jamadar (i.e., the lowest commissioned rank).*—These officers would help to represent the military interest referred to in paragraph 16 above. Their number has been returned at 1,750, but this is probably an underestimate. In any case it is certain to increase largely in the near future, as many officers will retire now that hostilities have come to an end. Many of the officers would, however, enjoy the franchise as landowners or crown tenants, and it would probably be correct to estimate the number to be added to the electoral roll on account of military rank alone as at least 2,000. The inclusion of this class is independently recommended by the non-official members, who would add every Indian soldier who has received a decoration or has been awarded a wound or injury pension. The number who would qualify under this addition cannot at present be estimated.
- (vii) B.—*Civil pensioners of Government or of a local body, resident in rural areas and drawing a pension of not less than Rs. 500 per annum.*—The total number has been returned at 343 and allowing for overlapping the addition to the electorate may be taken as at least about 250.
- (viii) *All persons, including servants of Government, resident in rural areas who pay income-tax.*—The total number of such income-tax payers is nearly 23,000, but if the property qualification in the case of landowners is fixed at an annual land revenue payment of Rs. 50 or Rs. 75 there would seem to be no reason to enfranchise persons who pay less than Rs. 50 income-tax. It is accordingly proposed to give the vote only to persons paying on incomes of not less than Rs. 2,000 per annum, the amount of tax in the case of such an income being at present Rs. 52. The number of such income-tax payers is estimated at 5,500. It will be seen from the enclosure that a proposal to limit the franchise in the case of income-tax payers as proposed was defeated by a narrow majority at the recent Council meeting.
- (ix) *All presidents of agricultural co-operative societies registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.*—The present number of these is 3,995, of whom 1,852 are village headmen and a certain number would also be qualified as landowners. The probable net addition to the electorate under this head would be about 2,000. These men too, like the village headmen, would vote as representatives of their societies. This proposal accords with the views of non-official members.
- (x) *All registered graduates of an Indian University.*—The educated community will certainly demand that the possession of a university degree should confer a vote not only in the special University constituency but

also in the ordinary constituency of residence, and in present conditions the Lieutenant-Governor thinks this demand is not unreasonable. The number of registered graduates at present is, as already explained, very small, but if this proposal is accepted, a large number will probably register themselves and the total number of electors under this qualification should perhaps be estimated at not less than 800.

Estimate of total number of rural voters.

1923. (18) The total number of rural voters under each of the above classes would thus be approximately:—

(i) Lambardars		65,000
(ii) Landowners and crown tenants with a property qualification of Rs. 50		85,000
(iii) Zaildars, sufedposhes and inamdars		100
(iv) Assignees of land revenue		900
(v) Members of district boards		200
(vi) Honorary Magistrates and Sub-Registrars		60
(vii) (a) Pensioned Military Officers	2,000	2,250
(b) Civil Pensioners	250	
(viii) Income-tax payers		5,500
(ix) Presidents of Co-operative Societies		2,000
(x) Registered graduates		600
	TOTAL	161,610

or say 160,000 round. By raising the property qualification to Rs. 75 per annum the number of voters will be reduced by about 33,000 and would stand at roughly 127,000. That figure is slightly in excess of the present district board electorate of the province which is about 120,000. The proposed electorate of 160,000 would be slightly less than 1 per cent. of the total rural population of 18 millions; and the average number of voters for each of the 21 rural seats (i.e., the 16 Hindu and Muhammadan and the 5 special Sikh seats) would be between 7,600 and 8,000.

Franchise in urban constituencies.

1924. (19) In urban constituencies it is proposed that all males, not labouring under the disqualifications mentioned in paragraph 17, who are British subjects and not less than 21 years of age and who are included in one or more of the following categories should be entitled to vote:—

- (i) *All persons including servants of Government who pay income-tax.*—There is no object in the case of urban constituencies in imposing a minimum income qualification. Income-tax payers as a class are essentially an urban interest. The total number residing in towns is returned at nearly 21,000.
 - (ii) *All registered graduates of an Indian University.*—The reasons for the inclusion of this class are the same as in the case of rural constituencies. The total number of graduates residing in towns is several thousands, but very few of these are at present registered. Assuming that most of them will register, the number on the electoral roll may be estimated at 2,000.
 - (iii) *Retired Military Officers and pensioners, as in rural constituencies.*—The number is approximately 1,000.
 - (iv) *All non-official members of municipal and notified area committees.*—The number of these is 912 but allowing for those who are income-tax payers or graduates the net addition to the electoral roll may be taken at 800.
 - (v) *Honorary Magistrates and Honorary Sub-Registrars.*—The total number resident in towns is 263 and the net addition to the roll may be put at 200.
 - (vi) *Presidents of urban co-operative societies.*—The co-operative movement in urban areas is of growing economic and social importance and it seems desirable that this should be recognised in framing the electorate, although the present number of such societies is only about 80.
 - (vii) *Owners of immovable property.*—The committee appointed by His Honour to examine the question of franchise suggested a minimum property qualification of Rs. 20,000 as being roughly equivalent to a net annual rental of Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200. It estimated the number of persons with this qualification at about 10,000 and of these approximately one-half would also be income-tax payers. The Lieutenant-Governor is disposed to think that this qualification is unnecessarily high and he would lower it to Rs. 10,000. It is calculated that this would enfranchise some 30,000 persons of whom 10,000 would be income-tax payers. The net addition to the electoral roll would thus be 20,000 but the figures are at the best only a rough guess.
 - (viii) *Lambardars as such and owners of agricultural lands situated in urban limits.*—In the case of landowners the property qualification should be in terms of land revenue payment and the minimum should be the same as in the rural constituencies, either Rs. 50 or Rs. 75 per annum. Adopting the lower figure a rough estimate puts the number of voters under this class at 5,000. The higher figure would give probably 3,000.
 - (ix) *Persons paying direct municipal taxes amounting to not less than Rs. 50 per annum.*
 - (x) *Persons occupying premises of an estimated annual value or rental of not less than Rs. 120.*
- Only the roughest possible estimate can be made of the number of voters of these two classes, but the Lieutenant-Governor is inclined to think it would be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 20,000.

Estimate of total number of urban voters.

1925. (20) The total number of urban electors after allowing for overlapping, would thus be:—

(i) Income-tax payers	21,000	
(ii) Graduates	2,000	
(iii) Retired military and civil pensioners	1,000	
(iv) Non-official members of local bodies	800	
(v) Honorary Magistrates and Sub-Registrars	200	
(vi) Presidents of co-operative societies	80	
(vii) Owners of immovable property of a gross value of not less than Rs. 10,000	20,000	
(viii) Owners of agricultural land	5,000	
(ix) Persons paying municipal taxes amounting to not less than Rs. 50 per annum	20,000	
(x) Persons occupying premises valued at not less than Rs. 20,000		
	TOTAL	70,080

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or, say, 70,000 round, returning 6 members or an average of rather over 11,000 per member. The number of voters would thus be a little over 3 per cent. of the total urban population of 2 millions. This proportion may be contrasted with the existing municipal electorate which is about 225,000 or 11 per cent. of the total urban population. It should, however, be noted that the latter percentage is the highest similar proportion in India, the next highest figure being 8 per cent. in Bengal, while in the United Provinces it is as low as 1.5 per cent., the average for the whole of India being 6 per cent. The present municipal franchise also varies very widely from town to town. The existing proportion of municipal voters to total population in the Punjab need not therefore be accepted as a cogent argument for an equally wide urban franchise for the reformed council. On the other hand the existence of a large municipal electorate familiar with the use of the ballot box is an argument in favour of a wider franchise in urban than in rural constituencies.

Franchise for landed gentry constituencies.

1926. (21) The qualification for a vote for the four landed gentry seats would be the payment of an annual sum in land revenue which the Lieutenant-Governor would fix provisionally at Rs. 600. Assignees of that amount would also be entitled to vote. A return showing the total number so qualified has been called for but it is probable that the number enfranchised will be somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000. To these the Lieutenant-Governor would add hereditary darbaris, who number 277. A rough guess puts the electorate for each of the four constituencies at about 600.

Franchise for three special constituencies.

1927. (22) The franchise for the three special seats, *viz.*, trade and industries, and University, has already been described in paragraphs 12 and 13.

Plural voting.

1928. (23) As has been explained in paragraph 17 (i) it is proposed that the lambardar should have a vote for every village of which he is headman, even if this gives him more than one vote in a single constituency. With this exception, both in urban and rural areas concurrent qualifications under two or more classes of franchise will not give more than one vote in one and the same constituency. As regards the question whether a voter qualifying in more than one constituency should be allowed to vote in each such constituency, the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that the rule in the Punjab should be the same as in other provinces. Subject to this reservation, His Honour thinks that in the case of a largely illiterate and untrained electorate, wealth and education as such should be given special weight. At the census of 1911 only one man in 16 could read and write, and only one in 110 had any knowledge of English. He is therefore inclined to allow plural voting of this description. As regards the special constituencies, *i.e.*, those for which the voting will not be on a communal basis, he would allow voters on the landed gentry roll to vote in their communal urban or rural constituencies, as the case may be. Those on the electoral roll for the special trade and industrial constituencies and for the University constituency would be allowed to vote in their ordinary territorial constituencies if duly qualified. Certain of the officers consulted by the Lieutenant-Governor do not, however, share this view, but the matter is not one to which His Honour attaches much importance.

Qualifications of candidates.

1929. (24) The subject of the qualifications to be required of candidates is one of considerable importance and it may conveniently be dealt with in connection with the franchise. It seems to His Honour obvious that some special precautions must be taken to prevent so far as possible the capture of rural seats by "carpet-baggers" with purely urban interests or by the nominees of a party caucus. It may of course be argued that restrictive qualifications would tend to deprive rural constituencies of candidates of suitable education and intellectual calibre. Such a result might possibly make itself felt to some extent in the initial stages of the new political system. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer feels that in regard to this matter it is necessary to take a longer view. What we want to aim at is the political education of the rural masses and if our object is ever to be attained we must encourage them to produce from among their own ranks men fit to represent them in the reformed councils. He observes that in the new constitution granted to the Philippine Islands by the United States in 1916 prior residence of at least a year not only in the Islands but also in the electoral district is insisted upon, as well as a voter's qualification, literacy and a minimum age of 25. The qualifications he proposes as essential for candidates are as follows:—

- (i) a voter's qualification in the constituency,
- (ii) literacy in all cases,
- (iii) for rural constituencies persons belonging to classes 7 (b), 8 and 10 (*cp.* paragraph 18) would not be entitled to stand for election unless they were also qualified under at least one of the other classes,
- (iv) the candidate must have been resident in the constituency for which he stands for not less than three years in the case of rural and for not less than one year in the case of urban constituencies.

It is also suggested that candidates must be not less than 25 years of age.

IV.—THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL OF STATE.

Indian Legislative Assembly.

1930. (25) In paragraph 31 of Mr. Thompson's letter of the 5th of November 1918, the Lieutenant-Governor has asked that at least 8 members of the Legislative Assembly should be assigned to the Punjab and has tentatively suggested that they should be as follows:—One Sikh representative, one representative of the landed gentry, one urban representative and five rural representatives, one for each division. His Honour would prefer that for the present at any rate election to the Legislative Assembly should be indirect, that is, that the Punjab members should be elected by the elected members of the local Council. Apart from the difficulties surrounding direct election to which allusion is made in paragraph 273 of the Report, it is desirable at least in the beginning to avoid the disturbance and additional work involved by a simultaneous or second election. Whether the election by members of the local council should be on a communal or a general basis clearly depends on the decision as to communal or general electorates for the local Council. If the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals in that respect are accepted, he would suggest that the urban representative on the Legislative Assembly should be elected alternately by the Hindu and Muhammadan urban members of the Council. Of the five rural representatives three should be elected by the Muhammadan rural members of the Council and two by the Hindus. The representatives of the Sikh community and of the landed gentry would of course be chosen by the members representing those two interests respectively. If only seven seats are allowed there would be some difficulty in securing adequate representation of the Muhammadans, and this is a further argument for allowing eight.

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Council of State.

1931. (26) Paragraph 277 of the Report contemplates that the non-official members of each provincial Council should return two members to the Council of State. His Honour suggests that the non-official members of the Punjab Council should be asked to elect one Muhammadan and one other member. The latter might be a Hindu, a Sikh or a European. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is at present unable to make any suggestions as regards the six elected members of the Council of State who are intended to supplement the representation which the Muhammadans and the landed classes of India generally will otherwise secure.

Electoral machinery.

1932. (27) The Lieutenant-Governor has not yet had leisure to examine the question of electoral agency to supervise polling, to adjudicate on election petitions and to maintain the electoral rolls. These questions are, however, being examined by a small committee of officers, and His Honour hopes that a note on the subject will be ready before the Franchise Committee visits Lahore.

ANNEXURE.

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING OF THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, HELD ON THE 20TH AND 21ST NOVEMBER 1918.

NOTE.—There were 14 non-official members present, all Indian.

1933. (1) A resolution that the strength of the Punjab Legislative Council should not be less than 100 was carried, with 2 dissentients. The latter favoured a Council of 60.

(2) A resolution that four-fifths of the Council should be elected and that only one-half of the remainder should be officials, was carried, with 4 dissentients.

(3) A resolution proposing separate constituencies for the rural and urban populations, was carried by 10 votes to 4.

An amendment substituting the words "agricultural" and "non-agricultural" for "rural" and "urban," was defeated by 8 votes to 6.

(4) A resolution that the representation of each group should be in proportion to its population, was carried by 8 votes to 6.

(5) The following resolutions regarding franchise qualifications were discussed:—

(i) The rural property qualification to be the payment of an annual land revenue of not less than Rs. 20 or receipt of an assignment of equal amount: carried by 8 votes to 6.

(ii) All income-tax payers—carried by 8 votes to 6—after an amendment limiting the franchise to persons paying an income-tax exceeding Rs. 50 had been defeated by a similar majority.

(iii) A proposal giving the franchise to persons possessing house property of a minimum value of Rs. 5,000 was defeated by 8 votes to 6.

(iv) A resolution giving the franchise to non-student matriculates or persons holding a Punjab University diploma on the Oriental side, was carried by 9 votes to 5.

(v) It was unanimously resolved that title-holders and Government Darbaris should enjoy the franchise.

(vi) It was unanimously resolved that Commissioned Indian Officers, who are on the active list or retired, and soldiers who had been decorated or were in enjoyment of wound or injury pensions, should be given the franchise.

(vii) The Council was unanimous that the franchise should be enjoyed by every lambardar, member of a District Board, Municipal Committee or Notified Area Committee, every Honorary Magistrate and President of a Co-operative Society. It also resolved, with one dissentient, that Zaildars and Sub-Registrars should enjoy the franchise.

(8) A proposal that for seats allotted to the rural population, candidates should belong to statutory agricultural tribes, unless they have a permanent residence in rural areas, was defeated by 8 votes to 6.

(7) A resolution affirming the Congress-League agreement to the effect that Muhammadans should be allotted 50 per cent. of the elected Indian membership, was carried by 12 votes to 2, the two dissentients being Sikhs.

An amendment prefixing the words "subject to the just claims of the Sikhs" was lost by the same majority.

(8) A resolution that the Sikhs should have one-third of the total elected seats was supported only by the two Sikh members present and was defeated by 10 votes to 2.

Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab.

DISTRICT.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN Rs. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 25 AND LESS THAN Rs. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 50 AND LESS THAN Rs. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 75 AND LESS THAN Rs. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 250 AND LESS THAN Rs. 500.		PAYING Rs. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Mussalmans.														
OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN—														
Hisar District, residing in—														
Hisar District	414	...	728	...	202	...	213	...	44	...	10	...	1,611	...
Other districts	30	...	37	...	4	...	25	...	7	...	2	...	105	...
TOTAL	444	...	765	...	206	...	238	...	51	...	12	...	1,716	...
Rohtak District, residing in—														
Rohtak District	341	...	603	...	152	2	125	1	10	1	9	...	1,240	4
Other districts	9	...	28	...	2	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	46	...
TOTAL	350	...	631	...	154	2	132	1	10	1	9	...	1,286	4
Gurgaon District, residing in—														
Gurgaon District	1,148	...	2,111	...	495	...	331	...	24	...	13	...	4,122	...
Other districts	22	...	32	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	5	...	65	...
TOTAL	1,170	...	2,143	...	498	...	334	...	24	...	18	...	4,187	...
Karnal District, residing in—														
Karnal District	617	...	1,145	2	305	5	185	1	13	...	12	...	2,277	8
Other districts	11	...	13	...	12	...	13	...	3	...	2	...	53	...
TOTAL	628	...	1,157	2	317	5	198	1	16	...	14	...	2,330	8
Ambala District, residing in—														
Ambala District	720	...	1,164	...	197	...	152	...	14	...	5	...	2,252	...
Other districts	16	...	25	...	2	...	5	...	1	...	1	...	50	...
TOTAL	736	...	1,189	...	199	...	157	...	15	...	6	...	2,302	...
Simla District, residing in—														
Simla District
Other districts
TOTAL

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Kangra District, residing in—	15	...	20	6	...	2	43	...
Kangra District	1	...	2	2	...	1	6	...
Other districts
TOTAL	16	...	22	...	...	...	8	...	3	...	...	...	49	...
Hoshiarpur District, residing in—	1,290	...	2,567	...	698	...	535	...	45	...	5	...	5,140	...
Hoshiarpur District	45	...	50	...	12	...	14	...	3	...	1	...	125	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	1,335	...	2,617	...	710	...	549	...	48	...	6	...	5,265	...
Jullundur District, residing in—	1,872	...	3,108	...	682	...	501	...	35	...	6	...	6,204	...
Jullundur District	23	...	50	...	9	...	9	...	1	...	1	...	93	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	1,895	...	3,158	...	691	...	510	...	36	...	7	...	6,297	...
Ludhiana District, residing in—	750	...	1,265	...	250	...	156	...	7	...	4	...	2,432	...
Ludhiana District	23	...	27	...	7	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	59	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	773	...	1,292	...	257	...	158	...	7	...	4	...	2,491	...
Ferozepore District, residing in—	583	...	1,252	...	9	...	409	...	5	...	452	...	2,079	...
Ferozepore District	15	...	28	...	9	...	16	...	5	...	9	...	68	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	598	...	1,280	...	9	...	425	...	5	...	461	...	2,047	...
Lahore District, residing in—	754	...	1,416	...	302	...	327	...	10	...	334	...	2,892	...
Lahore District	16	82	58	302	4	327	15	10	334	15	15	44	109	414
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	770	82	1,474	306	342	10	349	16	47	3	19	2	3,001	419
Amritsar District, residing in—	645	...	1,201	...	316	...	214	...	15	...	4	...	2,395	...
Amritsar District	32	...	34	...	9	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	80	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	677	...	1,235	...	325	...	218	...	16	...	4	...	2,475	...
Gurdaspur District, residing in—	1,551	...	3,117	...	705	...	528	...	30	...	6	...	5,937	...
Gurdaspur District	57	...	65	...	7	...	7	...	1	...	...	...	137	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	1,608	...	3,182	...	712	...	535	...	31	...	6	...	6,074	...
Sialkot District, residing in—	2,562	...	4,617	...	1,019	...	679	...	21	...	6	...	8,904	...
Sialkot District	58	...	118	...	23	...	19	...	1	...	1	...	220	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	2,620	...	4,735	...	1,042	...	698	...	22	...	7	...	9,124	...

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

(Continued.)

PROPOSALS.

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Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab—contd.

DISTRICT.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN Rs. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 25 AND LESS THAN Rs. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 50 AND LESS THAN Rs. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 75 AND LESS THAN Rs. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 250 AND LESS THAN Rs. 500.		PAYING Rs. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Mussalman—contd.														
OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN—														
Gujranwala District, residing in—														
Gujranwala District	2,037	127	4,866	346	1,985	134	2,353	191	219	32	95	4	11,495	834
Other districts	62	3	136	10	41	7	91	13	15	...	24	...	369	33
TOTAL	2,099	130	5,002	356	1,966	141	2,444	204	234	32	119	4	11,864	867
Gujrat District, residing in—														
Gujrat District	2,480	77	4,331	202	854	41	602	97	39	...	6	...	8,292	417
Other districts	48	4	78	35	32	33	19	22	...	...	2	...	179	94
TOTAL	2,528	81	4,409	237	886	74	621	119	39	...	8	...	8,471	511
Shahpur District, residing in—														
Shahpur District	1,614	345	3,444	649	1,247	238	1,687	2,744	227	115	119	27	8,338	4,118
Other districts	33	9	73	14	24	6	42	46	12	12	9	7	193	94
TOTAL	1,647	354	3,517	663	1,271	244	1,729	2,790	239	127	128	34	8,531	4,212
Jhelum District, residing in—														
Jhelum District	1,484	10	2,052	12	453	7	341	4	34	...	19	...	4,383	33
Other districts	6	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	12	...
TOTAL	1,490	10	2,057	12	453	7	341	4	35	...	19	...	4,395	33
Rawalpindi District, residing in—														
Rawalpindi District	1,110	...	1,578	...	269	1	209	...	11	...	3	...	3,180	1
Other districts	7	...	19	...	8	...	7	...	1	...	...	...	40	...
TOTAL	1,117	...	1,597	...	277	1	216	...	12	...	3	...	3,222	1
Attock District, residing in—														
Attock District	1,031	...	2,145	5	579	...	607	1	84	...	44	...	4,490	6
Other districts	13	...	35	...	9	...	9	...	...	...	1	...	67	...
TOTAL	1,044	...	2,180	5	588	...	616	1	84	...	45	...	4,557	6

[Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Mianwali District, residing in—	662	...	1,104	...	249	...	264	...	21	...	30	...	2,330	1
Mianwali District	23	...	50	3	6	...	13	...	2	...	3	...	97	3
Other districts														
TOTAL	685	...	1,154	3	255	...	277	...	23	...	33	...	2,427	4
Montgomery District, residing in—														
Montgomery District	515	1,306	1,022	2,175	363	264	378	178	37	19	19	10	2,334	3,952
Other districts	25	3	64	11	26	4	35	7	6	...	2	2	158	27
TOTAL	540	1,309	1,086	2,186	389	268	413	185	43	19	21	12	2,492	3,979
Lyalpur District, residing in—														
Lyalpur District	1,335	466	4,993	2,483	3,943	1,792	7,532	2,525	475	85	95	29	18,373	7,380
Other districts	120	108	422	229	231	76	592	74	144	11	100	3	1,609	501
TOTAL	1,455	574	5,415	2,712	4,172	1,868	8,124	2,599	619	96	195	32	19,982	7,881
Jhang District, residing in—														
Jhang District	1,089	781	2,840	2,088	1,070	628	1,107	625	158	58	84	37	6,346	4,217
Other districts	38	14	97	29	37	12	74	7	10	...	1	1	257	63
TOTAL	1,127	795	2,937	2,117	1,107	640	1,181	632	168	58	85	38	6,603	4,280
Multan District, residing in—														
Multan District	1,110	417	2,732	684	964	186	1,209	132	202	31	92	18	6,309	1,468
Other districts	48	...	117	6	31	14	68	9	7	...	3	2	274	31
TOTAL	1,158	417	2,849	690	995	200	1,277	141	209	31	95	20	6,583	1,499
Muzaffargarh District, residing in—														
Muzaffargarh District	984	...	1,772	...	498	...	574	...	101	...	37	...	3,966	1
Other districts	43	5	95	...	39	...	54	...	6	...	2	...	239	5
TOTAL	1,027	5	1,867	...	537	...	628	...	107	...	39	1	4,205	6
D. G. Khan District, residing in—														
D. G. Khan District	443	13	750	24	243	10	232	29	37	5	16	12	1,721	93
Other districts	17	...	20	4	2	...	12	...	1	...	...	...	52	4
TOTAL	460	13	770	28	245	10	244	29	38	5	16	12	1,773	97
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN THEIR RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS.	29,136	3,624	57,943	8,981	18,414	3,323	21,566	6,547	2,009	349	777	140	129,785	22,964
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN OTHER DISTRICTS.	841	146	1,777	345	607	152	1,153	179	227	23	162	15	4,764	860
GRAND TOTAL	29,977	3,770	59,720	9,326	19,021	3,475	22,666	6,726	2,236	372	939	155	134,549	23,824

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

PROPOSALS.

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Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab—contd.

District.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN Rs. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 25 AND LESS THAN Rs. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 50 AND LESS THAN Rs. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 75 AND LESS THAN Rs. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 250 AND LESS THAN Rs. 500.		PAYING Rs. 500 or MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Hindus.														
OWNERS, ETC. OF LAND IN—														
Hissar District, residing in—														
Hissar District	1,324	...	2,305	...	541	...	509	...	57	...	36	...	4,772	...
Other districts	33	...	71	...	13	...	37	...	16	...	6	...	175	...
TOTAL	1,357	...	2,376	...	554	...	546	...	73	...	41	...	4,947	...
Rohtak District, residing in—														
Rohtak District	4,429	...	8,065	...	1,701	...	1,043	...	57	...	15	...	15,310	1
Other districts	39	...	65	...	3	...	16	...	2	...	...	...	125	...
TOTAL	4,468	...	8,130	...	1,704	...	1,059	...	59	...	15	...	15,435	1
Gurgaon District, residing in—														
Gurgaon District	2,161	...	4,704	...	1,169	...	866	...	72	...	23	...	9,015	...
Other districts	21	...	36	...	13	...	22	...	7	...	8	...	107	...
TOTAL	2,202	...	4,740	...	1,182	...	888	...	79	...	31	...	9,122	...
Karnal District, residing in—														
Karnal District	2,266	1	4,442	...	1,018	...	571	...	26	...	16	...	8,329	1
Other districts	20	...	29	...	8	...	19	...	3	...	1	...	80	...
TOTAL	2,276	1	4,471	...	1,026	...	590	...	29	...	17	...	8,409	1
Ambala District, residing in—														
Ambala District	1,671	1	2,933	...	611	...	391	1	41	...	12	...	5,659	2
Other districts	23	...	35	...	13	...	14	...	...	...	2	...	87	...
TOTAL	1,694	1	2,968	...	624	...	405	1	41	...	14	...	5,746	2
Simla District, residing in—														
Simla District	24	...	24	...	1	...	8	...	...	...	1	...	58	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	24	...	24	...	1	...	8	...	...	...	1	...	58	...

[Continued]

Kangra District, residing in—	1,408	...	2,164	...	386	...	345	...	40	...	23	...	4,306	...
Kangra District	11	...	21	...	3	...	6	...	2	...	1	...	44	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	1,419	...	2,185	...	389	...	351	...	42	...	24	...	4,410	...
Hoshiarpur District, residing in—	2,178	...	3,964	...	992	...	805	...	100	...	25	...	8,073	...
Hoshiarpur District	47	...	47	...	17	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	122	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	2,225	...	4,011	...	1,009	...	816	...	100	...	25	...	8,195	...
Jullundur District, residing in—	1,531	...	2,936	...	724	...	437	...	26	...	7	...	5,681	...
Jullundur District	26	...	59	...	7	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	98	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	1,557	...	2,995	...	731	...	443	...	26	...	7	...	5,769	...
Ludhiana District, residing in—	700	...	1,434	...	393	...	167	...	11	...	6	...	2,711	...
Ludhiana District	14	...	19	...	5	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	41	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	714	...	1,453	...	398	...	170	...	11	...	6	...	2,752	...
Ferozepore District, residing in—	188	...	505	...	201	...	259	...	1	...	36	...	1,211	...
Ferozepore District	10	...	18	...	5	...	5	...	2	...	2	...	42	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	198	...	523	...	206	...	264	...	1	...	38	...	1,253	...
Lehore District, residing in—	95	12	284	26	86	1	88	4	20	1	9	...	582	44
Lehore District	7	...	13	...	2	...	6	...	2	...	2	...	32	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	102	12	297	26	88	1	94	4	22	1	11	...	614	44
Amritsar District, residing in—	84	...	208	...	77	...	107	...	23	...	8	...	502	...
Amritsar District	4	...	4	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	2	...	15	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	88	...	207	...	78	...	110	...	24	...	10	...	517	...
Gurdaspur District, residing in—	869	...	2,048	...	685	...	827	...	75	...	47	...	4,551	...
Gurdaspur District	16	...	45	...	9	...	14	...	1	...	3	...	88	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	885	...	2,093	...	694	...	841	...	76	...	50	...	4,639	...
Sialkot District, residing in—	1,240	...	2,937	...	803	...	689	...	39	...	6	...	5,716	...
Sialkot District	16	...	53	...	15	...	14	...	1	...	...	...	99	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	1,256	...	2,990	...	818	...	703	...	40	...	6	...	5,815	...

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Continued.

PROPOSALS.

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Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab—contd.

DISTRICT.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN RS. 25.		[PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 25 AND LESS THAN RS. 50.]		PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 50 AND LESS THAN RS. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 75 AND LESS THAN RS. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 250 AND LESS THAN RS. 500.		PAYING RS. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Hindus—contd.														
OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN—														
Gujranwala District, residing in—														
Gujranwala District	384	12	1,134	17	462	7	602	21	68	2	22	1	2,673	60
Other districts	9	2	24	5	9	5	36	1	31	1	29	...	138	20
TOTAL	393	14	1,158	22	471	12	638	22	99	3	51	1	2,810	80
Gujrat District, residing in—														
Gujrat District	122	1	210	2	57	4	69	2	7	...	2	...	467	9
Other districts	2	...	13	2	8	1	17	1	...	...	1	...	41	4
TOTAL	124	1	223	4	65	5	86	3	7	...	3	...	508	13
Shahpur District, residing in—														
Shahpur District	77	8	218	15	105	11	136	104	32	21	13	8	581	167
Other districts	9	...	18	3	8	4	17	14	15	2	10	...	77	23
TOTAL	80	8	236	18	113	15	153	118	47	23	23	8	658	190
Jhelum District, residing in—														
Jhelum District	84	1	113	1	34	...	31	...	1	...	2	...	285	2
Other districts	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
TOTAL	84	1	115	1	34	...	31	...	1	...	2	...	287	2
Rawalpindi District, residing in—														
Rawalpindi District	35	...	64	...	15	...	15	...	2	...	...	...	131	...
Other districts	3	...	2	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
TOTAL	38	...	66	...	15	...	18	...	2	...	...	...	139	...
Attock District, residing in—														
Attock District	38	...	78	...	21	...	13	...	3	...	...	...	153	...
Other districts	1	...	8	...	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	12	2
TOTAL	39	...	86	...	22	2	15	...	3	...	...	...	165	2

(Continued)

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Mianwali District, residing in—	67	...	146	...	46	...	22	...	1	...	3	...	285	...
Mianwali District	2	...	5	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
TOTAL	69	...	151	...	46	...	23	...	1	...	3	...	293	...
Montgomery District, residing in—	163	77	318	229	127	32	155	29	19	6	8	3	790	376
Montgomery District	4	...	15	1	7	5	18	1	3	...	3	...	50	7
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	167	77	333	230	134	37	173	30	22	6	11	3	840	383
Lyallpur District, residing in—	46	3	191	15	141	14	383	37	29	9	14	3	804	81
Lyallpur District	10	4	41	11	41	5	142	16	75	2	54	...	363	38
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	56	7	232	26	182	19	525	53	104	11	68	3	1,167	119
Jhang District, residing in—	194	15	368	91	131	25	115	16	20	6	5	1	833	154
Jhang District	3	3	6	1	7	...	8	1	1	...	1	...	26	5
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	197	18	374	92	138	25	123	17	21	6	6	1	859	159
Multan District, residing in—	463	29	931	49	380	33	556	18	116	...	45	...	2,491	129
Multan District	20	2	36	2	6	1	23	...	...	...	1	...	86	5
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	483	31	967	51	386	34	579	18	116	...	46	...	2,577	134
Muzaffargarh District, residing in—	281	...	707	1	283	...	321	...	40	...	9	...	1,641	1
Muzaffargarh District	15	...	43	...	11	...	13	...	...	...	2	...	84	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	296	...	750	1	294	...	334	...	40	...	11	...	1,725	1
Dera Ghazi Khan District, residing in—	177	1	388	...	147	...	195	2	9	5	3	...	919	8
Dera Ghazi Khan District	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	177	1	390	...	148	...	195	2	9	5	3	...	922	8
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN THEIR RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS.	22,309	161	43,814	446	11,337	130	9,725	236	979	50	384	16	88,548	1,039
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN OTHER DISTRICTS.	365	11	730	26	213	23	456	40	162	5	127	...	2,053	105
GRAND TOTAL	22,674	172	44,544	472	11,550	153	10,181	276	1,141	55	511	16	90,601	1,144

1,100

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB. (Continued.)

Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab—contd.

District.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN Rs. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 25 AND LESS THAN Rs. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 50 AND LESS THAN Rs. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 75 AND LESS THAN Rs. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 250 AND LESS THAN Rs. 500.		PAYING Rs. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Sikhs.														
OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN—														
Hisar District, residing in—														
Hisar District	304	...	457	...	123	...	129	...	8	...	4	...	1,025	...
Other districts	10	...	8	...	3	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	22	...
TOTAL	314	...	460	...	126	...	131	...	10	...	6	...	1,047	...
Rohtak District, residing in—														
Rohtak District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurgaon District, residing in—														
Gurgaon District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karnal District, residing in—														
Karnal District	69	...	151	...	32	...	17	...	4	...	2	...	275	...
Other districts	8	...	9	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	17	...
TOTAL	72	...	160	...	33	...	20	...	5	...	2	...	292	...
Ambala District, residing in—														
Ambala District	971	...	1,611	...	304	...	146	1	7	...	4	...	3,043	1
Other districts	32	...	46	...	11	...	4	...	3	...	1	...	97	...
TOTAL	1,003	...	1,657	...	315	...	150	1	10	...	5	...	3,140	1
Simla District, residing in—														
Simla District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

(Continued)

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Kangra District, residing in—	2	...	7	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	10	...
Kangra District	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	2	...	11	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	16	...
Hoshiarpur District, residing in—	867	...	1,594	...	317	...	201	...	10	...	4	...	2,993	...
Hoshiarpur District	36	...	37	...	5	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	84	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	903	...	1,631	...	322	...	207	...	10	...	4	...	3,077	...
Jullundur District, residing in—	2,471	...	4,498	...	933	...	448	...	10	...	6	...	8,366	...
Jullundur District	110	...	142	...	25	...	22	...	...	...	3	...	302	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	2,581	...	4,640	...	958	...	470	...	10	...	9	...	8,668	...
Ludhiana District, residing in—	2,951	...	5,289	...	1,082	...	473	...	12	...	6	...	9,773	...
Ludhiana District	135	...	178	...	21	...	19	...	3	...	...	...	356	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	3,086	...	5,467	...	1,083	...	492	...	15	...	6	...	10,129	...
Ferozepore District, residing in—	2,981	...	5,397	...	1,180	...	806	...	49	...	21	...	10,414	...
Ferozepore District	56	...	67	...	14	...	22	...	2	...	2	...	163	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	3,037	...	5,464	...	1,174	...	828	...	51	...	23	...	10,577	...
Lahore District, residing in—	1,649	134	3,467	407	1,006	39	872	11	63	2	18	...	7,075	693
Lahore District	37	1	87	2	14	2	33	7	9	...	6	...	186	12
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	1,686	135	3,554	409	1,020	41	905	18	72	2	24	...	7,261	605
Amritsar District, residing in—	3,166	...	6,557	...	1,755	...	1,119	...	64	...	18	...	12,679	...
Amritsar District	171	...	202	...	48	...	44	...	6	...	8	...	479	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	3,337	...	6,759	...	1,803	...	1,163	...	70	...	26	...	13,158	...
Gurdaspur District, residing in—	1,757	...	3,933	...	1,205	...	809	...	23	...	14	...	7,841	...
Gurdaspur District	61	...	109	...	21	...	19	...	1	...	2	...	213	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	1,818	...	4,042	...	1,226	...	828	...	24	...	16	...	8,054	...
Siakot District, residing in—	930	...	1,901	...	608	...	530	...	19	...	9	...	3,997	...
Siakot District	35	...	60	...	10	...	11	...	2	...	1	...	119	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	965	...	1,961	...	618	...	541	...	21	...	10	...	4,116	...

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab—contd.

District.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN Rs. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 25 AND LESS THAN Rs. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 50 AND LESS THAN Rs. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 75 AND LESS THAN Rs. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 250 AND LESS THAN Rs. 500.		PAYING Rs. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Sikhs—contd.														
OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN—														
Gujranwala District, residing in—	902	78	2,450	345	1,168	234	1,662	334	134	39	73	6	6,448	1,035
Gujranwala District	32	1	87	8	30	3	54	8	24	1	17	1	244	22
Other districts														
TOTAL	934	79	2,545	353	1,198	237	1,716	342	208	39	90	7	6,692	1,057
Gujrat District, residing in—	46	11	111	22	18	9	20	14	2	...	1	...	198	56
Gujrat District	...	...	2	1	2	...	3	1	2	3	1	1	10	6
Other districts														
TOTAL	46	11	113	23	20	9	23	15	4	3	2	1	208	62
Shahpur District, residing in—	22	21	87	70	29	120	42	567	8	75	6	6	164	868
Shahpur District	...	...	...	5	2	3	7	9	5	1	5	1	19	19
Other districts														
TOTAL	22	21	87	75	31	132	49	576	13	76	11	7	183	887
Jhelum District, residing in—	21	...	47	1	11	...	25	...	...	...	1	...	105	1
Jhelum District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	21	...	47	1	11	...	25	...	...	...	1	...	105	1
Rawalpindi District, residing in—	47	...	77	...	27	...	17	...	3	...	3	...	174	...
Rawalpindi District	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Other districts														
TOTAL	47	...	78	...	27	...	18	...	3	...	3	...	176	...
Attock District, residing in—	17	...	36	...	4	...	7	...	1	...	1	...	66	...
Attock District	...	...	12	2	2	...	6	...	1	...	...	...	21	2
Other districts														
TOTAL	17	...	48	2	6	...	13	...	2	...	1	...	87	2

[Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Mianwali District, residing in—	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	8	1
Mianwali District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	8	1
Montgomery District, residing in—	144	176	388	456	111	70	117	29	16	3	10	10	786	744
Montgomery District	10	2	34	5	18	3	29	7	12	...	9	...	112	17
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	154	178	422	461	129	73	146	36	28	3	19	10	898	761
Lyallpur District, residing in—	442	27	2,557	320	2,330	107	6,748	172	571	19	116	2	12,764	447
Lyallpur District	52	5	313	9	212	6	369	10	70	...	59	1	1,075	31
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	494	32	2,870	329	2,542	113	7,117	182	641	19	175	3	13,839	478
Jhang District, residing in—	20	2	29	4	17	2	17	14	1	3	...	...	84	25
Jhang District	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	21	2	30	4	17	2	17	14	1	3	1	...	87	25
Multan District, residing in—	38	87	100	231	41	33	64	12	1	2	4	...	248	365
Multan District	3	2	6	6	1	1	5	1	...	...	...	...	15	10
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	41	89	106	237	42	34	69	13	1	2	4	...	263	375
Muzaffargarh District, residing in—	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Muzaffargarh District	...	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	6	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...
D. G. Khan District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
D. G. Khan District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN THEIR RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS.	19,821	536	40,709	1,656	12,261	623	14,369	1,154	1,056	143	322	24	88,538	4,136
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN OTHER DISTRICTS.	784	11	1,404	38	442	18	659	43	144	5	117	4	3,550	119
GRAND TOTAL	20,605	547	42,113	1,694	12,703	641	15,028	1,197	1,200	148	439	28	92,088	4,255

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

PROPOSALS.

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Continued.

Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab—contd.

DISTRICT.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN RS. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 25 AND LESS THAN RS. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 50 AND LESS THAN RS. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 75 AND LESS THAN RS. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN RS. 250 AND LESS THAN RS. 500.		PAYING RS. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Others.														
OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN—														
Hisar District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...
Hisar District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	6	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	8	...
Rohtak District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rohtak District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurgaon District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurgaon District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karnal District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karnal District	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	3	1
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
TOTAL	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	4	1
Ambala District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ambala District	4	...	5	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	11	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
TOTAL	4	...	5	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	13	...
Simla District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Simla District	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...

Continued.]

Kangra District, residing in— Kangra District	1	...	5	...	1	...	5	...	1	...	2	...	15	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	1	...	5	...	1	...	5	...	1	...	2	...	15	...
Hoshiarpur District, residing in— Hoshiarpur District	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...
Other districts	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
TOTAL	1	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...
Jullundur District, residing in— Jullundur District	2	...	6	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	2	...	15	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	2	...	6	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	2	...	15	...
Ludhiana District, residing in— Ludhiana District	4	...	22	...	6	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	34	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	4	...	22	...	6	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	34	...
Ferozepore District, residing in— Ferozepore District	3	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	3	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
Lahore District, residing in— Lahore District	2	...	2	...	3	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	9	1
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	3	...
TOTAL	2	...	2	...	3	1	3	...	...	...	2	...	12	1
Amritsar District, residing in— Amritsar District	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	5	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	5	...
Gurdaspur District, residing in— Gurdaspur District	...	...	3	...	1	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	8	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	3	...	1	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	8	...
Sialkot District, residing in— Sialkot District	1	...	5	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	1	...	11	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
TOTAL	1	...	5	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	1	...	12	...

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

PROPOSALS.

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Graded return of male adult land-owners and Crown tenants in each district of the Punjab—conold.

DISTRICT.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN Rs. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 25 AND LESS THAN Rs. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 50 AND LESS THAN Rs. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 75 AND LESS THAN Rs. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 250 AND LESS THAN Rs. 500.		PAYING Rs. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Others—contd.														
OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN—														
Gujranwala District, residing in—	12	22	26	47	10	5	11	8	...	...	1	...	60	82
Gujranwala District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	12	22	26	47	10	5	11	8	...	...	2	...	61	82
Gujrat District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Gujrat District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Shahpur District, residing in—	...	...	...	1	...	8	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	13
Shahpur District	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	4
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	1	4	1	8	...	...	...	2	...	3	2	17
Jhelum District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jhelum District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rawalpindi District, residing in—	1	...	2	...	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	15	...
Rawalpindi District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	1	...	2	...	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	15	...
Attock District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Attock District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

I TOA	Mianwali District, residing in—	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
	Mianwali District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
	Montgomery District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Montgomery District	...	44	...	7	...	1	...	1	...	3	...	1	3	2
	Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
	TOTAL	...	44	...	7	...	1	...	1	...	3	...	1	3	6
	Lyalpur District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lyalpur District	3	18	19	101	3	23	19	25	4	...	...	4	1	48
	Other districts	...	2	...	2	...	1	...	2	4	...	...	4	...	11
	TOTAL	3	20	19	103	4	23	21	25	8	...	...	4	1	59
	Jhang District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Jhang District	1	6	3	30	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	4
	Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL	1	6	3	30	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	4
	Multan District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Multan District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	Muzaffargarh District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Muzaffargarh District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	D. G. Khan District, residing in—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	D. G. Khan District	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Other districts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN THREE RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS.	36	90	117	186	34	39	61	36	9	3	10	8	267	362
	TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN OTHER DISTRICTS.	1	2	2	5	6	...	4	2	7	...	13	2	33	11
	GRAND TOTAL	37	92	119	191	40	39	65	38	16	3	23	10	300	373

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PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB. [Continued.]

Divisional Abstract.*

Division.	PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 20 PER ANNUM AND LESS THAN Rs. 25.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 25 AND LESS THAN Rs. 50.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 50 AND LESS THAN Rs. 75.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 75 AND LESS THAN Rs. 250.		PAYING NOT LESS THAN Rs. 250 AND LESS THAN Rs. 500.		PAYING Rs. 500 OR MORE.		TOTAL OF PRECEDING COLUMNS.	
	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.	Land-owners.	Crown tenants.
Total of all religions.														
LAND-OWNERS, ETC., RESIDING IN—														
Ambala Division in the district where the land is situated.	16,475	2	30,449	2	6,853	7	4,689	5	377	1	164	1	69,007	18
Other districts	269	...	428	...	91	...	170	...	45	...	35	...	1,038	...
TOTAL	16,744	2	30,877	2	6,944	7	4,859	5	422	1	199	1	70,045	18
Jullundur Division in the district where the land is situated.	19,707	...	36,027	9	8,215	8	5,803	4	455	...	161	...	70,258	21
Other districts	553	...	750	...	147	...	136	...	15	...	10	...	1,811	...
TOTAL	20,260	...	36,777	9	8,362	8	5,939	4	470	...	171	...	71,869	21
Lahore Division in the district where the land is situated.	18,040	467	40,178	1,490	12,161	431	11,531	584	911	78	358	13	83,779	3,063
Other districts	613	7	1,095	29	255	17	372	36	99	2	99	1	2,533	92
TOTAL	18,653	474	41,273	1,519	12,416	448	11,903	620	1,010	80	457	14	86,312	3,155
Rawalpindi Division in the district where the land is situated.	8,942	474	15,819	980	4,024	448	4,115	3,534	476	214	263	43	33,629	5,693
Other districts	147	13	324	69	103	49	147	93	39	18	32	10	792	252
TOTAL	9,089	487	16,143	1,049	4,127	497	4,262	3,627	515	232	295	53	34,421	5,945
Multan Division in the district where the land is situated.	7,448	3,468	20,110	8,768	10,793	3,221	19,723	3,856	1,834	262	557	131	60,465	19,706
Other districts	409	150	1,316	336	672	127	1,444	115	342	13	243	10	4,426	771
TOTAL	7,857	3,618	21,426	9,104	11,465	3,348	21,167	3,971	2,176	265	800	141	64,891	20,477
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN THEIR RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS	71,303	4,411	142,533	11,269	42,046	4,115	45,661	7,973	4,053	545	1,493	188	3,07,138	28,511
TOTAL OF OWNERS, ETC., OF LAND IN OTHER DISTRICTS.	1,991	170	3,913	414	1,268	193	2,269	264	540	33	419	21	10,400	1,095
GRAND TOTAL	73,293	4,581	146,446	11,683	43,314	4,308	47,930	8,237	4,593	578	1,912	209	3,17,538	29,606

* The district totals for all religions are not reprinted.

(Continued)

STATEMENT OF VILLAGE HEADMEN (EXCLUDING FEMALES AND MINORS) PAYING LAND REVENUE BY RELIGION IN THE PUNJAB.

Divisional Abstract.

Division.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			
		Paying less than Rs. 25, Land Revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50, Land Revenue.	Paying Rs. 50, Land Revenue or more.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6
AMBALA	Mussalman	2,643	697	605	3,945
	Hindu	5,954	2,062	1,758	9,774
	Sikh	613	230	157	1,000
	Miscellaneous	2	...	10	12
	TOTAL DIVISION	9,212	2,989	2,530	14,731
JULLUNDHUR	Mussalman	2,291	615	1,523	4,429
	Hindu	2,115	610	767	3,492
	Sikh	1,689	720	2,232	4,641
	Miscellaneous	3	1	2	6
	TOTAL DIVISION	6,098	1,946	4,524	12,568
LAHORE	Mussalman	4,356	1,322	1,370	7,048
	Hindu	1,146	600	888	2,634
	Sikh	3,293	1,268	1,622	6,283
	Miscellaneous	1	4	6	11
	TOTAL DIVISION	8,796	3,294	3,886	15,976
RAWALPINDI	Mussalman	6,370	1,357	1,719	9,446
	Hindu	160	24	63	187
	Sikh	56	16	68	140
	Miscellaneous	...	...	4	4
	TOTAL DIVISION	6,626	1,397	1,854	9,777
MULTAN	Mussalman	2,780	1,027	3,217	6,974
	Hindu	330	156	436	922
	Sikh	115	85	1,048	1,248
	Miscellaneous	5	2	18	25
	TOTAL DIVISION	3,180	1,270	4,719	9,169
PROVINCE	Mussalman	18,390	5,018	8,434	31,842
	Hindu	9,645	3,452	3,912	17,009
	Sikh	5,766	2,419	5,127	13,312
	Miscellaneous	11	7	42	60
	TOTAL PROVINCE	33,812	10,896	17,515	62,223

Continued.

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion.

DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMS			
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
AMBALA	HISSAR	Hissar	Mussalman	40	14	12	66
			Hindu	125	45	46	216
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	2	2
			TOTAL TAHASIL	165	59	60	284
		Hansi	Mussalman	31	3	7	41
			Hindu	312	29	20	361
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	1	1
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	4	4
			TOTAL TAHASIL	343	32	32	407
		Bhiwani	Mussalman	30	3	1	34
			Hindu	189	36	35	260
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	219	39	36	294
		Fatehabad	Mussalman	118	36	41	195
			Hindu	98	34	67	199
			Sikh	52	10	13	75
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	3	3
			TOTAL TAHASIL	268	80	124	472
		Sira	Mussalman	61	30	55	146
			Hindu	68	52	101	211
			Sikh	64	32	33	129
Miscellaneous . . . . .	...		...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL	183		114	189	486		
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	280	88	116	482		
	Hindu	782	198	269	1,247		
	Sikh	116	42	47	205		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	9	9		
	TOTAL DISTRICT	1,178	324	441	1,943		
ROHTAK	Rohtak	Mussalman	56	12	5	73	
		Hindu	299	104	51	454	
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	355	118	56	527	
	Jhajjar	Mussalman	26	12	14	52	
		Hindu	432	163	107	702	
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	458	175	121	754	
	Gohana	Mussalman	21	8	13	42	
		Hindu	257	98	74	429	
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	278	106	87	471	

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN				
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
AMBALA—contd.	ROHTAK—contd.	Sonapat .	Mussalman	47	15	11	73	
			Hindu	366	187	148	701	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL	413	202	159	774	
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	150	47	43	240	
		Hindu	1,354	552	380	2,286		
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL DISTRICT	1,604	599	423	2,526		
		GURGAON	Gurgaon	Mussalman	40	9	20	69
				Hindu	245	89	91	426
	Sikh . . . . .			...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . . . .			...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHSEL			286	98	111	495	
	Ferozpur-Jhirka		Mussalman	335	134	108	577	
			Hindu	7	2	4	13	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHSEL		342	136	112	590		
	Nuh		Mussalman	320	62	32	414	
			Hindu	100	60	68	228	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHSEL		420	122	100	642		
	Palwal	Mussalman	30	14	28	72		
		Hindu	197	108	112	417		
Sikh . . . . .		...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous . . . . .		...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL	227	122	140	489				
Rowari	Mussalman	30	9	3	42			
	Hindu	373	129	130	632			
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL	403	138	133	674				
Ballabgarh	Mussalman	64	12	19	95			
	Hindu	193	73	78	344			
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL	257	85	97	439				
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	819	240	210	1,269			
Hindu	1,116	461	483	2,060				
Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL DISTRICT	1,935	701	693	3,329				
KARNAL	Karnal	Mussalman	203	43	39	285		
		Hindu	334	110	95	539		
		Sikh	10	5	7	22		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1	
		TOTAL TAHSEL	547	158	142	847		

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
AMBALA—contd.	KARNAL—contd.	Panipat . . .	Mussalman . . .	53	26	34	113
			Hindu . . .	306	135	96	537
			Sikh
			Miscellaneous
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	359	161	130	650
		Kaithal . . .	Mussalman . . .	137	29	20	186
			Hindu . . .	506	103	50	659
			Sikh . . .	15	7	1	23
			Miscellaneous
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	658	139	71	868
		Thanesar . . .	Mussalman . . .	162	45	33	240
			Hindu . . .	311	124	102	537
	Sikh . . .		14	3	9	26	
	Miscellaneous . . .		...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . .		487	172	144	803	
	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	595	143	126	824	
		Hindu . . .	1,457	472	343	2,272	
		Sikh . . .	39	15	17	71	
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	1	1
		TOTAL DISTRICT	2,051	630	487	3,168	
AMBALA . . .	Ambala . . .	Mussalman . . .	212	51	27	290	
		Hindu . . .	244	111	61	416	
		Sikh . . .	50	23	15	88	
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	506	185	103	794	
		Kharar . . .	Mussalman . . .	96	19	9	124
			Hindu . . .	274	82	74	430
			Sikh . . .	170	48	29	247
			Miscellaneous
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	540	149	112	801	
	Jagedhri . . .	Mussalman . . .	160	49	33	242	
		Hindu . . .	295	108	91	494	
		Sikh . . .	18	14	12	44	
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL . . .	473	171	136	780		
	Narayangarh . . .	Mussalman . . .	147	30	25	202	
		Hindu . . .	296	61	48	403	
		Sikh . . .	10	5	1	16	
Miscellaneous . . .		...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	453	96	72	621			
Rupar . . .	Mussalman . . .	224	32	16	272		
	Hindu . . .	114	18	10	142		
	Sikh . . .	210	83	36	329		
	Miscellaneous . . .	2	...	...	2	
TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	550	133	62	745			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	839	181	110	1,130		
	Hindu . . .	1,223	380	282	1,885		
	Sikh . . .	458	173	93	724		
	Miscellaneous . . .	2	...	...	2	
	TOTAL DISTRICT	2,522	734	485	3,741		

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN					
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
AMBALA— concd.	SIMLA	Kot Khai and Kotgarh.	Mussalman	...	...	...	...
			Hindu	12	1	1	14		
			Sikh	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL				12	1	1	14
		Simla and Bha- rauli.	Mussalman	
			Hindu	10	...	...	10
			Sikh	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL				10	10
		DISTRICT TOTAL				22	1	1	24
		TOTAL DISTRICT				22	1	1	24
TOTAL AMBALA DIVISION.				2,643	697	605	3,945		
				5,954	2,062	1,758	9,774		
				613	230	157	1,000		
				2	...	10	12		
TOTAL DIVISION				9,212	2,989	2,530	14,731		
JULLU. DUR	KANGRA	Kangra	Mussalman	...	...	...	...
			Hindu	101	20	13	134		
			Sikh	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL				101	20	13	134
		Dehra	Mussalman	1	...	...	1
			Hindu	254	11	3	268		
			Sikh	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL				255	11	3	269
		Narapur	Mussalman	2	1	2	5		
			Hindu	157	39	42	238		
Sikh	...		...	...	...
Miscellaneous	...		...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL				159	40	44	243		
Hamirpur	Mussalman	...	...	...	...
	Hindu	91	31	4	126				
	Sikh	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL				91	31	4	126		
Kulu	Mussalman	...	...	...	...
	Hindu	20	7	1	28				
	Sikh	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL				20	7	1	28		

Continued]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGER HEADMEN				
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
JULLUNDUR— contd.	KANGRA—concd.	Palampur	Mussalman . . .	...	...	...	...
			Hindu . . .	103	32	32	167	
			Sikh . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	103	32	32	167	
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	3	1	2	6	
		Hindu . . .	706	133	94	933		
		Sikh . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL DISTRICT	709	134	96	939		
		HOSHIAHPUR	Hoshiarpur	Mussalman . . .	252	80	80	412
				Hindu . . .	162	73	43	278
	Sikh . . .			126	50	32	208	
	Miscellaneous . . .			...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . .			540	203	155	898	
	Desuya		Mussalman . . .	270	90	104	464	
			Hindu . . .	174	57	94	325	
			Sikh . . .	64	30	22	116	
			Miscellaneous . . .	1	1	...	2	
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	509	178	220	907	
			Garhahankar	Mussalman . . .	177	36	28	244
				Hindu . . .	350	83	61	491
	Sikh . . .	84		36	20	140		
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	611	155	109	875				
Una	Mussalman . . .	30	8	4	42			
	Hindu . . .	388	101	159	648			
	Sikh . . .	30	13	6	49			
	Miscellaneous . . .	1	...	...	1		
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	449	122	169	740			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	729	217	216	1,162			
Hindu . . .	1,074	311	357	1,642				
Sikh . . .	304	129	80	513				
Miscellaneous . . .	2	1	...	3				
TOTAL DISTRICT	2,109	658	653	3,320				
JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	Mussalman . . .	240	85	67	392		
		Hindu . . .	54	31	28	113		
		Sikh . . .	181	59	49	289		
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	475	175	144	794		
	Nawabshahr	Mussalman . . .	140	57	74	271		
		Hindu . . .	99	62	56	217		
		Sikh . . .	96	51	36	183		
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	335	170	166	671			
	Phillaur	Mussalman . . .	108	38	32	178		
		Hindu . . .	45	31	26	102		
Sikh . . .		149	71	67	287			
Miscellaneous . . .		...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	302	140	125	567				

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN				
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
JULLUNDUR— contd.	JULLUNDUR— concd.	Nakodar	Mussalman	306	61	37	404	
			Hindu	56	19	17	92	
			Sikh	113	61	40	214	
			Miscellaneous	
			TOTAL TAHSEL	476	141	94	710	
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	724	241	210	1,245	
		Hindu	254	143	127	524		
		Sikh	539	242	192	973		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL DISTRICT	1,687	626	529	2,742		
		LUDRIANA	Ludhiana	Mussalman	14	9	444	467
				Hindu	1	...	21	22
	Sikh			3	...	821	824	
	Miscellaneous	1	1	
	TOTAL TAHSEL			18	9	1,287	1,314	
	Jagraon		Mussalman	1	152	153	
	Hindu . . . . .		...	...	20	20
	Sikh . . . . .		...	...	399	399
	Miscellaneous . . . . .		...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHSEL . . . . .		...	1	571	572
	Samrala		Mussalman	3	1	210	214	
	Hindu . . . . .		...	...	31	31
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	482	482	
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL	3	1	723	727				
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	17	11	806	834			
Hindu	1	...	72	73				
Sikh	3	...	1,702	1,705				
Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1		
TOTAL DISTRICT	21	11	2,581	2,613				
FEROZEPOR	Ferozepore	Mussalman	209	48	61	318		
		Hindu	11	4	18	33		
		Sikh	200	70	34	304		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1
		TOTAL TAHSEL	420	122	114	656		
	Zira	Mussalman	351	37	102	490		
	Hindu	26	...	34	60			
	Sikh	82	40	60	182			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHSEL	459	77	196	732			
	Moga	Mussalman	10	...	...	10
	Hindu	2	...	3	5			
Sikh	332	150	73	555				
Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL	344	150	76	570				
Muktesar	Mussalman	133	28	44	205			
Hindu	21	5	6	32				
Sikh	189	58	61	308				
Miscellaneous	1	...	...	1		
TOTAL TAHSEL	344	91	111	546				

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			TOTAL.
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
JULLUNDUR— concl'd.	FEROZPORE— concl'd.	Fazilka . . .	Mussalman . . .	45	32	82	169
			Hindu . . .	20	14	58	90
			Sikh . . .	40	31	30	101
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	105	77	168	350
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	748	145	289	1,182
			Hindu . . .	80	23	117	220
			Sikh . . .	843	349	258	1,450
			Miscellaneous . . .	1	...	1	2
			TOTAL DISTRICT	1,672	617	665	2,854
TOTAL JULLUN- DUR DIVISION.	Mussalman . . .	2,291	615	1,523	4,429		
	Hindu . . .	2,115	610	767	3,492		
	Sikh . . .	1,689	720	2,232	4,641		
	Miscellaneous . . .	3	1	2	6		
	TOTAL DIVISION	6,098	1,946	4,524	12,568		
LAHORE	LAHORE . . .	Lahore . . .	Mussalman . . .	256	47	56	359
			Hindu . . .	12	5	24	41
			Sikh . . .	232	76	72	380
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	1	1
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	500	128	153	781
		Chunian . . .	Mussalman . . .	220	63	56	339
			Hindu . . .	29	12	17	58
			Sikh . . .	271	105	105	481
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	1	1
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	520	180	179	879
		Kasur . . .	Mussalman . . .	155	28	40	223
			Hindu . . .	12	4	3	19
			Sikh . . .	299	104	115	518
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	466	136	158	760
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	631	138	152	921
			Hindu . . .	53	21	44	118
Sikh . . .	802		285	292	1,379		
Miscellaneous . . .	...		...	2	2		
TOTAL DISTRICT	1,486		444	490	2,420		
AMRITSAR	AMRITSAR	Amritsar . . .	Mussalman . . .	96	38	20	154
			Hindu . . .	8	3	10	21
			Sikh . . .	463	186	191	840
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	1	1
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	567	227	222	1,016
		Tarn Taran . . .	Mussalman . . .	81	14	19	114
			Hindu . . .	6	...	9	15
			Sikh . . .	529	158	96	783
			Miscellaneous . . .	1	...	...	1
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	617	172	124	913
Ajnala . . .	Mussalman . . .	225	43	24	292		
	Hindu . . .	6	2	8	16		
	Sikh . . .	243	108	103	454		
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	474	153	135	762		

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

1	2	3	4	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			8	
				5	6	7		
DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.	
LAHORE— contd.	AMRITSAR— contd.	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	402	95	63	560	
			Hindu	20	5	27	52	
			Sikh	1,235	452	390	2,077	
			Miscellaneous	1	...	1	2	
			TOTAL DISTRICT	1,658	552	481	2,691	
		GURDASPUR	Gurdaspur	Mussalman	295	113	93	501
				Hindu	84	50	62	196
				Sikh	177	120	139	436
				Miscellaneous
				TOTAL TAHSIL	556	293	294	1,133
			Batala	Mussalman	194	71	61	326
				Hindu	17	11	22	50
	Sikh			292	160	163	615	
	Miscellaneous	
	TOTAL TAHSIL			503	242	246	991	
	Pathankot	Mussalman	73	34	38	145		
		Hindu	119	62	156	337		
		Sikh	9	4	14	27		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1
		TOTAL TAHSIL	201	100	209	510		
	Shakargarh	Mussalman	350	72	37	459		
		Hindu	198	92	110	400		
		Sikh	98	26	23	147		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSIL		646	190	170	1,006			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	912	290	229	1,431			
	Hindu	418	215	350	983			
	Sikh	576	310	339	1,225			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1	
	TOTAL DISTRICT	1,906	815	919	3,640			
SIALKOT	Sialkot	Mussalman	459	97	59	615		
		Hindu	194	70	102	366		
		Sikh	43	14	19	76		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSIL	696	181	180	1,057		
	Pasarur	Mussalman	348	80	86	494		
		Hindu	107	60	47	214		
		Sikh	125	44	51	220		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSIL	580	184	164	928		
	Zaffarwal	Mussalman	423	63	30	516		
		Hindu	116	59	52	227		
Sikh		37	15	8	60			
Miscellaneous . . . . .		...	...	1	1	
TOTAL TAHSIL		576	137	91	804			
Raya	Mussalman	296	97	87	480			
	Hindu	87	39	42	168			
	Sikh	171	63	79	313			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1	
	TOTAL TAHSIL	554	199	209	962			

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN				
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
LAHORE— concl.	STALKOT—concl.	Daska . . .	Mussalman . . .	165	85	49	299	
			Hindu . . .	64	54	51	169	
			Sikh . . .	62	28	62	152	
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	291	167	162	620	
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	1,691	422	291	2,404	
		Hindu . . .	568	282	294	1,144		
		Sikh . . .	438	164	219	821		
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	2	2	
		TOTAL DISTRICT	2,697	868	806	4,371		
		GUJRANWALA .	Gujranwala .	Mussalman . . .	104	85	84	273
				Hindu . . .	37	42	65	144
	Sikh . . .			115	83	118	316	
	Miscellaneous . . .			...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHSEL . . .			256	210	267	733	
	Wazirabad .		Mussalman . . .	178	92	80	350	
			Hindu . . .	29	11	23	63	
			Sikh . . .	27	12	17	56	
	Miscellaneous . . .		...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHSEL . . .		234	115	120	469		
	Hafizabad .		Mussalman . . .	242	94	155	491	
			Hindu . . .	11	8	16	35	
		Sikh . . .	13	6	16	35		
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	266	108	187	561				
Khangah Dogran	Mussalman . . .	16	11	150	177			
	Hindu . . .	1	6	23	35			
	Sikh . . .	35	23	172	230			
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	4	1	5		
TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	62	44	351	447				
Sharakpur .	Mussalman . . .	180	95	166	441			
	Hindu . . .	9	10	41	60			
	Sikh . . .	52	33	69	144			
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	1	1		
TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	241	138	267	646				
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	720	377	635	1,732			
Hindu . . .	87	77	173	337				
Sikh . . .	242	167	382	781				
Miscellaneous . . .	...	4	2	6			
TOTAL DISTRICT	1,049	615	1,192	2,856				
TOTAL LAHORE DIVISION.	Mussalman . . .	4,356	1,322	1,370	7,048			
	Hindu . . .	1,146	600	868	2,634			
	Sikh . . .	3,293	1,368	1,622	6,283			
	Miscellaneous . . .	1	4	8	13			
	TOTAL DIVISION	8,796	3,294	3,868	15,978			

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

1	2	3	4	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			
				5	6	7	8
DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.
RAWALPINDI	GUJRAT	Gujrat	Mussalman	632	142	93	867
			Hindu	21	6	6	33
			Sikh	22	3	1	26
			Miscellaneous
		TOTAL TAHASIL	675	151	100	926	
		Kharian	Mussalman	574	88	48	710
			Hindu	8	2	1	11
			Sikh	6	6
			Miscellaneous
		TOTAL TAHASIL	588	90	49	727	
		Phalia	Mussalman	437	164	111	712
			Hindu	1	...	3	4
	Sikh		1	2	5	8	
	Miscellaneous . . . . .		...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	439	166	119	724		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	1,643	394	252	2,289	
		Hindu	30	8	10	48	
		Sikh	29	5	6	40	
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL DISTRICT	1,702	407	268	2,377		
	SHAHPUR	Shahpur	Mussalman	150	63	176	389
			Hindu	3	1	4	8
			Sikh	1	...	3	4
			Miscellaneous
TOTAL TAHASIL		154	64	183	401		
Khushab		Mussalman	164	40	60	264	
		Hindu . . . . .	...	...	2	2
		Sikh	1	...	...	1
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL		165	40	62	267		
Bhera		Mussalman	169	66	237	472	
		Hindu	4	2	24	30	
	Sikh	2	...	9	11		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL	175	68	270	513			
Sargodha	Mussalman	14	25	214	253		
	Hindu . . . . .	...	...	14	14	
	Sikh . . . . .	...	4	46	50	
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	4	4	4	
TOTAL TAHASIL	14	29	278	321			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	497	194	687	1,378		
	Hindu	7	3	44	54		
	Sikh	4	4	58	66		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	4	4	
TOTAL DISTRICT	508	201	793	1,502			
JHELUM	Jhelum	Mussalman	589	86	50	725	
		Hindu	5	4	1	10	
		Sikh . . . . .	...	1	...	1
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL	594	91	51	736			

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			TOTAL.
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
RAWALPINDI— contd.	JHELUM—concld.	Pind Dadan Khan	Mussalman . . .	426	63	57	546
			Hindu . . .	3	...	1	4
			Sikh . . .	...	...	2	2
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	429	63	60	552
		Chakwal . . .	Mussalman . . .	345	86	83	514
			Hindu . . .	...	3	...	3
			Sikh . . .	2	2	...	4
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	347	91	83	521
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	1,300	235	190	1,785
			Hindu . . .	8	7	2	17
	Sikh . . .		2	3	2	7	
	Miscellaneous . . .		...	...	...	...
	TOTAL DISTRICT		1,370	245	194	1,809	
	RAWALPINDI	Rawalpindi . . .	Mussalman . . .	558	100	88	746
			Hindu . . .	8	1	...	9
			Sikh . . .	5	2	...	7
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	571	103	88	762
		Gujar Khan . . .	Mussalman . . .	724	103	46	873
			Hindu . . .	23	4	1	28
			Sikh . . .	13	...	...	13
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL . . .			760	107	47	914	
Murree . . .		Mussalman . . .	170	4	3	177	
		Hindu . . .	...	...	...	...
	Sikh . . .	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	170	4	3	177		
Kahuta . . .	Mussalman . . .	321	21	17	359		
	Hindu . . .	18	...	1	19		
	Sikh . . .	2	1	1	4		
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	341	22	19	382		
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	1,773	228	154	2,155		
	Hindu . . .	49	5	2	56		
	Sikh . . .	20	3	1	24		
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL DISTRICT	1,842	236	157	2,235		
ATTOCK . . .	Attock . . .	Mussalman . . .	183	87	131	401	
		Hindu . . .	...	...	1	1	
		Sikh . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	183	87	132	402	
	Pindigheb . . .	Mussalman . . .	213	37	43	293	
		Hindu . . .	2	...	1	3	
		Sikh . . .	...	...	1	1	
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	215	37	45	297	

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
RAWALPINDI- concd.	ATTOCK—concd.	Fatehjang	Mussalman	223	83	75	381
			Hindu . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Sikh	1	1	...	2
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	224	84	75	383
		Tallagang	Mussalman	125	27	44	196
			Hindu	1	...	...	1
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	126	27	44	197
	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	744	234	293	1,271	
		Hindu	3	...	2	5	
		Sikh	1	1	1	3	
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL DISTRICT	748	235	296	1,279	
	MIANWALI	Mianwali	Mussalman	133	31	55	219
			Hindu . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	133	31	55	219
Bhakkar		Mussalman	142	30	61	233	
		Hindu	3	1	2	6	
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	145	31	63	239	
Isa Khel	Mussalman	78	11	27	116		
	Hindu . . . . .	...	...	1	1		
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	78	11	28	117		
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	353	72	143	568		
	Hindu	3	1	3	7		
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL DISTRICT	356	73	146	575		
MULTAN	MONTGOMERY	Montgomery	Mussalman	6,370	1,357	1,719	9,446
			Hindu	100	24	63	187
			Sikh	56	16	63	140
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	4	4
			TOTAL RAWAL-PINDI DIVISION	6,526	1,397	1,854	9,777
		Okara	Mussalman	229	40	45	314
			Hindu	32	6	10	48
			Sikh	2	6	14	22
			Miscellaneous	2	...	...	2
			TOTAL TAHASIL	265	52	69	386
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	186	63	43	292		
	Hindu	9	7	12	28		
	Sikh	9	9	19	37		
	Miscellaneous	2	...	2	4		
	TOTAL TAHASIL	206	79	76	361		

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
M U L T A N —contd.	MONTGOMERY— —contd.	Dipalpur	Mussalman	215	59	128	402
			Hindu	58	19	53	130
			Sikh	45	16	47	108
			Miscellaneous	1	...	1	2
			TOTAL TAHASIL	319	94	229	642
		Pakpattan	Mussalman	169	63	75	307
			Hindu	43	25	24	92
			Sikh	19	19	36	74
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	2	2
			TOTAL TAHASIL	231	107	137	475
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	799	225	291	1,315
			Hindu	142	57	99	298
	Sikh		75	50	116	241	
	Miscellaneous		5	...	5	10	
	TOTAL DISTRICT		1,021	332	511	1,864	
	LYALLPUR	Lyallpur	Mussalman . . . . .	...	2	340	342
			Hindu . . . . .	...	...	24	24
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	309	309
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . . . .	...	2	674	676
		Toba Tek Singh	Mussalman	21	42	332	395
			Hindu . . . . .	...	...	18	18
			Sikh	2	15	191	208
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	4	4
TOTAL TAHASIL			23	57	545	625	
Samundri		Mussalman	11	13	259	283	
		Hindu	1	1	22	24	
	Sikh	22	9	261	292		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	2	2		
	TOTAL TAHASIL	34	23	544	601		
Jaranwala	Mussalman	141	31	269	441		
	Hindu	8	4	51	63		
	Sikh	9	10	151	170		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	3	3		
	TOTAL TAHASIL	158	45	474	677		
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	173	88	1,200	1,461		
	Hindu	9	5	115	129		
	Sikh	33	34	912	979		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	10	10		
	TOTAL DISTRICT	215	127	1,237	2,579		
JHANG	Jhang	Mussalman	181	92	215	488	
		Hindu	43	12	37	92	
		Sikh	4	...	3	7	
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	1	1	
		TOTAL TAHASIL	228	104	256	588	
	Chiniot	Mussalman	144	83	333	560	
		Hindu	8	3	9	20	
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	152	86	342	580	

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—contd.

DIVISION.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN			TOTAL.
				Paying less than Rs 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs 60 land revenue.	Paying Rs 60 land revenue or more.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MULTAN—contd.	JEANG—contd.	Shorkot	Mussalman	97	53	101	251
			Hindu	18	6	6	30
			Sikh	...	1	1	2
			Miscellaneous	...	2	1	3
			TOTAL TAHASIL	115	62	109	286
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	422	228	649	1,299
		Hindu	69	21	52	142	
		Sikh	4	1	4	9	
		Miscellaneous	...	2	2	4	
		TOTAL DISTRICT	495	252	707	1,454	
	MULTAN	Multan	Mussalman	84	61	175	320
			Hindu	5	5	27	37
			Sikh	1	...	6	7
			Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	90	66	208	304
		Shujabad	Mussalman	39	61	91	191
			Hindu	13	15	19	47
			Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	52	76	110	238	
		Lodhran	Mussalman	89	37	106	232
Hindu	16		14	33	63		
Miscellaneous	...		...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL	105	51	139	295			
Mailsi	Mussalman	131	53	93	277		
	Hindu	14	7	22	43		
	Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL	145	60	115	320			
Kabirwala	Mussalman	76	57	146	279		
	Hindu	13	7	15	35		
	Miscellaneous	2	...	10	13		
TOTAL TAHASIL	91	64	172	327			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	419	269	611	1,299		
Hindu	61	48	116	225			
Sikh	3	...	16	19			
Miscellaneous	...	...	1	1			
TOTAL DISTRICT	483	317	744	1,544			
MURAFABQARE	Musafargarh	Mussalman	213	69	126	408	
		Hindu	17	11	18	46	
		Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	230	80	144	454		
	Alipur	Mussalman	103	32	77	212	
		Hindu	4	2	7	13	
Miscellaneous		...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL	107	34	84	225			

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement showing village headmen (excluding females and minors) paying land revenue by religion—concl.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	NUMBER OF VILLAGE HEADMEN.			
				Paying less than Rs. 25 land revenue.	Paying not less than Rs. 25 and less than Rs. 50 land revenue.	Paying Rs. 50 land revenue or more.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MULTAN—contd.	MUZAFFARGARH—contd.	Sinanwan	Mussalman	78	25	70	173
			Hindu	7	3	11	21
			Sikh
			Miscellaneous
		TOTAL TAHASIL	85	28	81	194	
		Leiah	Mussalman	120	24	52	196
			Hindu	5	1	1	7
			Sikh
			Miscellaneous
		TOTAL TAHASIL	125	25	53	203	
	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	514	150	325	989	
		Hindu	33	17	37	87	
		Sikh	
		Miscellaneous	
	TOTAL DISTRICT	547	167	362	1,076		
	DERA GHAZI KHAN.	Dera Ghazi Khan.	Mussalman	111	24	47	182
			Hindu	7	2	6	15
			Sikh
			Miscellaneous
		TOTAL TAHASIL	118	26	53	197	
		Sanghar	Mussalman	152	22	26	200
			Hindu	2	2
			Sikh
Miscellaneous	
TOTAL TAHASIL		154	22	26	202		
Jampur		Mussalman	78	7	32	117	
		Hindu	2	1	6	9	
		Sikh	
	Miscellaneous . . . .	..	..	..	..
TOTAL TAHASIL	80	8	38	126			
Rajanpur	Mussalman	62	14	36	112		
	Hindu	5	5	5	15		
	Sikh . . . .	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL TAHASIL	67	19	41	127			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	403	67	141	611		
	Hindu	16	8	17	41		
	Sikh . . . .	...	...	...	...
	Miscellaneous . . . .	...	...	...	...
TOTAL DISTRICT	419	75	158	652			
TOTAL MULTAN DIVISION.	Mussalman	2,730	1,027	3,217	6,974		
	Hindu	330	156	436	922		
	Sikh	115	85	1,048	1,248		
	Miscellaneous	5	2	18	25		
TOTAL DIVISION	3,180	1,270	4,719	9,169			
TOTAL PROVINCE.	Mussalman	18,390	5,018	8,434	31,842		
	Hindu	9,645	3,452	3,912	17,009		
	Sikh	5,766	2,419	5,127	13,312		
	Miscellaneous	11	7	42	60		
TOTAL PROVINCE	33,812	10,896	17,515	62,223			

STATEMENT OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS IN THE PUNJAB (EXCLUDING FEMALES AND MINORS) BY RELIGION.

Statement I.—Divisional Abstract.

DIVISION.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS.		REMARKS.
		Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5
AMBALA	Mussalman	382	12	
	Hindu	3,027	1,430	
	Sikh	47	5	
	Miscellaneous	28	1	
	TOTAL DIVISION	3,484	1,448	
JULLUNDUR	Mussalman	300	5	
	Hindu	2,592	623	
	Sikh	103	53	
	Miscellaneous	24	6	
	TOTAL DIVISION	3,025	687	
LAHORE	Mussalman	963	28	
	Hindu	3,679	709	
	Sikh	622	109	
	Miscellaneous	152	1	
	TOTAL DIVISION	5,416	847	
RAWALPINDI	Mussalman	426	47	
	Hindu	1,812	647	
	Sikh	425	283	
	Miscellaneous	75	2	
	TOTAL DIVISION	2,738	979	
MULTAN	Mussalman	318	10	
	Hindu	2,766	972	
	Sikh	222	71	
	Miscellaneous	17	...	
	TOTAL DIVISION	3,323	1,053	
PROVINCE	Mussalman	2,395	102	
	Hindu	13,876	4,381	
	Sikh	1,419	521	
	Miscellaneous	296	10	
	TOTAL PROVINCE	17,986	5,014	

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS.		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
AMBALA.	HISSAR	Hissar	Mussalman	11	1	
			Hindu	107	89	
			Sikh	
			Miscellaneous	
			TOTAL TAHASIL	118	90	
		Hansi	Mussalman	1	...	
			Hindu	138	105	
			Sikh	1	...	
			Miscellaneous	
			TOTAL TAHASIL	140	105	
		Bhiwani	Mussalman	
			Hindu	291	23	
			Sikh	
			Miscellaneous	
			TOTAL TAHASIL	291	23	
	Fatehabad	Mussalman	...	2		
		Hindu	...	104		
		Sikh	...	1		
		Miscellaneous	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	...	107		
	Sirsa	Mussalman	12	...		
		Hindu	154	68		
		Sikh	1	2		
Miscellaneous		1	...			
TOTAL TAHASIL		168	70			
HISSAR	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	24	3		
		Hindu	690	389		
		Sikh	2	3		
		Miscellaneous	1	...		
		TOTAL DISTRICT	717	395		
ROHTAK	Rohtak	Mussalman	...	1		
		Hindu	38	98		
		Sikh	...	...
		Miscellaneous	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	38	99		
	Jhajjar	Mussalman	5	1		
		Hindu	173	62		
		Sikh	...	...
		Miscellaneous	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	178	63		
	Gohana	Mussalman	...	...
		Hindu	27	81		
		Sikh	...	...
Miscellaneous		...	...	
TOTAL TAHASIL		27	81			
Sonapat	Mussalman	8	...			
	Hindu	67	76			
	Sikh	...	...	
	Miscellaneous	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHASIL	75	76			

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.		
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
AMBALA—contd.	ROHTAK—contd.	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	13	2			
			Hindu	305	317			
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
			TOTAL DISTRICT		318		319	
			GURGAON	Gurgaon	Mussalman		4	...
					Hindu		105	98
					Sikh
					Miscellaneous
					TOTAL TAHSIL		109	38
				Firozpur-Jhirka	Mussalman	2
					Hindu		30	33
					Sikh
					Miscellaneous
					TOTAL TAHSIL		30	35
				Nuh	Mussalman		4	...
					Hindu		66	41
					Sikh
					Miscellaneous
					TOTAL TAHSIL		70	41
				Palwal	Mussalman		13	...
					Hindu		179	43
					Sikh
			Miscellaneous	1	1			
			TOTAL TAHSIL	193	44			
		Rewari	Mussalman	28	1			
			Hindu	145	27			
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
			TOTAL TAHSIL	173	28			
		Ballabgarh	Mussalman	1	...			
			Hindu	66	25			
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
			TOTAL TAHSIL	67	25			
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	50	3			
			Hindu	591	207			
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...	
			Miscellaneous	1	1			
			TOTAL DISTRICT	642	211			
	KARNAL	Karnal	Mussalman	24	...	Figures are for 1917-18.		
				Hindu	118		78	
				Sikh	
				Miscellaneous	1		...	
				TOTAL TAHSIL	143		78	
			Panipat	Mussalman	43		2	
				Hindu	130		111	
				Sikh	1		...	
				Miscellaneous	
				TOTAL TAHSIL	174		113	

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.	
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
AMBALA—contd.	KARNAL—concd.	Kaithal	Mussalman	6	...		
			Hindu	102	149		
			Sikh . . . . .	...	2	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL	108	161		
		Thanesar	Mussalman	5	...		
			Hindu	96	45		
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL	101	45		
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	78	2		
			Hindu	446	383		
			Sikh	1	2		
			Miscellaneous	1	...		
			TOTAL DISTRICT	526	387		
	AMBALA	Ambala (including cantonment).	Mussalman	87	...		Exclude tax payers salary.
				Hindu	410			20
			Sikh	14	...		
			Miscellaneous	12	...		
			TOTAL TAHSEL	523	20		
		Kharar (including Kasauli).	Mussalman	16	2	Ditto.	
			Hindu	72	28		
			Sikh	7	...		
			Miscellaneous	10	...		
			TOTAL TAHSEL	105	30		
		Jagadhri	Mussalman	15	...	Ditto.	
			Hindu	132	26		
			Sikh	3	...		
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL	150	26		
		Naraingarh	Mussalman	5	...	Ditto.	
			Hindu	69	23		
			Sikh	1	...		
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL	75	26		
		Rupar	Mussalman	15	...	Ditto.	
			Hindu	87	25		
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL	102	25		
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	138	2	Ditto.	
			Hindu	770	132		
			Sikh	25	...		
			Miscellaneous	22	...		
			TOTAL DISTRICT	955	134		

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division	District	Tahsil	Religion	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAXPAYERS		REMARKS	
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 60 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
AMBALA— concl.	SIMLA	Kot Khai and Kotgarh	Mussalman		
			Hindu	...	2		
			Sikh		
			Miscellaneous		
			TOTAL	...	2		
	SIMLA and Bharauli	Mussalman	79	...			
		Hindu	225	...			
		Sikh	19	...			
		Miscellaneous	3	...			
		TOTAL	326	...			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	79	...				
	Hindu	225	2				
	Sikh	19	...				
	Miscellaneous	3	...				
	TOTAL DISTRICT	326	2				
AMBALA DIVISION	Mussalman	382	12		
			Hindu	3,027	1,430		
			Sikh	47	5		
			Miscellaneous	28	1		
			DIVISIONAL TOTAL	3,484	1,448		
JULLUNDUR DIVISION	KANGRA	Kangra	Mussalman	There are no urban areas in this district.	
			Hindu	...	22		
			Sikh		
			Miscellaneous	...	1		
			TOTAL TAHSIL	...	23		
		Dehra	Mussalman		
			Hindu	...	7		
			Sikh		
			Miscellaneous		
			TOTAL TAHSIL	...	7		
		Nurpur	Mussalman		
			Hindu	...	11		
			Sikh		
			Miscellaneous		
			TOTAL TAHSIL	...	11		
Hamirpur	Mussalman	...	...		
	Hindu	...	10				
	Sikh	...	...		
	Miscellaneous	...	...		
	TOTAL TAHSIL	...	10				
Kulu (including Siraj)	Mussalman	...	...		
	Hindu	...	26				
	Sikh	...	...		
	Miscellaneous	...	2				
	TOTAL TAHSIL	...	28				

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.	
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
JULLUNDUR— contd.	KANGRA	Palampur	Mussalman . . . . .	...	...
			Hindu . . . . .	...	11	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	2	
			TOTAL TAHSEL . . . . .	...	13	
			DISTRICT TOTAL				
	HOSHIAHPUR	Hoshiarpur	Mussalman . . . . .	...	...
			Hindu . . . . .	...	87	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	5	
			TOTAL TAHSEL . . . . .	...	92	
			DISTRICT TOTAL				
		Dasuya	Mussalman	27	3		
			Hindu	214	28		
			Sikh	7	...		
			Miscellaneous	2	...		
			TOTAL TAHSEL	250	31		
			DISTRICT TOTAL				
		Garhsbankar	Mussalman	6	...		
			Hindu	124	103		
			Sikh	4	3		
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	1	
			TOTAL TAHSEL	134	107		
			DISTRICT TOTAL				
Una	Mussalman . . . . .	...	1			
	Hindu . . . . .	...	55			
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...		
	TOTAL TAHSEL . . . . .	...	56			
	DISTRICT TOTAL						
JULLUNDUR	Jullundur	Mussalman	52	32			
		Hindu . . . . .	...	...	
		Sikh	17	...			
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
		TOTAL TAHSEL	69	32			
		DISTRICT TOTAL					
	Nakodar	Mussalman	33	4			
		Hindu	390	218			
		Sikh	28	3			
		Miscellaneous	2	1			
		TOTAL TAHSEL	453	226			
		DISTRICT TOTAL					
	Phillaur	Mussalman	86	...			
		Hindu	444	6			
		Sikh	15	1			
		Miscellaneous	11	...			
		TOTAL TAHSEL	556	7			
		DISTRICT TOTAL					
Nakodar	Mussalman	6	...				
	Hindu	74	32				
	Sikh	2	1				
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...		
	TOTAL TAHSEL	82	33				
	DISTRICT TOTAL						
Phillaur	Mussalman	6	...				
	Hindu	43	14				
	Sikh	3	1				
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...		
	TOTAL TAHSEL	52	15				
	DISTRICT TOTAL						

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS.		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
JULLUNDUR— contd.	JULLUNDUR— contd.	Nawaahar	Mussalman	1	...	
			Hindu	109	11	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	110	11	
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	99	...	
		Hindu	670	63		
		Sikh	20	3		
		Miscellaneous	11	...		
		TOTAL DISTRICT	800	66		
	LUDHIANA	Ludhiana	Mussalman	52	...	
			Hindu	323	23	
			Sikh	11	2	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	386	25	
		Jagraon	Mussalman	14	...	
			Hindu	199	9	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	1	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	213	10		
		Samrala	Mussalman	8	...	
			Hindu	53	18	
			Sikh	1	...	
Miscellaneous . . . . .	...		...
TOTAL TAHASIL	62	18				
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	74	...			
Hindu	575	50				
Sikh	12	3				
Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...		
TOTAL DISTRICT	661	53				
FEROZEPUR	Ferozepore	Mussalman	74	...		
		Hindu	331	50		
		Sikh	25	4		
		Miscellaneous	10	...		
		TOTAL TAHASIL	440	54		
	Zira	Mussalman . . . . .	...	1		
		Hindu	75	31		
		Sikh . . . . .	...	7		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	75	39			
	Moga	Mussalman	4	...		
		Hindu	85	40		
		Sikh	10	22		
		Miscellaneous	1	...		
	TOTAL TAHASIL	100	62			
Muktsar	Mussalman	12	...			
	Hindu	206	43			
	Sikh	7	9			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
TOTAL TAHASIL	225	52				

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS.		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
JULLUNDUR— concl'd.	FEROZEPUR— concl'd.	Fazilka . . .	Mussalman . . .	10	...	
			Hindu . . .	260	41	
			Sikh . . .	1	2	
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	271	43	
	FEROZEPUR . . .	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	109	1	
			Hindu . . .	957	205	
			Sikh . . .	43	44	
			Miscellaneous . . .	11	...	
			TOTAL DISTRICT . . .	1,111	250	
JULLUNDUR DIVISION.	..	..	Mussalman . . .	306	5	
			Hindu . . .	2,592	623	
			Sikh . . .	103	53	
			Miscellaneous . . .	24	6	
			DIVISIONAL TOTAL . . .	3,025	687	
LAHORE	LAHORE . . .	Lahore . . .	Mussalman . . .	408	12	
			Hindu . . .	868	63	
			Sikh . . .	80	9	
			Miscellaneous . . .	112	1	
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	1,468	85	
		Chunian . . .	Mussalman . . .	5	2	
			Hindu . . .	97	33	
			Sikh . . .	1	1	
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	103	36	
	Kasur . . .	Mussalman . . .	110	1		
		Hindu . . .	161	30		
		Sikh . . .	8	2		
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	299	33		
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	523	15			
	Hindu . . .	1,146	126			
	Sikh . . .	89	12			
	Miscellaneous . . .	112	1			
	TOTAL, DISTRICT . . .	1,870	164			
AMRITSAR	Amritsar . . .	Mussalman . . .	165	...		
		Hindu . . .	1,216	24		
		Sikh . . .	337	17		
		Miscellaneous . . .	15	...		
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	1,733	41		
	Tarn Taran	Mussalman . . .	...	...
		Hindu . . .	12	69		
		Sikh . . .	19	20		
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL . . .	31	89		

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS.		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
LAHORE—contd.	AMRITSAR— concl.	Ajnala	Mussalman	2	...	
			Hindu	18	17	
			Sikh	1	6	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	21	23	
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	167	...	
		Hindu	1,246	110		
		Sikh	357	43		
		Miscellaneous	15	...		
		TOTAL DISTRICT	1,785	163		
	GURDASPUR	Gurdaspur	Mussalman	8	...	
			Hindu	76	28	
			Sikh	5	...	
			Miscellaneous	1	...	
			TOTAL TAHASIL	90	28	
		Batala	Mussalman	27	1	
			Hindu	204	17	
			Sikh	22	4	
			Miscellaneous	1	...	
		TOTAL TAHASIL	254	22		
		Pathankot	Mussalman	22	...	
			Hindu	94	26	
			Sikh	5	...	
			Miscellaneous	15	...	
TOTAL TAHASIL	136	26				
Shakargarh	Mussalman . . . . .	...	...	
	Hindu	8	37			
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHASIL	8	37			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	57	1			
Hindu	382	108				
Sikh	32	4				
Miscellaneous	17	...				
TOTAL DISTRICT	488	113				
SIALKOT	Sialkot	Mussalman	99	...		
		Hindu	234	30		
		Sikh	43	5		
		Miscellaneous	3	...		
		TOTAL TAHASIL	379	36		
	Pannur	Mussalman	2	1		
		Hindu	29	43		
		Sikh . . . . .	...	9		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	31	53			
Zaffarwal	Mussalman . . . . .	...	...	
	Hindu	25	35			
	Sikh . . . . .	...	1			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
TOTAL TAHASIL	25	36				

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—cont d.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
LAHORE —contd.	SIALKOT—concd.	Raya	Mussalman	9	...	
			Hindu	52	38	
Sikh			3	2		
Miscellaneous . . . . .			...	1	
TOTAL TAHSEL			64	40		
Daska		Mussalman	10	1		
		Hindu	68	37		
		Sikh	7	...		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL	85	38		
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	120	2			
	Hindu	408	183			
	Sikh	53	17			
	Miscellaneous	3	...			
	TOTAL DISTRICT	584	202			
LAHORE DIVISION.	GUJRANWALA	Gujranwala	Mussalman	37	...	
			Hindu	230	44	
			Sikh	43	9	
			Miscellaneous	1	...	
			TOTAL TAHSEL	311	53	
		Wazirabad	Mussalman	22	2	
			Hindu	63	28	
			Sikh	12	3	
			Miscellaneous	1	...	
			TOTAL TAHSEL	118	33	
	Hafizabad	Mussalman	1	5		
		Hindu	74	61		
		Sikh	11	8		
		Miscellaneous	3	...		
		TOTAL TAHSEL	89	74		
	Khangah Dogran	Mussalman	8	2		
		Hindu	81	18		
		Sikh	21	8		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL	110	28		
Sharapur	Mussalman	28	1			
	Hindu	29	31			
	Sikh	4	5			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHSEL	61	37			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	96	10			
	Hindu	497	182			
	Sikh	91	33			
	Miscellaneous	5	...			
	TOTAL DISTRICT	689	225			
LAHORE DIVISION.	LAHORE DIVISION.	Mussalman	963	28		
		Hindu	3,679	709		
		Sikh	622	109		
		Miscellaneous	152	1		
		DIVISIONAL TOTAL	5,416	847		

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.	
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
RAWALPINDI.	GUJRAT	Gujrat	Mussalman	77	5		
			Hindu	177	47		
			Sikh	17	25		
			Miscellaneous	1	...		
			TOTAL TAHSEL	272	77		
		Kharian	Mussalman	6	...		
			Hindu	104	36		
			Sikh	11	32		
			Miscellaneous	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL	121	68			
		Phalia	Mussalman	...	1		
			Hindu	...	28		
	Sikh		...	25			
	Miscellaneous		...	...	
	TOTAL TAHSEL	...	54				
	DISTRICT TOTAL			Mussalman	83	6	
				Hindu	281	111	
				Sikh	28	82	
				Miscellaneous	1	...	
	TOTAL DISTRICT				393	199	
	SHANPUR	Shahpur	Mussalman	1	4		
			Hindu	93	24		
			Sikh	23	22		
Miscellaneous			...	...	
TOTAL TAHSEL			117	50			
Khushab		Mussalman	11	...			
		Hindu	33	37			
		Sikh	15	29			
		Miscellaneous	...	1			
TOTAL TAHSEL		59	87				
Bhara		Mussalman	40	3			
	Hindu	181	70				
	Sikh	14	5				
	Miscellaneous	2	...				
TOTAL TAHSEL	237	78					
Sargodha	Mussalman	15	...				
	Hindu	100	15				
	Sikh	43	8				
	Miscellaneous	...	...		
TOTAL TAHSEL	158	23					
DISTRICT TOTAL			Mussalman	67	7		
			Hindu	417	146		
			Sikh	95	64		
			Miscellaneous	2	1		
TOTAL DISTRICT				581	218		

Only village Khushab is taken in urban area and other villages are taken in rural area.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.	
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
RAWALPINDI contd.	JHELUM	Jhelum	Mussalman	29	...		
			Hindu	90	18		
			Sikh	23	15		
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	142	33		
		Chakwal	Mussalman	5	...		
			Hindu	46	35		
			Sikh	24	44		
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	75	79			
		Pind Dadan Khan.	Mussalman	11	4		
			Hindu	54	75		
			Sikh	6	1		
	Miscellaneous . . . . .		...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	71	80				
	DISTRICT TOTAL			Mussalman	45	4	
				Hindu	190	128	
				Sikh	53	60	
				Miscellaneous	
				TOTAL DISTRICT	288	192	
	RAWALPINDI	Rawalpindi	Mussalman	185	7		
				Hindu	454	6	
				Sikh	122	9	
Miscellaneous				36	...		
TOTAL TAHASIL				797	22		
Guja Khan			Mussalman	6	1		
			Hindu	25	2		
			Sikh	63	8		
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	96	11		
Murree		Mussalman	21	5			
		Hindu	51	4			
		Sikh	27	3			
		Miscellaneous	25	1			
TOTAL TAHASIL	124	13					
Kahuta	Mussalman . . . . .	...	1			
	Hindu . . . . .	...	2			
	Sikh . . . . .	...	38			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...		
TOTAL TAHASIL . . . . .	...	41				
DISTRICT TOTAL			Mussalman	214	14		
			Hindu	530	14		
			Sikh	212	58		
			Miscellaneous	61	1		
			TOTAL DISTRICT	1,017	87		

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
RAWALPIND— contd.	ATTOCK	Attock	Mussalman	6	8	
			Hindu	97	46	
			Sikh	18	2	
			Miscellaneous	
			TOTAL TAHASIL	121	56	
		Pindigheb	Mussalman	3	8	
			Hindu	45	35	
			Sikh	6	1	
			Miscellaneous	
		TOTAL TAHASIL	54	44		
		Tallagang	Mussalman	
			Hindu	38	23	
			Sikh	12	3	
			Miscellaneous	
		TOTAL TAHASIL	50	26		
	Fatebjang	Mussalman	...	...
		Hindu	...	14		
		Sikh	...	10		
		Miscellaneous	...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	...	24			
	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	9	16		
		Hindu	180	118		
		Sikh	36	16		
Miscellaneous		...	...	
TOTAL DISTRICT		225	150			
MIANWALI	Mianwali	Mussalman	4	...		
		Hindu	64	91		
		Sikh	1	2		
		Miscellaneous	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	69	93		
	Bhakkas	Mussalman	2	...		
		Hindu	68	37		
		Sikh	...	1		
	Miscellaneous	5	...			
	TOTAL TAHASIL	75	38			
Issa Khel	Mussalman	2	...			
	Hindu	82	2			
	Sikh	...	...	
Miscellaneous	6	...				
TOTAL TAHASIL	90	2				
MIANWALI	DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman	8	...		
		Hindu	214	130		
		Sikh	1	3		
		Miscellaneous	11	...		
		TOTAL DISTRICT	234	133		
RAWALPINDI DIVISION.	...	Mussalman	426	47		
		Hindu	1,812	647		
		Sikh	425	283		
		Miscellaneous	75	2		
		DIVISIONAL TOTAL	2,738	979		

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS.		REMARKS.	
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
MULTAN	MONTGOMERY	Montgomery	Mussalman	19	...		
			Hindu	209	32		
			Sikh	25	...		
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	263	32		
		Okara	Mussalman	7	1		
			Hindu	65	26		
			Sikh	22	1		
			Miscellaneous	1	...		
		TOTAL TAHASIL	95	28			
		Pakpattan	Mussalman	22	...		
			Hindu	123	32		
	Sikh		2	6			
	Miscellaneous . . . . .		...	...
	TOTAL TAHASIL	147	38				
	Dipalpur	Mussalman	5	...			
		Hindu	116	23			
		Sikh	24	11			
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHASIL	145	34				
	DISTRICT TOTAL			Mussalman	53	1	
				Hindu	513	113	
				Sikh	83	18	
				Miscellaneous	1	...	
TOTAL, DISTRICT				650	132		
LYALLPUR	Lyallpur	Mussalman	58	1			
		Hindu	274	51			
		Sikh	60	14			
		Miscellaneous	3	...			
		TOTAL TAHASIL	395	66			
	Samundri	Mussalman	9	...			
		Hindu	94	71			
		Sikh	12	14			
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHASIL	115	85				
	Toba Tek Singh	Mussalman	12	...			
		Hindu	159	16			
Sikh		27	3				
Miscellaneous . . . . .		...	...	
TOTAL TAHASIL	198	19					
Jaranwala	Mussalman	14	...				
	Hindu	78	67				
	Sikh	20	11				
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...		
TOTAL TAHASIL	112	78					
DISTRICT TOTAL			Mussalman	83	1		
			Hindu	605	205		
			Sikh	119	42		
			Miscellaneous	3	...		
TOTAL, DISTRICT				820	248		

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Ra. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
MULTAN—contd.	JHANG	Jhang	Mussalman	11	...	
			Hindu	122	25	
			Sikh	8	6	
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	141	31	
		Chiniot	Mussalman	8	...	
			Hindu	65	70	
			Sikh . . . . .	...	2
			Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHASIL	73	72	
	Shorkot	Mussalman . . . . .	...	...
		Hindu	65	15		
		Sikh	1	3		
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	66	18		
	DISTRICT TOTAL			Mussalman	19	...
				Hindu	262	110
				Sikh	9	11
				Miscellaneous
				TOTAL DISTRICT	280	121
MULTAN	MULTAN	Multan	Mussalman	115	1	
			Hindu	625	28	
			Sikh	8	...	
			Miscellaneous	10	...	
			TOTAL TAHASIL	758	29	
	Shujahabad	Mussalman	2	...		
		Hindu	116	55		
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	118	55		
	Lodhran	Mussalman	5	1		
		Hindu	51	18		
		Sikh . . . . .	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHASIL	56	19		
Mailai	Mussalman . . . . .	...	2		
	Hindu . . . . .	...	57		
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . . . .	...	59		
Kabirwala	Mussalman . . . . .	...	2		
	Hindu . . . . .	...	18		
	Sikh . . . . .	...	...	
	Miscellaneous . . . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHASIL . . . . .	...	20		

Shorkot and Ahmadpur are notified areas and have been treated as urban areas. Their population is 4,861 and 5,493 persons, respectively.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—contd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
MULTAN—contd.	MULTAN—contd.	Khanawal	Mussalman . . .	...	..
			Hindu . . .	...	22	
			Sikh . . .	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	...	22	
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	122	6	
		Hindu . . .	792	198		
		Sikh . . .	8	...		
		Miscellaneous . . .	10	...		
		TOTAL DISTRICT	932	204		
	MUEAFFARGABH	Muzaffargarh	Mussalman . . .	6	...	
			Hindu . . .	75	60	
			Sikh . . .	2	...	
			Miscellaneous . . .	2	...	
			TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	85	60	
		Alipur	Mussalman . . .	5	...	
			Hindu . . .	55	48	
			Sikh . . .	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	60	48	
Sinanwan	Mussalman . . .	...	...	
	Hindu . . .	...	57			
	Sikh . . .	...	...	
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	...	57			
Leiah	Mussalman . . .	1	...			
	Hindu . . .	107	38			
	Sikh . . .	1	...			
	Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	
	TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	109	38			
DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	12	...			
Hindu . . .	237	203				
Sikh . . .	3	...				
Miscellaneous . . .	2	...				
TOTAL DISTRICT	254	203				
DERA GHAKI KHAN.	Dera Ghazi Khan	Mussalman . . .	7	...		
		Hindu . . .	138	32		
		Sikh . . .	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . .	1	...		
		TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	146	32		
	Sanghar	Mussalman . . .	...	1		
		Hindu . . .	13	55		
		Sikh . . .	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSEL . . .	13	56		

PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

[Continued.]

Statement II.—Statement of income-tax payers by districts in the Punjab (excluding females and minors) by religion—concl'd.

Division.	District.	Tahsil.	Religion.	TOTAL NUMBER OF INCOME-TAX PAYERS		REMARKS.
				Paying any income-tax in urban areas.	Paying Rs. 50 or more per annum income-tax in rural areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
MULTAN— concl'd.	DEBA GHAI KHAN—concl'd.	Rejanpur	Mussalman . . .	10	...	14
			Hindu . . .	80	...	...
			Sikh . . .	...	...	...
			Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...
			TOTAL TAHSIL . . .	90	...	14
			Jampur . . .	Mussalman . . .	2	1	42
		Hindu . . .	136	...	...	...
		Sikh . . .	...	...	...	...
		Miscellaneous . . .	...	...	...	...
		TOTAL TAHSIL . . .	138	...	43	...
		DISTRICT TOTAL	Mussalman . . .	19	2	143
		Hindu . . .	367	...	...	...
Sikh . . .	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous . . .	1	...	...	...
TOTAL DISTRICT	387	...	145	...		
MULTAN DIVI- SION.	...	Mussalman . . .	313	10	972	
Hindu . . .	2,766	...	...	...
Sikh . . .	222	...	...	71		
Miscellaneous . . .	17	...	...	...
DIVISIONAL TOTAL	3,323	...	1,053	...		
PROVINCE	...	Mussalman . . .	2,395	102	4,381	
Hindu . . .	13,876		
Sikh . . .	1,419	521		
Miscellaneous . . .	296	10		
PROVINCIAL TOTAL	17,986	...	5,014	...		

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The Hon'ble Mr. H. D. CRAIK.

[Continued.]

Lahore, Wednesday, December 4th, 1918.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon'ble Lord SOUTHBOROUGH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. (President).

Sir FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.
 Sahibzada APTAB AHMED KHAN.
 W. M. HAILEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.L.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Babu SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA.
 The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.
 The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. P. J. FAGAN, C.S.I., I.C.S., Financial Commissioner.

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur SUNDER SINGH MAJITHIA.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (Secretary).

The Hon'ble Mr. H. D. CRAIK, I.C.S., officiating Additional Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, called and examined.

1934. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was acting as Secretary to the Local Government and had been appointed by them as their representative to explain their scheme.

1935. The Local Government proposed to exclude Lahoul and Spiti in the Kangra district from the scheme as backward tracts. The statistics in paragraph 6 included the population of these tracts but it was insignificant. The people were primitive and set off for the greater part of the year.

1936. A system of communal representation was already in force in the bigger municipal towns. The whole electoral system in the Lahore municipality was on this basis and it had proved successful. It was proposed to provide for any minorities not included under the head Sikhs, Hindus or Muhammadans by nomination.

1937. A resolution had been brought forward in the Legislative Council to the effect that Muhammadans should get half the Indian elected seats. An amendment had been proposed by one of the Sikh members that the words "subject to the just claims of the Sikhs" should be prefixed. This had been defeated. He thought that the Muhammadans would not object to communal representation for the Sikhs provided their interests were sufficiently safeguarded, but the Hindus objected on the ground that Sikhs were Hindus, which the Sikhs themselves denied. Government proposed to give 5 out of 34 seats to the Sikhs and they had the strong possibility of getting one more seat. They therefore proposed to give the Sikhs considerably more than they were entitled to on a population basis though considerably less than they themselves demanded.

1938. They proposed to give communal representation to the Muhammadans though they were in the majority. They were, however, generally of a lower standard of property and education. The Local Government attached weight to the Congress-League compact. They proposed to give 13 out of 27 seats to the Muhammadans, that is to say, 50 per cent. omitting the special electorates. They recognised that this was not an exact interpretation of the compact. He anticipated that the seats would be distributed between the various communities as follows:—

Either
 15 Muhammadans, 5 Sikhs, 13 Hindus and
 1 European.

Or
 16 Muhammadans, 6 Sikhs, 11 Hindus and
 1 European.

1939. He would endeavour to supply figures showing the population and the number of voters in each constituency.

1940. The Local Government proposed to give one-fifth of the seats to the urban electorates although they repre-

sented only one-tenth of the population. Herein they departed from the 4th resolution of the non-official members of the Legislative Council. They weighted the urban vote because educational and commercial interests were centred in the towns.

1941. As regards the rural constituencies His Honour preferred the division to the district as the electoral unit. In some cases districts had been newly colonised and formed and the canal colonies in some cases also were split up between different districts. In many districts there was not the same community of interest and local district feeling as in other Provinces. If the district was taken as the unit, there would be difficulties with regard to the representation of the different communities and there would be an enormously enlarged Council. In the Rawalpindi-Multan Hindu constituency there would be little community of interest but there were only 600,000 Hindus in the whole constituency. In Multan 14 per cent. of the population were Hindus and in Rawalpindi 8 per cent. only.

1942. The eight biggest towns in the province were as follows:—

	Population.
Lahore	282,000
Amritsar	152,000
Multan	99,000
Rawalpindi	86,000
Ambala	80,000
Jullundur	69,000
Sialkot	65,000
Ferozepur	50,000

1943. The Local Government had not seriously considered making these into separate constituencies. Lahore was distinctly an industrial centre but it had more in common with other towns of the division than they had with the country side. The Lieutenant-Governor thought that the small towns were more urban in character than agricultural. In villages the predominant interest was that of the landowners. In small towns the landowners represented a very small minority and the most important classes were the trading classes and professional men. These towns were largely market towns. On these grounds it was proposed to keep them separate from the rural constituencies. In the event of a clash of interests the interests of the small towns would usually be against the agriculturists.

1944. (There was certainly a distinct class of "landed gentry" in the province, but whether the limit of Rs. 500 land revenue payment proposed in paragraph 11 of the Local Government's letter accurately demarcated this class he was not sure. This class of landholder was quite separate from the present proprietor and in parts conditions of

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[Continued.]

an almost feudal character obtained.) Generally speaking the large landowners were more conservative than the other classes and they were anxious to keep, and the Local Government were anxious to maintain, their privileges. (At the present time they were not specially represented in the Council but the Local Government always nominated one or two members from them. This class of landholder had many tenants. The peasant proprietors might have tenants but those tenants would themselves have a proprietary interest in other lands.) The Local Government proposed to give one seat to the landholders of the Jullundur and Ambala divisions combined and one to each of the others, but it was possible that they might reconsider this decision. The number of voters in the different divisions was as follows:—

Ambala	318
Jullundur	320
Lahore	375
Rawalpindi	335
Multan	1,241

of whom 544 came from the Lyallpur district.

1945. The majority of these landholders in the first three cases were Hindus and Sikhs; in the Rawalpindi division nearly all of them were Muhammadans; he was not sure to what religion the majority of the landholders belonged in the Multan Division. The Local Government were disposed on further consideration to think that they would get a better result from having one provincial constituency, which would be of under 3,000 electors, but it was possible that they might find it desirable to have communal representation, in which case it would be suitable to give 2 seats to the Muhammadans, 1 to the Sikhs and 1 to the Hindus. He would forward the opinion of the Local Government on this point with the statistics showing the religious distribution of the electorates.

1946. At present the Punjab Chamber of Commerce elected one member to the Council. It represented wholesale trade, piece goods dealers, etc. The Trades Association represented retail trade and consisted largely of European shopkeepers. Neither body had been consulted in regard to these proposals, but he thought they would prove acceptable to them. The Chamber of Commerce was really representative, and it was the only available organisation for this purpose. It included several Delhi firms; he would supply information as to whether the operations of these firms extended to the Punjab and whether the Local Government thought that they should all be allowed a vote.

1947. The other constituency proposed for trade and industry was fairly comprehensive. The big native bankers (*sahukars*) would not be included in either constituency, nor would contractors, unless they were the owners of factories, as many of them were. They had not specially considered the case of persons paying income-tax under Part IV above a certain limit, but he did not favour this proposal as it meant that they would be over-weighting commerce at the expense of industry.

1948. In proposing that a seat should be reserved for the University he thought that the main intention of the Local Government was to secure the representation of the educated classes and the general culture of the province rather than of the interests of the university. Past experience had shown that the University Member took part in the general debates in the Council.

1949. As regards the 11 nominated officials he thought the following would be suitable:—

Executive Councillors	2
Financial Commissioners	2
Secretaries to Government	4
Director of Public Instruction	1
One of the Chief Engineers	1
Legal Remembrancer	1

11

This would exclude the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and the Director of Industries who were now included. He would consult His Honour on the subject

but he did not think that he would agree to any rigid allotment of the seats. He would prefer to have a certain discretion.

1950. The lambarbars to whom it was proposed to give a vote were the village headmen and represented the whole or a section of a village. The post was hereditary, that is to say that the rule of primogeniture was followed unless the heir was disqualified by bad character, bad behaviour or poverty. If a minor succeeded, a substitute had to be appointed until he came of age. Subject to appeal Collectors could deprive families of the right of inheritance for gross misconduct. He would hand in a copy of the rules regarding their appointments and their duties. Their primary function was the collection of land revenue and canal dues and they were also expected to assist in the maintenance of law and order. Lambarbars were rarely appointed for more than one village but, when they were, substitutes were appointed by Government on their recommendation for the villages in which they did not reside. The substitute should vote where the lambarbar was a minor. Where he was a lambarbar of more than one village, it would be a question whether the lambarbar or the substitute should vote. This point had not actually been considered by Government.

1951. The second qualification proposed in paragraph 17 of the Local Government's letter was a property qualification consisting an annual payment of Rs. 50 land revenue. They recommended this figure firstly in order to secure manageable electorates, secondly to ensure that the electors were men of a suitable class and thirdly because experience had shown that there was great apathy amongst the voters and there was no general demand for a wide extension of the privilege.

1952. He did not think that the Lieutenant-Governor would agree to the qualifications being varied from district to district unless the statistics which were going to be collected showed a very marked difference from one district to another. He would obtain the Lieutenant-Governor's views in regard to this.

1953. He did not think that the crown tenants would swamp the electorates in certain cases. After the lapse of a certain time and on the payment of a certain sum crown tenants became proprietors.

1954. The zaildars were representatives of a group of villages appointed primarily to assist in police work. They were appointed by Government and there was no right of succession. Nobody except a lambarbar could be appointed to the post save with the consent of the Commissioner. Safedpoahes and inamdara were appointed by Government to assist the zaildars. There would certainly be very few persons of these classes who would not be qualified in some other way, but the Local Government had included the qualifications to prevent hard cases.

1955. He did not think that a payment of Rs. 50 land revenue was comparable to an assignment of Rs. 200. A payment of Rs. 50 land revenue represented an income of about Rs. 200 or rather more from the land. Assignees were of two kinds, landowners excused payment of the land revenue of their land and persons to whom the revenue of a village or part of a village had been assigned irrespective of their place of residence or whether they were owners or not. He thought the Local Government would object to reducing the assignment qualification because to do so would admit many petty musfidars.

1956. The members of District Boards were already voters for the Legislative Council elections and he thought there would be a strong conservative feeling against depriving them of this privilege even though the great majority would be qualified on other grounds.

1957. Honorary Sub-Registrars were men of position who would not necessarily have other qualifications. Some of them were retired military officers. Honorary Magistrates were often retired Government servants. 60 was perhaps an excessive estimate of their number.

1958. The Local Government were against going below the rank of jemadar in the case of military pensioners for fear of enfranchising too large an electorate.

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[Continued]

1959. Civil pensioners would be persons well qualified to exercise the vote and would be a valuable influence in the electorates. Government therefore proposed a lower qualification in their case than in the case of income-tax payers.

1960. Incomes of Rs. 2,000 a year had been suggested in the case of income-tax payers because the tax payable on this, viz., Rs. 52 was about equivalent to Rs. 50 land revenue. It was proposed to give a vote to all income-tax payers in urban areas but in the rural areas Government only proposed to give votes to persons paying tax on incomes of Rs. 2,000 or over because they did not wish to give an undue advantage to income-tax payers as compared with payers of land revenue. They had chosen the lesser of two anomalies. Even by their proposal 5,500 voters would be included on this qualification.

1961. It was true that there was a feeling that it was undesirable to embroil co-operative societies in politics, but there had been a unanimous resolution in favour of this passed by the non-official members and the presidents of such societies were usually looked up to and really trusted. Many of them were not village officers and many of them were poor men who would not come in under other qualifications.

1962. The Local Government rejected the proposal to give a vote to matriculates, considering that standard much too low in itself to justify the grant of a vote.

1963. In paragraph 19 of the Local Government's letter it was proposed to give a vote in urban constituencies to owners of immovable property. This would include house sites but not agricultural land. By "value" they meant selling value or capital value, but the annual value could also be used where it was available.

1964. There was direct taxation only in a very few municipal towns, and there was no generally imposed direct tax that could be used as a basis for the franchise. In 24 municipalities the right of voting at municipal elections was given on a basis of income. He thought it was the intention as regards this qualification that the voter should be a resident in the province. He thought that in fixing the amount of municipal taxation at Rs. 50 a year the intention was to equate it with the proposed Rs. 50 of land revenue.

1965. If persons occupying premises of an annual value of less than Rs. 120 were admitted, a low social stratum would be enfranchised in the big towns. The rent mentioned was a low rent for the native quarters of such cities as Lahore and Amritsar. He thought the Local Government would agree to this last qualification being amended in the following way so as to get rid of qualification (vii):—

"Persons owning or occupying premises or house sites of an estimated annual value or rental, etc....."

1966. The Local Government accepted the principle of plural voting in the different constituencies in order to weight wealth and education at the elections.

1967. Government laid considerable stress on the necessity for candidates being resident in the constituency, that is to say, having a place of residence. Persons having a place of business only should not be admitted.

1968. The Local Government had excluded the classes of persons mentioned in paragraph 24 (iii) of their letter because they would not be properly representative. The object was to give a political education to the rural voter and to teach him to produce representatives of his own class.

1969. He did not think that the question whether subjects of native states resident in British India should be allowed to vote had been specially considered. He thought the Local Government would like to consult some of the Chiefs.

1970. On the Indian Legislative Assembly the Local Government proposed that they should have 8 seats instead of the 7 proposed in the Report, but they did not propose that on this account the size of the Assembly should be increased. They justified their proposal by the growing wealth and importance of the province. In addition to the reasons given they thought it would be

difficult to have direct election to the Assembly owing to the difficulty of framing electorates.

1971. The representation on the Council of State should be communal. The Local Government had not considered how the six all-India seats would be filled.

1972. The promised note with regard to electoral machinery was not ready. The Local Government saw no reason for holding all elections throughout the province or in any one constituency on the same day, and it would be difficult to provide the staff required for the purpose. There should be one polling station to each tahsil and it would be necessary either to appoint different polling stations or different days at the same polling station for Muhammadans, Hindus and Sikhs. The station should be in charge of a gazetted officer. At the Lahore municipal elections the candidates had objected to non-official polling officers. The rural constituencies could probably be polled in one day; but the urban constituencies would take longer. The preparation of the electoral rolls should not be a matter of much difficulty. The objections should be decided summarily by the Deputy Commissioners; it was most undesirable to introduce the civil courts. Voting should be by ballot and the gazetted polling officer would give the necessary assistance to illiterate voters. Some special form of court would probably be required to deal with election petitions, but he did not think that so far there had been any in connection with the Council elections.

1973. (Mr. Hailey.) He did not think that the presence of 2½ million untouchables in the province would be a practical difficulty if the whole of the electorates were divided into Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs, because not many of them would be qualified to vote.

1974. The statistics of municipalities supplied by the Local Government were for all municipalities including those with a population of less than 5,000. The Local Government proposed to include them all, however small, in the urban electorates.

1975. Civil pensioners drawing Rs. 500 a year were not properly comparable to assignees of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 200 a year. The latter were an important hereditary class and were not on all fours with the pensioners.

The Local Government proposed to give a vote in the urban constituencies to persons occupying premises of an estimated annual value or rental of not less than Rs. 120. At the present time votes were given in 22 municipalities to persons paying a rental of not less than sums varying between Rs. 1 and Rs. 5 a month. The qualification was therefore being considerably increased but at present the municipal franchise was much wider than in other provinces.

1976. The Local Government preferred excluding certain classes of persons from standing in the rural constituencies to permitting only members of certain agricultural classes to stand. There was a strong feeling in the province in regard to this.

1977. The large landlords should certainly be allowed to stand in the general constituencies; they should be encouraged to take part in the elections. In parts of the province tenants without proprietary interest were found in large numbers, which meant that the big landowners dealt with tenants pure and simple. The tenants of peasant proprietors on the other hand were themselves as a rule proprietors.

1978. (Mr. Banerjee.) He recognised that the Punjab Government scheme, which was based entirely on communal representation, was not in accordance with the basic principle of the Report, but in the Punjab they had in the first place to consider the Sikhs who represented 11 per cent. of the population. The Sikhs regarded the Report as a definite promise of communal representation. Then the Muhammadans, who presented 56 per cent. of the population, pressed for communal representation with equal vigour. If communal representation was given to these two communities then it must also be given to the third remaining community, namely the Hindus. This followed automatically. Apart from Hindus, Sikhs and Muhammadans the balance of the population

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[Continued.]

amounted to 2 per cent. of the whole. The third electorate might be called a general electorate but really it would be Hindu.

1979. As regards the size of the Council the Lieutenant-Governor thought that it was not prudent to go beyond the 51 which was the figure he suggested and which was nearly twice the existing figure. He had already considered the possible disappointment in the Punjab, but he did not think that at present there would be sufficient competent men to fill a larger Council.

1980. He had no personal experience of non-official agency at elections, but he had discussed the matter with the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and he thought that polling officers must be gazetted officers. Experience had shown that Honorary Magistrates were not regarded with the same confidence.

1981. (Mr. Hogg.) He regarded the Anglo-Indians in the province as one community with the domiciled Europeans. Apart from the domiciled Europeans there was not a large European population; including shopkeepers they would amount to a few hundred. If any electorate of reasonable size could be framed, the Local Government would have no objection to election instead of nomination. He found it difficult to believe that there were 7,000 Europeans domiciled in the Province apart from Anglo-Indians. He did not think there was material for two separate electorates for Europeans and Anglo-Indians but he would put it to the Local Government that they might be combined into one electorate.

1982. (Mr. Sastri.) He thought that if the extremists could be brought to exchange views with the officials and conservative members of the Council it might have a steadying effect on their judgment and diffuse easier views throughout the province. The enlargement of the Council might give those classes which now found expression through Conferences and through the press the scope which they required but there was a danger that they, the few, might corrupt the many.

He had no instructions with regard to altering the size of the Council.

1983. As regards the classes to be represented by nomination he thought that suitable members would be forthcoming from the classes themselves and that it was the intention to appoint them, for instance retired army officers.

1984. He thought that six seats for the Sikhs was an equitable arrangement; Sikhs themselves thought it inadequate.

1985. He did not think that the lambardars would be under the influence of Government as regards the elections.

1986. Jagirdars receiving over Rs. 500 a year would be included in the landed gentry class. Government had recently created a few new jagirs but most of them dated from the time of the Sikhs. He would send a copy of the resolution under which jagirs were created.

1987. In 11 districts there was no system of election to the District Boards. Government were doing their best to get the Boards to adopt an electoral system but they did not want it. 355 out of 1,114 members of District Boards were elected, 498 nominated and 261 *ex-officio*.

1988. The payers of income-tax in rural areas would usually be shop-keepers. Payers of land revenue would be landowners. Land revenue of Rs. 50 connoted an income of about Rs. 200. The Local Government's point of view was that the right to vote depended not on a man's income but on the amount of tax which he paid to the State.

1989. Presidents of co-operative societies were usually chosen by the members of the society. They were not nominated by Government.

1990. It was proposed to give the vote to registered graduates of any Indian University. The Local Government preferred registered graduates to graduates because it was so much easier to check their claims, also incidentally it increased the University income. As regards the tenth urban qualification, the estimate in paragraph 19 of the Local Government's letter was only

a very rough one; Government had no figures to go upon.

1991. The Local Government insisted on the residential qualification for candidates because it was desirable that they should be in touch with their constituencies. There was a strong desire in the province among the agriculturists that they should be represented by men of their own class. He thought a "carpet bagger" would have a good chance of success in a backward rural constituency. For this reason he thought it necessary that the electors' freedom of choice of their candidates should be restricted. It was not necessary for the political education of the agricultural classes that they should be represented by men from the town.

1992. (Sardar Sunder Singh.) The Sikhs had an historical importance inasmuch as they had ruled the province and were still the great military class. They perhaps had a greater fervour for their own religion than any other class. Their wealth was proportionately greater than that of the other agriculturists and their contribution to the State in the shape of taxes was out of proportion to their numbers. There were five independent Sikh States which were not in British India. The Sikhs were mostly to be found in the central districts and were pre-eminently the best cultivators in them. The Muhammadan population on the other hand was higher in Multan. Most of the Multan and Rawalpindi districts were unirrigated and the size of the average holding was larger there. The Sikhs in these districts formed a very small minority.

1993. He would, if possible, submit figures showing the number of revenue payers of Rs. 25 and upwards, religion by religion. He would also, if possible, submit a list of landed gentry classified according to religion.

1994. The request of the Punjab Chiefs' Association for seats on the Council would be met by the proposed landholders' electorate. The Association had rendered very valuable assistance to Government.

1995. He would submit a statement showing the number of Muhammadans, Hindus and Sikhs recruited for the army during the war.

1996. The representation of the different religions on the Council since its institution would be found in the statement appended to the Hindu Sabha's memorandum.

1997. Government now proposed to give the Sikhs as much as five seats with the strong possibility of a sixth. On grounds of population alone they were entitled only to 3½ seats.

1998. He would show Lord Southborough the correspondence containing the opinions of the local officers regarding the representation of Sikhs in the Council which had been obtained on the introduction of the Morley-Minto scheme in 1909.

1999. (Mr. Atab.) The peasants furnished most of the Punjab's contribution to the army and their intelligence had been quickened by contact with the outside world. He thought the Punjab peasant proprietor was more independent, shrewd and practical than those elsewhere and would be a ready learner in political matters.

2000. The difficulty about giving the Muhammadans representation in proportion to their numbers or according to the Congress-League compact was firstly that in the compact no account was taken of the Sikhs, who regarded the Report as a promise of communal representation, and secondly the fact that the proportion of Muhammadan voters to Muhammadan population was lower than in the case of the other communities. He would supply information on this point. The Hindu and Muhammadan members of Council had unanimously agreed to accept the compact; only the Sikh members had dissented.

2001. The most conspicuous instance of a conflict of interest between the town and the country was the Punjab Land Alienation Act, which was intended to prevent land passing from the hands of hereditary agriculturists to money-lenders from the towns. Another instance was that the Agricultural Department had recently been trying to encourage the growing of long staple cotton, as a result of which the rural classes

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[Continued.]

had derived an excess profit of Rs. 45 lakhs on a single harvest. This had been opposed by a certain Anglo-vernacular newspapers which represented urban interests on the ground that it curtailed the area under foodstuffs, it being to their interests to get these cheap. Criticism had also been heard because land in the canal colonies was given mainly to agriculturists while towns people had to purchase it at auction.

2002. He thought 51 seats would afford adequate representation for the agricultural interests of the province. The question of extending the rural electorates had been considered, but he did not think that there was any strongly felt desire in the province for extended electorates. He had informed the non-official members that it was proposed to frame an electorate of about 1½ to 2 lakhs and he thought they accepted it. It was true that they had proposed to reduce the land revenue qualification to Rs. 20 but he did not think that they had realised what a very large number of extra voters that would enfranchise. The whole scheme was an experiment and it was proposed to start it on a fairly low scale and work up. In point of character and intelligence he did not suppose there would be any difference between a man paying a revenue of Rs. 50 and one paying a revenue of Rs. 20.

2003. The Lieutenant-Governor preferred the division to the district as the electoral area after full consideration. He did not think there was much diversity of interest within the divisions. But if the Council were materially increased in size it might be desirable to take the district as the unit.

2004. He did not think the Muhammadans would have a chance of winning a seat in the industrial constituencies but he thought they might have a chance of winning the university seat.

2005. The total number of land revenue payers in the province was 3½ millions. The number of land revenue payers of Rs. 500 or over was just over 2,000. The number of assignees was 583. The number of persons paying land revenue of Rs. 25 and upwards would be 804,000.

2006. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) The percentage of literacy amongst the different communities would be found in the census report.

2007. There was a strong feeling that the Punjab should be treated on an equality with other provinces in the Assembly. The province claimed to be more highly educated than the United Provinces. The Local Government proposed to give one of the 8 seats in the Legislative Assembly to the Sikhs. He thought there would be a good case for the nomination of a Sikh to another seat. No Sikhs would be returned from any other Province.

2008. He would consult His Honour about the representation of the Sikhs on the Council of State.

2009. (*Mr. Fagan.*) The Sikhs regarded communal representation as their right and the Report as a promise. The Muhammadans pressed for it with all their strength and the Hindus accepted it. He thought however that the Hindus would prefer that they and the Sikhs should form a general non-Muhammadan electorate. No impartial Government could disregard the strong feelings of the Sikhs and Muhammadans who formed ¾ of the population. Outside those three communities, the other communities were negligible. If they did not get communal representation the Muhammadans would at first distrust the whole scheme and the whole Sikh nation would oppose it. The Muhammadans would not be satisfied with general electorates and seats reserved for particular communities.

2010. In assigning seats to the Muhammadans the Local Government had not been guided chiefly by the Lucknow compact. Their main ground was that the Muhammadans formed a majority in the province. The decision was however strengthened from the point of view of expediency by the fact that the Hindus agreed.

2011. He would supply figures shewing the extent to which the seats on the Municipalities and District Board had been contested. For instance out of 49 vacancies in the Ambala Division only 25 had been contested.

FUNJAB PROVINCIAL BRANCH OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN EMPIRE LEAGUE.

Written Statement.

2012. The Committee of the Punjab Provincial Branch of the Anglo-Indian Empire League representing the Domiciled Community in Lahore beg leave to request the Local Government to lay the following statement before the Franchise Committee and would be grateful if one or more of its members were allowed to appear before the Franchise Committee when it comes to Lahore.

2013. We would in the first place ask for consideration of the position of the Domiciled Community. Here in Lahore—and the same holds good to a great extent throughout the Punjab—the vast majority of the Community have been working under the Government on Railways, Telegraphs and other Government services. The Community has, therefore, had very little opportunity in the past of engaging in political activities. To take an illustration from the British soldier. If the soldier was suddenly told that he was to engage in political activities he might feel that he had not been trained to that sort of thing—that he could do things but could not argue about them—that the lawyer had been trained to argue and earns his livelihood by the cleverness of his arguments, but that if he was to argue he would be tried by Court-martial. This difficulty applies with still greater force to the Domiciled Community for—unlike the soldier who is only in the Army for a limited number of years and then returns to civil life—the large majority of the Community are under Government for the whole of their working days. We have ventured to ask consideration of this matter because as the Domiciled Community has been probably more in Government service than any similar Community in the Empire, as this Government service has come down from father to son, and as the rules relating to Government

servants have probably been more stringent than in any other part of the Empire, the Domiciled Community is likely to be under some disadvantage to start with. If, however, the qualification for the vote is good citizenship we feel that the Community can fairly lay claim to that qualification. Railway Administration would have been difficult to carry on during the last 50 years if there had been no Domiciled Community at hand to help, whilst in times of difficulty and of trouble their loyal support could always be counted on.

2014. Coming now to the subject of representation we would argue in favour of communal representation at any rate at the present stage of India's development. We feel that the best method for the Councils of India to take a large view of the needs of India as a whole would be for them to be as widely representative as possible of the different Communities. In England Parliament did not think of England as a whole and gave but little thought to an important section of the Community, the working classes, until the working classes secured their own representatives in Parliament. The working classes in England owing to their large numbers were able to do this without communal representation but the smaller Communities in India would require communal representation and we feel that this argument applies to the Domiciled Community. The desire expressed in the Reforms Report is that a right system of representation will train men to care for India as a whole. As the Domiciled Community stands in a very special position we would venture to express our views on this matter. The Domiciled Community naturally cares for England more than for India and no doing away with communal representation will make the Community care for India. The best method to get the Community to care for India is for England to care

4 December 1918.] PUNJAB PROVINCIAL BRANCH OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN EMPIRE LEAGUE.

[Continued.]

for the Community. It has however unfortunately been the case that in the discussions that have taken place in Parliament and in the public Press in England the Domiciled Community has been almost completely lost to sight. The bond of Empire is strong enough to make England care for the man who has come to India for a term of years, but when a man settles down in India, England very soon forgets his very existence. We feel however that if the importance of the issues that are at stake were more fully realised there would be a speedy change in this respect. It has been stated that there are at the present time not more than a million Indians who are interested in the constitutional changes that are coming over this country. A community then of 300,000 people who are either wholly on half of English blood, whose ancestors took their part in those great constitutional changes which have made England what it is to-day, could be a powerful factor for good in the constitutional development of India.

The Rev. Mr. O. Younghusband called and examined.

2017. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He represented the Anglo-Indian Empire League. There were 400 members of the Lahore branch, and there were four other branches in the Punjab. There was no other Anglo-Indian Association in the province. It included Europeans and Anglo-Indians of mixed blood, two-thirds being Anglo-Indians and one-third Europeans. The pure Europeans predominated in certain districts.

2018. The community would like communal representation and they would prefer election. He would allow them to choose a candidate who was not a member of the community should they so desire.

2019. The definition he proposed of domiciled Europeans was that they should be persons born and brought up in India and with no domicile in England. An Anglo-Indian must have pure English blood on his father's side

2015. In conclusion we would urge, with all the force we can, that the Community be given not the mere chance of a nomination on the Provincial Council but definite representation. At one time the Community had a representative by nomination on the Imperial Council, but during the last few years, when these great constitutional changes have been under discussion in the Imperial Council, the Community has had no representative on the Council. We feel that this has been a loss not only to the Community but we venture to think that it has also been a loss to India. With a close personal sympathetic touch between the administration and the Community on Imperial and Provincial Councils alike we feel that the Community would play no small part for good in the constitutional development of this country.

2016. We would urge then that the Community be allowed communal representation on the Punjab Council.

however many generations back. This was he believed the legal definition but he did not know in what law it was to be found. (*See Pro C-2*)

2020. Every male member of the community of over 21 years should have a vote. There would be no difficulty about the polling arrangements; most of the members were on the North-Western Railway. He had framed no definite scheme. The domiciled community in the province included about 11,000 members.

2021. If the Anglo-Indians could not have an electorate of their own they would like to join the Europeans in a larger electorate.

2022. (*Mr. Sastri.*) The real trouble about the domiciled community was that England did not recognise their existence.

L. A. BULL, Esq., Secretary of the Lahore Municipality, called and examined.

2023. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He had been Secretary to the Lahore Municipality for about 5 years and had taken part in two general elections. The polling officers at these elections had all been gazetted. Six days had been allowed for polling but this had been found unnecessarily long; 2,500 votes could have been polled in 2 days. A polling officer could poll 1,500 votes in a day. A substantial proportion of the Lahore electorate was illiterate. Voting was secret and by ballot.

2024. Gazetted officers would be better than non-official polling officers; the non-officials might know the candidates and, even if they were outsiders, pressure could be brought to bear upon them.

2025. Every voter at the Lahore election was provided with a voting slip indicating his number on the register. This slip was presented by the voter when the ballot paper was handed to him. The arrangement saved a lot of time in identifying the voters but showed how the voting was going to the candidates who sat there.

2026. The franchise in Lahore was on a purely communal basis with separate wards for Muhammadans, Sikhs, Hindus and Christians, the last class including Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. There

were no seats for Parsis or Jews. He thought this system best for a town like Lahore. He had had no experience of other systems. This one had obtained in Lahore for the last 20 years.

2027. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He would prefer Government officers as polling officers to Honorary Magistrates because they would be less amenable to outside influence. On one occasion non-officials in Lahore had been asked to distribute the ballot papers to the voters but it had been shown that they had distributed them to the candidates.

2028. (*Mr. Aftab.*) Indian gazetted officers would be less amenable to outside influences than non-officials.

2029. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) Communal representation had had only been introduced in the case of Sikhs at the last election to prevent their being swamped by the Hindus.

2029-A. (*Lord Southborough.*) The Honorary Magistrates who assisted at the Lahore election had been specially appointed by the Deputy Commissioner. They were not paid and were under no penalty. If non-officials were appointed, paid and subjected to penalty, he thought things might be better but he would still prefer officials.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. MAYNARD, C.S.I., I.C.S., Financial Commissioner.

Written Statement.

2030. (1) Strong bodies of opinion will advocate communal representation for the Sikh and Muhammadan communities: a system which would carry with it a similar method for Hindus. The arguments for it are:—

(1) Sikh and Muhammadan opinion is convinced that Sikhs and Muhammadans can only be properly represented by Sikhs and Muhammadans respectively: and also that the election of Sikhs and Muhammadans,* respect-

ively, in the proportions thought fair by these communities—or decided to be appropriate, for they will not agree amongst themselves on the subject—cannot be secured in general electorates. The rank and file of both communities (not the leaders, in my opinion, but the leaders are afraid of opposing their followers) believe that communal representation is the only method of securing the result which they desire. Many Hindus would take the same view: but they feel sure of detaining representation by Hindus without such special protection. There is no

* Or by persons elected by these communities, which in practice means the same thing.

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The Hon'ble Mr. MAYNARD.

[Continued.]

doubt that the popular wish for communal representation is general among Sikhs and Muhammadans.

- (2) Both communities have been led to hope for communal representation, though it cannot be said to have been promised.
- (3) In the actual conditions of the Punjab it is impossible for Government to convince these communities that they ought to be content to be represented by men who are not of their own faith.
- (4) It is difficult to see how Muhammadans, and still more difficult to see how Sikhs, can be adequately represented under any other system than that of communal representation.

2031. (2) A Hindu or Sikh or Muhammadan standing for election by a general electorate would find it desirable to show moderation in matters in which the communities are at variance, lest he should alienate potential supporters who are not of his own faith. This motive is removed if he is offering himself for election by his own people, and is replaced by the motive of enlisting supporters by showing himself a vigorous defender of his own community in all matters in which it is at variance with the others. The system of communal representation tends to bring the bigot and the strong communal partisan to the fore. I have personal experience of this in a large municipal town in which I was President of a Municipal Committee elected by communal electorates.

2032. (3) The system of communal representation once introduced is hard to get rid of. The community concerned fights for it as a privilege. Its faults are thus apt to be perpetuated. There is also a tendency for sub-divisions of the communities originally thus privileged to call for an extension of the system. I see, for instance, signs of a possible claim for the separate representation of Hindu agriculturists.

2033. (4) I believe the faults of the system of communal representation to be so grave that it is worthwhile to face the general opposition and odium involved in denying it, provided that some other system can be devised for the adequate representation, by men of their own faith, of the different religious communities.

2034. (5) In the existing state of opinion this cannot be done by giving up election and having recourse to nomination. But in my opinion nomination might quite properly be used to redress the balance between the communities, in so far as the elections gave more or less than their fair share of representation to one or other of them.

2035. (6) Proportional representation is not a system suitable to the Punjab, because it would not be understood by the mass of the electors, and it would not be properly worked by the agencies available for conducting an election and tabulating results. Moreover, proportional representation, at its best, would only give representation to each community in proportion to its numerical strength: and the Sikhs claim more, on various grounds which are at any rate plausible.

2036. (7) If the Punjab were divided into constituencies, each of which would return three or more members, it would be possible to arrange by means of the cumulative vote that both Hindus and Muhammadans should have a fair prospect of fair representation. But I am not able to devise any plan, with the help of this system, which would give fair representation to the smaller minority of the Sikhs: unless the whole Province should be made a single constituency. To such a plan there is the objection that electors would be voting for men whom they did not know merely because they were members of a particular community.

2037. (8) A possible plan is to give communal representation to the Sikhs: while endeavouring, by means of the cumulative vote, to do fairly by Muhammadans and Hindus without extending the scope of a system which has the grave faults of communal representation. To show how it might work, I take the case of the Ambala

Division with 23½ lakhs of Hindus, 1½ lakhs of Sikhs, 9½ lakhs of Muhammadans, and assume that voting power will be in these proportions. If there are three vacancies to be filled, the available voters will be 23½ × 3 = say 70 for Hindus, 1½ × 3 = say 5 for Sikhs, 9½ × 3 = say 28 for Muhammadans. If the Hindus divide their votes over the three vacancies, the average number of votes which each of their candidates will receive will be 23, and in practice some would get more and some less. The Muhammadans, if they act together, can give 28 votes to one candidate and ensure his return. The result will probably be two Hindus and one Muhammadan elected but the Sikhs will have no chance, except by striking a bargain with one party or the other.

2038. (9) The results are apt to be vitiated if the minority party splits its vote, and it may be tricked into doing so by the other party putting up some weak candidate for the purpose of splitting the vote. But people must learn to be wise and to protect themselves.

2039. (10) Against a system of general electorates common to themselves and to Hindus, Muhammadans will urge that the economic bondage in which some of their people are held will give to Hindus some Muhammadan votes. It is doubtful whether, in Indian conditions, a system of secret voting would provide a remedy for this, because secrecy will not in practice be observed. The difficulty is real. It is the disadvantage inseparable from the advantage of making it worth a candidate's while to consider, and conciliate by moderation, the voters of a community which is not his own. In the calculations which I have made in paragraph 8 of this note I have assumed that Muhammadans will vote for Muhammadans, and Hindus for Hindus. In existing conditions it will ordinarily be so: but it will not be so in every instance, for there are cross divisions (for instance, the interest of the agriculturist, who is Hindu as well as Muhammadan, against the townsman and the professional man who is largely Hindu but not exclusively so), and it is not inevitable that it should always be so.

2040. (11) Another plan, which would give the candidate a strong motive for conciliating the voters of the other communities, has been sketched by the Hindu Sabha. It is that, after deducting the seats assigned to Sikhs and special electorates, and determining the number to be assigned to Hindus and Muhammadans, candidates of each of these two classes should be elected by voters of all classes, who would vote twice, once for Hindu and once for Muhammadan candidates. The Hindu would thus have to win support among Sikhs and Muhammadans and the Muhammadans among Sikhs and Hindus. I have no doubt that Muhammadans will object to this system, on the ground that the Muhammadan who will have the best chance of being elected will be a creature of the Hindus, and that the chance of the Hindu being a creature of the Muhammadans is smaller because of the economic and educational advantages which the Hindu community possesses. But in the Western Punjab, particularly where there are many well-to-do Muhammadan landowners, it is quite possible that the process might sometimes be reversed.

2041. (12) This plan deserves serious consideration, not because it has no disadvantages, but because the disadvantages of communal representation are too great that an alternative plan having some dangers and some defects may nevertheless be preferable. It cannot be applied to the election of Sikhs because the important point of difference between the most zealous section of the Sikhs and the Hindus is that the latter claim the Sikhs as a mere sub-division of themselves, and if Sikh candidates had to obtain Hindu support the men who would get it would be those Sikhs only who accept the Hindu contention.

2042. (13) It should be noted that, in any event, it is not feasible completely to satisfy the conflicting claims of the three communities. The Sikhs, on grounds of larger revenue payments, of military services, and of political and historical importance, claim one-third of

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The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. MAYNARD.

[Continued.]

the representation: and perhaps expect one-fourth or one-fifth. The Muhammadans claim 50 per cent. of the whole; and the Hindus a share equal to that of Muhammadans: both on grounds that are quite plausible.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard called and examined.

2043. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) In his memorandum he had summarised the arguments for and against communal representation. He could think of no other system which would safeguard the interests of the Sikhs, and in their case, therefore, he recommended its adoption. As regards the Hindus and Muhammadans he thought a solution might be found in the cumulative vote. He had worked this out in the case of the Ambala division. In this division there were about 23 lakhs of Hindu voters, 8½ lakhs of Muhammadans and 1¼ of Sikhs. Supposing there were three vacancies, the Hindus would have 69 votes, the Muhammadans 25 and the Sikhs 4. If the Hindus attempted to win all three seats they would be defeated by a Muhammadan combination. The system only favoured substantial minorities and would work best in a large constituency. It would be impossible to provide for Sikhs on this basis owing to the fact that their constituency would be practically co-extensive with the province; otherwise the constituencies would not be too big if the division was thought to be a reasonable unit.

2044. Except as regards the Sikhs he preferred the scheme put forward by the Hindu Sabha to the cumulative vote, that was to say a joint electorate voting on successive days for the candidates of the different communities.

2045. To abandon the system of communal representation would be contrary to intense Muhammadan sentiments, but his view was that this was a temporary disadvantage, whereas the evil of introducing such a system would be permanent. He did not see why the Lucknow compact should be regarded as conclusive. He admitted it was a great disadvantage to start the scheme in face of intense Muhammadan opposition.

2046. He thought that when the third constituency was given exclusively to Hindus, the Local Government must have overlooked the case of the small minorities or else have supposed that they could be provided for by nomination. He did not think that Government had intended, or that it was justifiable, to disfranchise these communities.

2047. He favoured the idea of making the big towns into separate constituencies. He had not considered amalgamating the smaller towns in the rural constituencies, but there was a strong conflict of interests between even the smaller towns and the rural tracts.

2048. The district would certainly be a better electoral unit than the division, but one of their chief difficulties was the large number of extra seats necessitated by giving representation to the different communities.

2049. Although a resolution had been passed by the non-official members of Council that a land revenue pay-

ment of Rs. 20 should be a qualification, his impression was that men of that class were not very anxious to extend the franchise. The effect of that proposal would be to increase the electorate from 160,000 to 400,000.

2050. One of the most important considerations in deciding the size of the electorates was the nature of the polling agency available. If the scheme was to break down to begin with owing to inadequate machinery it would be discredited; if however the machinery was available he personally would have no objection to lowering the franchise.

2051. (*Mr. Atab.*) His impression was that since the Morley-Minto reforms the relations between Hindus and Muhammadans had not been so good as before. There was some wider cause for this than the reforms themselves. His hope of the joint electorates was that the Hindu candidates would attempt to secure Muhammadan votes and *vice versa* with the result that moderate men would be returned. His objection to communal representation was that it introduced an irrelevant line of cleavage and permanently obliterated a natural line of cleavage which was making itself apparent.

2052. He was against the restrictions on candidates in the Punjab Government scheme. He would take brains wherever he could find them.

2053. (*Mr. Banerjā.*) He had no wish to disfranchise minorities like the Indian Christians and would therefore put them in with the Hindus.

2054. He would send in a statement showing the constituencies he proposed if the district was taken as the unit instead of the division.

2055. He would give more representation to towns than the 1-10th to which they were entitled on the basis of populations.

2056. (*Mr. Hogg.*) He thought that the fact that the proposal to reduce the land revenue qualification to Rs. 20 was carried only by 8 votes to 6 showed the real feeling of the non-official members.

2057. It was undoubtedly an important consideration that the politically minded classes considered themselves bound by the Lucknow compact. He thought the Hindus would dislike to depart from it but not intensely.

2058. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) He saw no way out of communal representation in the case of the Sikhs.

2059. It was difficult to equate payments of income-tax and land revenue.

2060. It would be practically impossible to assess incomes of less than Rs. 1,000 in urban areas.

2061. (*Mr. Fagan.*) 400,000 electors would come in on a qualification of Rs. 20 land revenue. He thought it would be very difficult to get rid of communal representation once it had been introduced.

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THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

At Lahore, Thursday, December 5th, 1918.

PRESENT :

The Right Hon'ble Lord SOUTHBOROUGH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. (*President*).

FRANK G. SLY, K.C.S.L., L.C.S.

Sahibzada APTAB AHMED KHAN.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., L.C.S.

The Hon'ble Babu SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. F. J. FAGAN, C.S.I., L.C.S., Financial Commissioner.

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur SUNDER SINGH MAJITHIA.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.O.S. (*Secretary*).

THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM ASSOCIATION AND THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM ASSOCIATION.

Written Statement on behalf of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Association.

2062. (1) The Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Association respectfully but emphatically urges that the Muslim community in this province should be granted the right of selecting one representative on the Council of State through their own separate communal electorates.

2063. (2) The Council similarly urges that the community should be represented on the Indian Legislative Assembly by 4 members, one to be elected by the Muhammadan members of the Provincial Legislative Council and the remaining 3 by separate Muhammadan electorates directly.

2064. (3) Regarding the Provincial Legislature, the Council is strongly of opinion that the electorates to be constituted should, in the main, be devised on separate communal basis. This, in the considered opinion of the Council, is, under the existing political conditions, the only method of avoiding inter-communal friction, of promoting the harmonious evolution of an Indian nationality and of securing adequate and real representation to the various communities having a material stake in provincial affairs.

2065. (4) In view of the fact that the Indian Legislative Assembly is to consist of 100 members and bearing in mind the relative political importance and the population of the Punjab as well as the interests to be represented, the Council is of opinion that the total strength of the Provincial Legislative Council should be 80, exclusive of the President, to be increased proportionately should an increase in the strength of the Indian Legislative Assembly be ultimately decided upon.

2066. (5) On a full consideration of all the circumstances having important bearing on the case the Council is of opinion that the Provincial Legislature should have a two-third elected majority. The majority thus suggested is not only "substantial" but will constitute a sufficiently large development as compared with the existing state of things. From an elected minority, as is the case at present, to a 66 per cent elected majority as suggested by the Council is a distinct step in advance towards the evolution of self-governing institutions which is calculated to satisfy all legitimate aspirations. Of the remaining 20 seats on the Provincial Legislative Council to be filled up by nomination, the Council is of opinion that 11 should be officials and 9 non-officials.

2067. (6) In view of the fact that the Muslim community in this province constitute 55 per cent. of its total population and bearing in mind their political importance as well as their devoted services to the Empire ever since the annexation of the Punjab to British India and more particularly during the World War under circumstances

unparalleled in history, the Council strongly, urges that at least 55 per cent. of the seats to be set apart for communal representation should be allotted to the Muhammadans of this province, to be filled up through their own separate electorates.

2068. (7) Keeping in view what has been said above, the Council urges that the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Councils for the Punjab should be as follows:—

(a) Forty elected members as below:—

Punjab University	1
Chamber of Commerce	1
Indian Commerce	1
Muhammadans	20
Hindus including Sikhs	17

(b) Twenty nominated members as below:—

Officials	11
Non-official Europeans	2
Indian Christian	1
Other non-officials	6

2069. (8) The following persons, of the age of 21 years or above, should, in the opinion of the Council, have the right to vote in their respective electorates, one person having only one vote in each of the electorates in which he may be a duly qualified voter:—

(a) All income-tax payers.

(b) Persons paying at least Ra. 50 per annum as land revenue or to whom such revenue has been remitted or assigned whether by way of *Muafi* or *Jagir*.

(c) All graduates of Indian or British Universities and Barristers-at-Law.

(d) All persons drawing a pension of Ra. 50 per mensem from Government.

(e) All title-holders and members of Indian Orders and holders of the Kaisar-i-Hind medal.

(f) All persons owning immoveable property of the value of Ra. 10,000 or above.

(g) All persons paying Ra. 50 per mensem as house rent for the houses occupied by them.

2070. (9) Any registered voter may stand for election provided he is sufficiently literate to follow the proceedings in Council.

2071. (10) The Council approves of the institution of Grand Committees as mentioned in paragraph 252 of the Report and urges that provision should be made by rules for Muhammadan representation on the Grand Committee by laying down that the proportion of Muhammadan members on the Committee shall be the same as is their proportion in the Provincial Legislative Council.

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THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

Written Statement on behalf of the All-India Muslim Association.

2072. (1) The Council of the All-India Muslim Association is strongly of opinion that electorates in India should, in the main, be devised on communal basis. Under the existing political conditions in this country, mixed or purely territorial electorates furnish periodically recurring causes of friction between the various Indian communities and, in consequence, retard the evolution of an Indian nationality. The success of purely territorial electorates in homogeneous communities in the West furnishes no historical basis for their introduction in a country like India. Past experience has shown that mixed electorates are, in reality, mixed only in name and the actual contest between the rival candidates pivots itself on communal or religious considerations, with the result that the elections are productive of grave inter-communal friction and being periodical, perpetuate class divisions. Resulting, as such elections almost invariably do, in over-representation of majorities they are, in consequence, productive of widespread dissatisfaction among the minorities. Due representation of their own interest in the various constitutional bodies is naturally a matter of deep concern to the communities having a material stake in the country and, so long as the present political conditions continue to exist, the various Indian communities have a clear right to be represented in such bodies by their own elected representatives. Indian Musalmans, of all schools of political thought are unanimous in their demand for representation of Muslim interests through their own communal electorates and the Council emphatically urges their claim to separate representation on all constitutional bodies, whether Indian or Provincial, a claim which has been recognised by at least three Viceroys and two Secretaries of State.

2073. (2) In view of the existing constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council, of the numerical strength and political and historical importance of the Muslim community and of the part played by them in the history of the British Indian Empire, the Indian Musalmans are, the Council strongly urges, entitled to at least 33 per cent. of the total Indian representation in the Imperial Legislature and, in framing the scheme noted below for the consideration of the Franchise Committee, the Council has borne this important consideration in mind.

2074. (3) (a) *The Council of State.*—The Council agrees that the total strength of the Council of State should be 50 members, exclusive of the President, of whom 21 members should be elected and at least 4 should be nominated non-officials.

(b) Of the 21 elected members of the Council of State 7 should be Muhammadans, and of the 4 nominated non-officials, 2 should be Muhammadans.

(c) The system of election for the Council of State proposed by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honorable the Secretary of State in paragraph 277 of their Report is, in the opinion of the Council highly unsatisfactory and is calculated to result in serious injury to Muslim interests. The illustrious authors estimate that as a result of the method suggested by them "the composition of the Council of State should comprise at least 6 Muhammadans." A glance at the list of members of the present Imperial Legislative Council elected by the Provincial Legislative Councils demonstrates conclusively the hopelessness of this calculation. The proposed scheme gives only 2 seats to Indian Musalmans for their separate and direct representation. Apart from the practical difficulties of the organization of an All-India Muslim electorate in view of the vast extent of the Indian continent and of the varying conditions of the various Indian Provinces, the Muslim community in each province is, the Council respectfully but emphatically urges, entitled to direct representation on the Council of State. For these reasons and bearing in mind the extent of Muhammadan representation on the present Imperial Legislative Council under the

Minto-Morley Scheme, the Council suggests that the Muslim community in the provinces of (1) Bengal (2) Bihar and Orissa, (3) United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, (4) Punjab, (5) Bombay, (6) Madras, and (7) North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan should be granted the right of electing one representative from each of these provinces on the Council of State, the two seats to be reserved for nomination by the Governor-General in Council being intended to make up the deficiency in Muslim representation of minor provinces.

(d) The following persons, of the age of 21 years and above, should have the right to vote in the election of Muslim representatives on the Council of State from the various Indian provinces:—

- (i) Members of the Provincial Legislative Councils;
- (ii) Holders of any title, conferred or recognised by the Government; members of the Order of the Star of India, of the Order of the Indian Empire, the Order of the British Empire; holders of the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal;
- (iii) Ordinary or Honorary Fellows of the Provincial Universities;
- (iv) Landowners paying land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 750 per annum;
- (v) Persons paying their own income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 6,000 per annum;
- (vi) Persons who are in receipt of pensions for services as Gazetted or Commissioned Officers of Government;
- (vii) Graduates of an Indian or British University or Barristers-at-Law of not less than 15 years' standing.

NOTE.—Every voter, fulfilling the above qualifications, should have only one vote in each provincial election.

2075. (4) In view of the nature of qualifications suggested above, the Council is of opinion that no separate qualifications need be laid down for candidates for election to the Council of State, except that (i) he should be a voter in the electorate of the province for which he is a candidate and (ii) should be sufficiently literate to follow the proceedings of the Council.

2076. (5) *The Indian Legislative Assembly.*—The Council is in agreement with the illustrious authors of the scheme that the Assembly should consist of 100 members, of whom two-thirds should be returned by election and that of the remaining one-third, to be nominated by the Governor-General, not less than a third again should be non-officials selected with the object of representing minority or special interests (paragraph 273). The Council is grateful to His Excellency and the Secretary of State for accepting the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community on the Assembly and strongly urges the extension of that principle to all Indian provinces.

2077. (6) The Council respectfully urges that 22 of the elective seats on the Assembly should be reserved for representation of the Indian Musalmans and 4 out of the non-officials to be nominated by the Governor-General should be Muhammadans. Of the 22 elected Muhammadan members of the Assembly, the Punjab and Bengal should each return 4 members, Bombay and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh 3 each, Madras and the Province of Bihar and Orissa 2 each and the Central Provinces, Assam, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province should each return one representative by election.

2078. (7) The Council is of opinion that the Muhammadan members of the Provincial Legislative Councils in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar and Assam should constitute electorates in their presidencies and provinces respectively. Each of these electorates should return one representative to the Indian Legislative Assembly. The remaining 14 Muhammadan members of the Assembly, i.e., 3 each from the Punjab and Bengal, 2 each from Bombay and United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and one each from Madras, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam, Baluchistan

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THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM ASSOCIATION.

[Continued.]

and the North-West Frontier Province should be returned by direct Muslim electorates.

2079. (8) The following persons, of the age of 21 years or above, should, in the opinion of the Council, have the right of vote in the Muslim electorates proposed in the preceding paragraphs:—

- (a) All title-holders as mentioned in paragraph 3 (d) (ii); or
- (b) Ordinary or Honorary Fellows of the Provincial Universities; or
- (c) Landowners paying land-revenue amounting to Rs. 500 per annum; or

(d) Persons paying their own income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 4,000 per annum; or

(e) Persons who are in receipt of pensions for services as Gazetted or Commissioned Officers of Government; or

(f) Graduates of an Indian or British University or Barrister-at-Law of not less than 12 years' standing.

2080. (9) The remarks made in paragraph 4 regarding candidates for the Council of State apply *mutatis mutandis* to candidates for election to the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Mian Haq Nawas, representing the Punjab Provincial Muslim Association and the All-India Muslim Association, called and examined.

2081. (Sir Frank Sly.) He represented the Punjab Provincial Muslim Association and also the All-India Muslim Association. The All-India Muslim Association had been formed about 8 or 10 months ago when Muhammadans found it difficult to support the policy of the Muslim League. He had a list of the members of the All-India Association and of the Punjab Council. On the latter body there were 100 members and 300 members on the provincial branches. There were a number of affiliated branches in other provinces.

2082. His Association recommended communal representation for Muhammadans on the Council of State. Their claims had been made after considering the claims of other classes. In this connexion, the claims of the depressed classes could be disregarded, and when they had been deducted, the Muhammadans' claims were not unreasonable. Muhammadan landholders were included in the one-third for which they asked. The electorates should be on a high franchise.

2083. As regards the Indian Legislative Assembly his Association would like to have direct election; but for the present they thought it should be combined with indirect election and that the members of the Provincial Councils, who were persons of importance, should return members.

2084. Muhammadan opinion in the Province was unanimously in favour of communal representation for their religion in the Provincial Council, and they had no objection to the Sikhs also getting communal representation, provided this was not allowed to interfere with the Muhammadans' share of the seats. In other words they were prepared to abate their claims from 56 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the elected seats and the Sikh seats should be taken out of the remaining 50 per cent.

2085. The Association had not considered whether separate representation should be given to the big landlords.

2086. (Mr. Hailey.) The Association had only calculated roughly the number of constituencies. They had not considered in detail whether the members elected indirectly to the Assembly would be swamped by those elected directly.

2087. Provided the Muhammadans got 50 per cent. he thought that the remaining communities would be adequately represented by the remaining 50 per cent. They were not particular as to how these seats were divided. The Muhammadans were prepared to give up the extra 6 per cent. to which they were entitled on grounds of population out of apprehension that Government in their desire to give representation to the Sikhs, would take away a slice from the Muhammadans.

2088. The total on which the 50 per cent. should be calculated would include the elected seats of special electorates such as the University and Commerce.

2089. (Mr. Banerjee.) The Association proposed 60 seats on the Provincial Council on the assumption that the Assembly would consist of 100 members. If the size of the Assembly was increased, the size of the Council

should be increased also. He would like the Provincial Council to be increased to 100 at once, but he was doubtful if he was technically authorized to say this on behalf of his Association.

2090. There was something to be said for the proposition that interest in the elections should be diffused, but he did not think there would be disappointment in the Punjab if they did not get the same proportion of elected members as in, for instance, the United Provinces. His Association was not in favour of 4-5ths of the members in the Punjab being elected on the ground that efficiency might suffer.

2091. Provided a candidate was sufficiently literate to follow the proceedings in the Councils, knowledge of English would not be necessary.

2092. (Mr. Atab.) Muhammadans claimed one-third of the representation in the Council of State as well as in the Assembly on the ground that they both formed a part of the Imperial Legislature. His Association agreed to the Muhammadans getting only 50 per cent. of the elected seats on the Provincial Council on the understanding that that figure was net.

2093. (Sardar Sunder Singh.) He would not be prepared to lay down with regard to other Provinces whether Muhammadan representation should be on the basis of population or in accordance with the Lucknow compact.

2094. He had no authority to say whether his Association considered that the Sikhs should be treated in the same way in the Punjab as the Muhammadans had been treated in other provinces under the Congress League compact. He thought that the Hindus and Sikhs did not so very much dislike each other, and that they would be able to settle between themselves the number of seats they should get. He had no authority to divide the number of seats between Hindus and Sikhs on behalf of his Association.

2095. He would not give separate representation to the landholders represented by the Punjab Chiefs' Association.

2096. The Sikhs should be represented on the Grand Committees in the same proportion as on the Council. He was not prepared to say anything about the representation of Sikhs on the Assembly or the Council of State.

2097. In the case of the Council of State he proposed that a pension of Rs. 200 should be a qualification and one of about Rs. 100 in the case of the Assembly.

2098. (Mr. Fagan.) Experience had shown that mixed electorates were not satisfactory. They led to dissension and to one community attempting to elect the weaker candidates of other communities. They wanted the best men available for the new Councils. Speaking as an Indian he would say that communal representation was only a temporary expedient that would be discarded when they were politically educated and when religion became a matter of private opinion.

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THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE.

[Continued.]

THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Written Statement.

2099. (1) *Strength of Council.*—The strength of the Punjab Legislative Council inclusive of the President shall be 125.

2100. (2) *Proportion of elected and nominated members.*—Four-fifths of the members of the Punjab Legislative Council shall be elected and one-fifth nominated. Of the nominated members, not more than one half shall be officials, the nominated non-officials to represent interests not otherwise provided for. The head of the Government shall have the power of nomination.

2101. (3) *Distribution of elected seats.*—The elected seats shall be distributed as follows:—

Muslims 50 per cent.; the remaining communities and interests 50 per cent.

The Muhammadan members shall be elected by exclusively Muslim electorate.

2102. (4) *Disqualification of voters.*—No person shall be qualified to vote at any election for a seat on the Punjab Legislative Council if such person—

- (a) is a minor;
- (b) is a female;
- (c) has been adjudged by a competent Court to be of unsound mind;
- (d) is a returning officer in the constituency concerned.

2103. (5) *Ineligible candidates.*—No person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council if such person—

- (a) is not a British subject, or
- (b) is an official, or
- (c) is a female, or
- (d) has been adjudged by a competent Court to be of unsound mind, or
- (e) is under 21 years of age, or
- (f) is an uncertificated bankrupt or an undischarged insolvent, or
- (g) holds *jagir* at the pleasure of the Crown (it being immaterial whether the *jagir* is held by him in his own name or by another in trust for him), or

Sayid Mohsin Shah, representing the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, called and examined.

2107. (*Lord Southborough.*) He represented the Provincial Muslim League.

2108. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was one of the Joint Secretaries of the League which had branches in nearly every district in the Punjab. There were three or four hundred members apart from members of branches. He was by profession a lawyer.

2109. His League followed the Lucknow compact in assigning 50 per cent. of the elected seats to the Muhammadans and the remaining 50 to the other communities, to be distributed as they might desire. The League understood the compact to refer to the Indian elected members.

2110. His Council had not considered separate representation for large landholders. Large Muhammadan landholders would be represented in the Muhammadan 50 per cent.

2111. Voters as well as candidates should be British subjects, a term which would not include subjects of Native States.

✓2112. Voters should be resident in their constituencies. Candidates should reside at some place in the Province.

✓2113. There was a regular record of persons who had passed the Middle Vernacular examination. His Council thought that persons who had passed that examination would have sufficient commonsense to vote.

2114. (*Mr. Attab.*) He was a member of the District Congress Committee and also of the Provincial Council. They adhered to the Lucknow compact; and they agreed

(h) directly or indirectly, himself or through the intervention of a trustee, holds or undertakes any contract or commission, for or on account of the public service, or

(i) is convicted by a Criminal Court of an offence and sentenced to death, transportation of rigorous imprisonment for a term exceeding 6 months or simple imprisonment for a term exceeding 12 months (the sentence not having been subsequently reversed and remitted) the disqualification to cease if sentence has been served or pardon received.

2104. (6) *Franchise or qualifications for vote.*—The following persons, if not otherwise disqualified, shall be entitled to vote:—

- (a) Persons owning agricultural land assessed to or assessable to land revenue of Rs. 25 a year;
- (b) Persons occupying agricultural land and paying an annual rent of Rs. 200;
- (c) Persons owning household property of the value of Rs. 2,000;
- (d) Persons occupying household property of the annual rental value of Rs. 125;
- (e) Persons paying income-tax;
- (f) All persons who have passed the Middle School Examination, including the Vernacular and holders of University Diplomas or titles on the Oriental side, provided they are not students. Provided that a person falling under more than one of the foregoing descriptions shall not be entitled to more than one vote for any description that he chooses.

2105. (7) *Qualifications for candidates.*—Any voter can be a candidate from any constituency in the Province, provided he is not ineligible otherwise.

2106. (8) *Constitution of electorates.*—Rural and urban areas shall be constituted into separate electorates. The distribution of seats between rural and urban constituencies shall be in the proportion of 3 to 2 respectively. It is suggested that the town of Lahore be accorded a preferential treatment. Constituencies shall be determined on the basis of single member constituencies.

as regards its interpretation. The special seats of the University and the Chamber of Commerce would be deducted before the 50 per cent. of the seats were given to the Muhammadans*; the Muhammadans should be allowed to stand for those special seats notwithstanding.

2115. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) It was the general opinion of the politically minded classes, both Hindu and Muhammadan, that the Council should consist of 125 members. The Province was in every sense a major province and the peasantry were a stronger and more independent body than elsewhere. The Muslim Association, which asked for only 60 seats, consisted of reactionaries and was not representative of the opinion of the Province.

2116. Public opinion was also in favour of 4ths of the members of the Council being elected. The Association, in asking for only 4ths elected did not represent public opinion.

2117. His Association were prepared to allow votes to Government officers, including *lambardars*, but personally he would not give them to police officers.

2118. They would not give votes to women.

2119. He would not regard proceedings under Section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code as a disqualification because those proceedings were not of a judicial character, nor would he allow the Local Government to disqualify anybody they liked.

* Note.—A letter was subsequently received from this witness in which he stated that the views he expressed in reply to Mr. Attab were not in accordance with the wishes of his League and were made under a misapprehension; the views of the League were expressed in para. (4) of their written statement.

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THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE.

[Continued.]

2120. (Mr. Hogg.) He had not considered whether a Council constituted as he proposed would make it impossible to frame a Grand Committee.

2121. He disqualified persons who undertook contracts on account of the public service because such men would have an undue advantage; no municipal contractor was allowed to be a municipal commissioner.

2122. He considered land revenue of Rs. 25 roughly equivalent to an annual rent for agricultural land of Rs. 200.

2123. (Lord Southborough.) He had not attempted to calculate the number of voters in the proposed constituencies.

2124. (Mr. Hailey.) The Hindu Sabha did not represent any body of Hindu opinion in the Province. He was not aware that the Chief Khalsa Diwan had recommended a Council of 75. He was aware that the Legislative Council had passed a resolution in favour of 100 members and he was himself prepared to accept that as the absolute minimum if 125 was not accepted.

2125. (Mr. Sastri.) He would exclude returning officers from voting in the constituency with which they were concerned because a man with a vote would be likely to take more interest in the results of the election than a man without a vote.

2126. He did not consider that the landholders were a special electorate like the Chamber of Commerce or the

University because there were Muhammadan landlords. It was true that Muhammadans took part in the University and that the present representative was a Muhammadan, but that was only a coincidence. It was the opinion of the Council and the League that the special electorates should be excluded.

2127. In mufassil towns outside Lahore, people drawing an income of Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 might be paying a rent of Rs. 5 or 6. In some cases they might even pay as much as Rs. 10.

2128. Most school teachers would be qualified as having passed the Middle School examination.

2129. Although 3/4ths of the population of the Province was rural, they proposed to give them representation to the extent of 1/4th. The rural population was less advanced.

2130. (Sardar Sunder Singh.) His League regarded the Sikhs as part and parcel of the Hindus. He could not say if the Sikhs recognised caste.

2131. He excluded jagirdars holding at the pleasure of the Crown from standing because they were under the influence of Government.

2132. His League had considered the claims of Amritsar to separate representation but had come to the conclusion that it did not deserve equal treatment with Lahore which was the University centre. Personally he would give preference of treatment to Amritsar.

THE AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY.

Written Statement.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

2133. Under the present circumstances we deem it necessary that in the Indian Legislative Assembly the non-elected members should be in a majority. This would do away with the need of a Council of State.

2134. The Muhammadans and the Sikhs should be represented on the Indian Legislative Assembly according to their numerical strength, their political importance being also taken into consideration, and should be elected through separate election. The following classes of men should have the power to vote for election to the Indian Legislative Assembly:—

1. Matriculates (Oriental and Anglo-Vernacular).
2. Members of the Legislative Councils.
3. Members of District Boards.
4. Municipal Commissioners.
5. Every income-tax payer who pays not less than Rs. 52 per annum.
6. Every one who pays land revenue not less than Rs. 300 per annum.
7. Every one who holds a title or honour conferred by Government.

2135. In nomination care should be taken to see that minor communities are duly represented.

PUNJAB PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Composition.

2136. In the Punjab Provincial Legislative Council not more than half the members should be elected. The composition of the elected element should be in proportion to the numerical strength of the three great com-

Mirza Bashir Ahmed, representing the Ahmadiyya Community, called and examined.

2140. (Sir Frank Sly.) He edited a monthly magazine. He represented the Ahmadiyya community which stood to Islam in the same relation as Christians to Jews. The community numbered about half a million. The census figures were misleading. In the Punjab there were probably more than a lakh of his community. There was a dissenting sect which had been joined by about a thousand persons.

2141. His community wished for communal representation for Muhammadans and Sikhs and also for his own sect. This claim was based partly on the ground

that they were a great organized sect, partly because they had served Government faithfully in the war, and partly because the Muhammadans disliked them. They were prepared to accept nomination.

Franchise.

2137. In principle, we admit that common election is the best method of election but the existing state of society in the Punjab demands communal election.

2138. The electorates for rural and urban population should be separate and the number of seats for each group should be proportionate to their respective numerical strength.

2139. The Franchise should be made as wide as possible. Under the present circumstances we recommend that the following classes of men should have the right to vote for election to the Legislative Council:—

1. Every jagirdar holding a jagir of not less than Rs. 50 per annum and every one who pays land revenue of not less than Rs. 50 per annum.
2. Every income-tax payer.
3. Every person who pays a land rent of not less than Rs. 300.
4. Every person who owns house property worth not less than Rs. 25,000.
5. Every non-student Primary passed person (whether Anglo-Vernacular or Vernacular).
6. Every retired Indian soldier who has served in the recent war.
7. Every Lambardar, Sofaidposh and Zaidar.
8. Every member of the Municipal Boards, District Boards, Notified Area Committees and village panchaits.

2142. (Mr. Hailey.) He would not like separate representation for other sects of the Muhammadans which were recognised in the Punjab. The Muhammadans regarded this community with special bitterness and with an elected majority in the Council it was necessary to safeguard their interests.

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THE AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY.

[Continued.]

2143. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He did not want separate representation for his community unless the elected element in the Council was in the majority.

2144. (*Mr. Aftab.*) The Ahmadiyyas claimed to be Muhammadans but the Muhammadans would not recognise the Ahmadiyyas.

2145. He wishes the Ahmadiyyas to be represented also in the Assembly. One-third of the seats on that body should be given to the Muhammadans and the other two-thirds to the Hindus and Sikhs. Of these two-thirds he would give one-fifth or one-sixth to the Sikhs.

2146. He did not think that a qualification of Rs. 300 rent was too high a qualification for tenants voting for the Provincial Council.

2147. They did not propose that separate representation should be given to the other sect of their community. There was no prejudice against them.

2148. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) Numerical strength should be the basis of the Sikh representation in the Provincial Council.

Chandhuri Zafarullah Khan, representing the Ahmadiyya Community, called and examined.

2149. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a barrister, resident of Lahore; he was an Ahmadiyya. His views were identical with those of the last witness.

2150. He was strongly in favour of communal representation. He accepted the Lucknow compact of 50 per cent. of the seats for Muhammadans as a minimum but would have separate representation for the Ahmadiyyas by nomination. According to their own figures 300,000 or 400,000 persons in the province belonged to the community. The figures of the last census were not correct. The true figures had been suppressed owing to prejudice against the Ahmadiyyas. The majority of the community was resident in the Punjab. It was rapidly growing.

2151. Apart from the three great communities, he would allow all minorities to be represented by nomination.

2152. (*Mr. Sastri.*) Their interests were affected in various ways, by lack of representation, for instance they were not allowed to take part in Muhammadan religious worship and on some occasions they were excluded from Muhammadan burial grounds.

2153. Half of the Council should be elected and half nominated. One of his objects in proposing this was

that it might be possible to defeat legislation which would prove injurious to minorities. He was in sympathy with political aspirations but did not think that they should be gratified too much especially with racial feeling running high. He wanted gradual progress.

2154. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) His community had made no representation about the census figures.

2155. In the Punjab there was a particularly sturdy class of tenants but they could not at present look after themselves. He would allow townsmen to stand for rural constituencies provided they were qualified by owning agricultural land in the constituency. An adequate element of urban representation was not necessary to the success of the scheme.

2156. (*Mr. Aftab.*) He belonged to the Ghadr sect of the community. He would not give separate representation to the opposite sect unless they felt the need for it. They claimed to be 15,000 in number but he thought the number was exaggerated.

2167. The community had made representations to the Government at the time of the last census that particular care should be taken in recording their number but the census had by then already begun.

Sardar KHARAK SINGH, representing the Punjab Zemindars' Central Association.

Written Statement.

2158. I beg to submit herunder the views of the Punjab Zemindars' Central Association, Lahore, on the subject of the Franchise Scheme with a request to place them before the Franchise Committee.

2159. II. I also desire, as the representative of the above Association to personally lay before the aforesaid Committee the aspect of the Indian Constitutional Reforms so far as they affect the agricultural classes and the rural population. It is needless to mention that the Association was given the honour to wait in a deputation upon the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy of India when they received deputations for such purposes from several public Associations in November last at Delhi.

2160. III. I beg leave to particularly impress upon the franchise committee the following points for favour of consideration:—

- (1) That in the matter of franchise the electorate for rural and urban population in the Punjab should be separate.
- (2) That the number of seats allotted to each electorate should be in proportion to their population.
- (3) That only persons coming within the definition of "Statutory Agriculturists" should be competent to become candidates for seats allotted to the rural areas.
- (4) That the qualifications of voters should be so fixed as to give a real and substantial representation to the agricultural and mili-

tary people. For this purpose, the Association is strongly of opinion that the recommendations of the Punjab Legislative Council made at a meeting held on Thursday, the 21st November 1918, with regard to such qualifications, should be entirely adopted with the following additions:—

- (a) Every Secretary of a Co-operative Society.
- (b) Every Treasurer of the above Society.
- (c) Every Assessor or Juror will have the right to vote for election of a candidate for a seat in Punjab Legislative Council.

2161. IV. The main reason for making the above suggestions is that the interests of the agricultural classes are directly opposed to those of the trading people. There is no community of interests between them and one class is entirely separated from the other. The former live in the rural areas while the latter mostly reside among the urban population.

2162. For instance, the Punjab Land Alienation Act is a beneficial piece of legislation which is very useful for the agricultural classes. It has averted the political danger of land going out of the hands of agriculturists into those of non-agriculturists. The rural people desire that this Act should be maintained and they consider it as their Magna Charta. On the contrary the trading classes are vehemently opposed to the abovementioned Act of the Legislature and are determined to get it repealed. Now I leave it to the Franchise Committee to consider that if there be a majority of such people in the Punjab Legislative Council whether they will not achieve their object for which they have been clamouring since 1900.

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Sardar KHARAK SINGH.

[Continued.]

Sardar Kharak Singh *called and examined.

2163. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a pleader in the Chief Court and a resident in Lahore District. He had come to represent the Punjab Zemindars' Central Association, of which he was the Honorary Secretary and the object of which was to safeguard the interests of the agriculturists of the province. They represented both big and peasant proprietors.

2164. He would have separate electorates for urban and rural areas, treating as "urban" cities and towns, notified areas and municipalities. There was no objection to including small notified areas in the rural constituencies but his Association would object to any municipality being so amalgamated.

2165. No person should be allowed to stand in a rural electorate who was not a statutory agriculturist. It had been shown in the past that District Board representatives had not taken much interest in the agriculturists. Even if there was communal representation only a rural candidate should stand for a rural seat.

2166. He would give votes to officials of co-operative credit societies because they were people whom the public trusted with their money and who did good work for the agriculturists. He included assessors because they were regarded as highly respectable.

2167. His Association did not want separate representation for the large landholders.

2168. (Mr. Halsey.) He would follow his principle that only agriculturists proper should vote in the rural electorates even to the exclusion of military pensioners, who could be provided for by nomination. It was necessary to have representatives on the Council who would really favour their interests.

2169. (Mr. Sastri.) He was a Jat Sikh. Of his Association three-quarters of the members were Jat Sikhs and the remainder Hindu Jats. At present it was only a Jat Association but it hoped to become representative of all landowners.

2170. The urban representation should be given strictly on a basis of population.

2171. He regarded members of the statutory agriculturist classes as the only suitable candidates for rural constituencies. He would not admit people who simply had a place of residence in the constituency and came there occasionally. The few agriculturists who were not statutory were in touch with the trading classes and could be represented by them. There was a clash of interests between the agriculturists and the people from urban areas and it was essential to have them in separate electorates. He had no objection to a small increase in the urban electorates if it did not jeopardise the interests of the rural constituencies.

2172. (Mr. Banerjee.) There should be separate representation for urban and rural Sikhs. He was prepared to see the urban Sikhs amalgamated in the general urban constituencies because they were part and parcel of the Hindus, being connected by inter-marriage, etc.

2173. He was not prepared to give evidence about the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.

2174. (Mr. Aftab.) At present his Association did not include Muhammadans.

2175. The rural constituencies would supply an ample number of competent men to the Council. Only the urban Sikhs could be regarded as part of the Hindu community. The rural Sikhs did not inter-marry with the Hindus. The Jat Sikhs were the original Sikhs.

2176. (Sardar Sunder Singh.) 16 lakhs of the Sikhs were Jats; the remainder amounted to 12 lakhs. 21 lakhs of Sikhs were in the Punjab and 7 in the United Provinces. Muhammadans were not at present eligible for the Association but they hoped to admit them as the Association developed. There were about 10 lakhs of Hindu Jats. His Association was a Jat Association and non-Jats were not eligible. He would hand in a statement shewing the proportion of agriculturists and non-agriculturists in the province. How would give seats to non-Jats and Jats in the proportion of 1 to 2.

THE CHIEF KHALSA DIWAN.

Written Statement.

2177. (2) Franchise.—In their address to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy, it has already been suggested by the Sikh community that Franchise may be granted to all persons (meaning of course all males above the age of 21) falling under any of the following categories:—

- (a) All members of the Municipal Committees and District Boards and other local bodies.
- (b) All landholders who pay revenue of not less than Rs. 100 per annum.
- (c) All persons assessed to income-tax.
- (d) All graduates of Indian or other recognized Universities of not less than three years' standing.
- (e) All members of the Bar of not less than three years' standing.
- (f) All registered members of the independent medical profession.
- (g) All retired Indian Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army.

It was also suggested that election should be held in separate communal compartments, and it was earnestly urged that separate communal representation be allowed to the Sikh community. The last request has been held by the authors of the Reforms Report as fully made out and has been granted; and as to the extent to which it is to be allowed the matter was left for decision upon the Report of the Franchise Committee.

2178. In the memorandum submitted to the Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, as embodying the

views of the Sikh community with the letter of the Honorary Secretary, Chief Khalsa Diwan, dated the 25th September 1918, the extent to which the Sikhs ask for their representation in the Provincial as well as Imperial Councils and the Council of State have been fully set out and need not be repeated here. For the reasons stated there, the Sikhs should have one-third of the total number of non-official seats held by Indians in the Punjab Council, and 7 out of 67 non-official seats in the Assembly of India and 4 out of non-official seats in the Council of State reserved for them. The committee of the Diwan adheres to the views expressed in the aforesaid memorandum by the Sikh community adopted in a general conference of the specially appointed representatives of the community. In addition to the qualifications for electoral roll, as suggested above, the committee of the Diwan beg to urge that a property qualification be also added to the list. All persons owning house property of the value of at least Rs. 10,000 (ten thousand) should have a right of vote.

2179. (3) With the above reservation, the Sikhs had suggested in their address to the Joint authors of the Report that Provincial Councils may consist of 75 to 100 members. Taking 75 as the basis of calculations for the Punjab, it is suggested that the division may be made as follows:—

By election:—

Sikhs	15
Non-Sikh Indians	30
University	1
Chamber of Commerce	1

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THE CHIEF KHALSA DIWAN.

[Continued.]

By election—contd.

Big landlords and Chiefs	3 (Hindu 1, Muhammadan 1 and Sikh 1.)
	50
By nomination—	
Officials not more than	16
Non-officials	9*
	25

that the total to be distributed are 60 which may be as follows:—

Bombay	10
Bengal	10
Madras	10
United Provinces	9
Bihar and Orissa	6
Punjab (non-Sikhs)	5
Central Provinces	4
Burma	3
Assam	2
Delhi	1
TOTAL	60

2180. (4) As the Reforms Report does not propose to institute separate communal representation for Muhammadans in this Province on account of their forming a majority of the population, a principle which seems perfectly just, we have in the above distribution suggested joint electorates for Hindus and Muhammadans. As yet the figures with regard to the number of persons entitled to franchise according to the qualifications suggested above in each district of the Province are not available. But according to the population figures the distribution may perhaps be roughly made as follows:—

Divisions.	Sikhs.	Non-Sikhs.
Rawalpindi	3	5
Lahore	4	7
Jullundur	4	7
Ambala	2	6
Multan	2	5

2181. As regards the further desirability of dividing the seats among the rural and urban areas, it is suggested that no such division will be necessary among the Sikhs as their urban population is small. Should, however, such division be necessary we would make the following suggestion:—

Division.	SIKHS.		NON-SIKHS.	
	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.
Rawalpindi	2	1	4	1
Lahore	3	1	4	3
Jullundur	3	1	5	2
Ambala	1	1	4	1
Multan	1	1	4	2

2182. (5) In the Legislative Assembly of India it is proposed under the report to allow 67 seats out of 100 to be filled up by election, and the distribution, among provinces suggested in paragraph 274, takes no account of the Sikh community, though in paragraph 3 communal representation of the community is conceded for the reasons stated in the aforesaid memorandum submitted by the community, it is respectfully urged that 7 seats be reserved for the community out of the said 67, and the distribution among provinces be made upon the basis

Mr. Sowaram Singh, representing the Chief Khalsa Diwan, called and examined.

2186. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a pleader resident in Lahore and represented the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the representative body of all Sikhs. There were local Sabhas and Khalsa Diwans in districts and villages, which returned members to the Chief Khalsa Diwan up to a maximum of 5 according to their numbers and income. These local bodies were also to be found in Delhi, the United

* These must include two or three members from the domiciled Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian communities. Census figures available do not show the number of domiciled Anglo-Indians separately, but it is believed that the number is not considerable in this Province. We cannot therefore offer a more definite opinion under this head.

2183. It does not appear within our province to suggest electoral franchise and constituencies for other provinces or for any but Sikhs under this head. For the Sikhs we beg to suggest that the revenue and income-tax qualifications should be raised to Rs. 250 and Rs. 100, respectively, and the following constituencies formed:

Punjab—	
Rural	3
Urban	1
Chiefs' Association	1
Graduates and learned profession	1
Sikhs outside Punjab	1
TOTAL	7

2184. (6) As regards the Council of State we beg to state that the total number of members fixed should be raised to 54. Out of these 23 should be elected and 31 including 4 non-officials be nominated. The distribution suggested in paragraph 277 of the report should be altered as follows:—

(a) To be elected by the Provincial Legislative Councils of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Punjab (2 each)	12
(b) To be elected by the Provincial Legislative Councils of Assam, Central Provinces and Burma (1 each)	3
(c) To be elected by the special electorates:—	
Muhammadans	2
Sikhs	2
Learned classes	2
Chamber of Commerce:—	
European	1
Indian	1
TOTAL	23

2185. Whereas six seats have been guaranteed as a minimum to the Muhammadans, four should be guaranteed for the Sikhs, to be made up as follows:—

(a) Out of 2 Provincial seats (the other to be alternately Hindu and Muhammadan)	1
(b) Special electorates	2
(c) Nominated	1
	4

Provinces, and even as far as Bihar and Bengal. Wherever there was a small and distinct body of Sikhs they were represented. Their memorandum had been adopted at a general meeting of the central body at which the local bodies had been represented.

2187. In preparing their scheme for the Council they had no exact figures to work upon, but they thought they were providing a sufficiently wide franchise.

2188. Members of District Boards and Municipalities had been included as persons of importance and political experience. In clause (f) of paragraph (2) of their memo

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THE CHIEF KHAISSA DIWAN.

[Continued.]

randum they referred to "registered" members of the medical profession. This registration was a local arrangement. His committee's primary intention was to secure the representation of private practitioners. They were not thinking about medical officers in Government service who would mostly come in as payers of income-tax.

2189. There was a very strong feeling indeed against amalgamating the Sikhs with the Hindus or the Muhammadans. They claimed $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the non-official seats for reasons most of which were mentioned in the memorandum; but there were others. For instance the Sikhs supplied $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the military recruits in the Province and $\frac{1}{4}$ th in the whole of India, both during and before the war. About half the aristocracy of the Province were Sikhs. The Sikhs also had ruled the Province before the British. In literacy they were ahead of all other communities; 3 per cent. of the Sikhs were literate as against less than one per cent. in the case of both Hindus and Muhammadans. They had started 250 educational institutions in the Province, of which 2 were colleges and about 50 secondary schools. These were all controlled and managed by his Association.

2190. It was generally recognised that the representation of minorities could not be on a numerical basis. He did not think that the Sikhs' claims were vitiated by the fact that whereas it was proposed that Muhammadans should be over-represented on those grounds in some provinces, their representation would be in a deficit in others. (There was a strong feeling amongst the Sikhs that although they only represented 11% of the population, they must get $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the representation. Communal representation should not be given to the Muhammadans, because they formed a majority of the population. The Hindus had never claimed it; if they did, he would give it them.)

2191. They were in favour of giving 3 seats to the big landholders and chiefs because they would not stand in the general electorate.

2192. In view of the services rendered by the Army, the Sikhs claimed 7 out of 87 seats in the Assembly.

2193. It was true that the Sikhs represented only one per cent. of the population of India, but their claims were strong. Of the remaining 60 seats 30 could go to the Hindus, 20 to the Muhammadans and 10 to the rest.

2194. In the Council of State they asked for 2 seats by election and a guaranteed minimum of 4. In a small body the proportion looked large but one or two members only would be ignored.

2195. Election to the Assembly should be direct. As regards the Council of State, members would be returned by a special electorate of Sikhs from all India on the same lines as the Assembly electorate. Most of the voters would be in the Punjab. If the franchise was high enough there would not be much difficulty about the election. He did not think that all these general elections to the Council, Assembly and the Council of State would cause much harassment. They would agree, however, to the two Sikh members on the Council of State being returned by the Sikh members of the Punjab Provincial Council.

2196. (Mr. Ahab.) He could not say if the Muhammadans in the Punjab would be in a majority as regards voting strength. If this was so and if the Report allowed it, he would not object to granting them communal representation.

2197. He proposed to give 5 seats to the non-Sikhs in the Rawalpindi division. His idea was that in joint electorates nearly all these seats would be captured by Muhammadans. In the Pindi division there were 295,680 Muhammadans, 168,219 Sikhs and 260,000 Hindus. It was quite true that they were claiming 33 per cent. of the seats for a population which only numbered 11 per cent. of the whole. It was bound, therefore, to appear unfair to the other communities in particular cases as in the case of the Rawalpindi division.

2198. (Mr. Banerjee.) He did not approve of a scheme for dividing the rural areas into Sikh constituencies and amalgamating the urban Sikh electorate with the general

urban population. Only 5 per cent. of the Sikhs were living in towns and if they were amalgamated they would be completely swamped.

2199. He did not think there was any sharp line of division between the town and the country population and he had no objection to urban representatives of rural constituencies. This might be to the advantage of the rural constituencies because of the superior culture of such men. In paragraph 4 of the memorandum it was proposed that the representation should be roughly $\frac{1}{3}$ rd for the towns and $\frac{2}{3}$ rd for the rural areas.

2200. They recommended a general non-Sikh electorate consisting of Hindus, Muhammadans and others. If the Muhammadans also got communal representation, he thought it would be well to consult the other communities before including them in a joint electorate with the Hindus. If the Christians wanted a separate electorate he would be inclined to give it to them. This was however only his personal opinion.

2201. They thought that Provincial Councils generally should consist of from 75 to 100 members and in the case of the Punjab they had so far preferred 75. This, might be increased to 100 as time went on.

2202. (Mr. Sastri.) There would be great dissatisfaction in the Sikh community if they only got 5 seats which he understood the Local Government proposed to give them.

2203. The difficulty about their accepting the Congress League compact was that the Sikhs had been entirely left out of consideration when the compact was made. One-third of the nominated as well as the elected seats on the Council should go to the Sikhs. The Sikhs would naturally claim an equal share of nominated seats if Hindus and Muhammadans were nominated. The Sikhs asked for one-third of the general seats after excluding the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the big landlords and chiefs. They also claimed one of the three seats reserved for the big landlords and chiefs. If the Lucknow compact was applied to these 45 seats, 23 of them would have to go to Muhammadans; but the Sikhs were not bound by that compact. If the Hindus and Muhammadans each got 15 seats he considered that the Sikhs were justified by their importance in asking for the same number.

2204. As regards the Legislative Assembly they proposed 7 members for the Sikhs and 5 members for the non-Sikhs because the Sikhs could only return members from the Punjab whereas other communities would come in from other provinces also. The Punjab had been defending the whole of the country and was therefore entitled to 12 seats in all on the Assembly as compared with the 10 assigned to each of the Presidencies.

2205. The Arya Samaj were fairly advanced in education, though not so far as the Sikhs, and also in social service; probably also in female education.

2206. The Sikhs had not confined their public activities to the benefit of their own community, but on the present occasion they must stand out for their rights to prevent being swamped.

2207. (Sardar Sunder Singh.) The Sikh Rajas and Maharajas mixed freely with the common Sikhs, and recognized no caste or class restrictions. The Sikhs of the Punjab should have special representation on the Imperial Council because Sikhs would be returned for no other Province.

2208. There were 33,000 Sikhs in the new Sargodha canal colony and the canal colonies were chiefly populated by Sikhs.

2209. The claims of the Muhammadans to sit on the Imperial Council should be considered for India as a whole so that it was unnecessary to consider their case with special reference to the Punjab.

2210. The number of students in upper primary schools in the Punjab much exceeded that in other provinces.

2211. One Sikh had been elected to the Punjab Legislative Council partly because there was no competition worth speaking of and partly because he had made promises to the other communities.

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[Continued.]

2212. A Sikh is one who believes and professes the unity of God and the brotherhood of man and the ten Sikh Gurus and the teaching of the Granth Sahib as the only means of his or her salvation. With the above cardinal principles of faith, it is essential for a Sikh to have his hair in its natural condition and in the case of Amaldari Sikhs to observe the Rahat.

2213. (Sir Frank Sly.) There would be no difficulty about discovering whether a man was or was not a Sikh. A man who cut his hair was an apostate. A man who claimed to be a Sikh should not be recognised as such unless he wore long hair.

2214. (Mr. Hailey.) He was aware that by adhering to this principle he would exclude some of the Phulkian chiefs who claimed to be the leaders of the Sikh community but their religion enjoined that the hair should be uncut. He would also exclude any person whom he saw smoking. No proved apostate should be admitted.

2215. (Sir Frank Sly.) Every body who claimed to be a Sikh should be registered as such unless an objection was raised. The polling officer could see what he looked like.

DUNI CHAND, Esq.

Written Statement.

2216. (1) The strength of the proposed Provincial Council, inclusive of the President, to be 125, four-fifths of which shall be elected.

2217. (2) The elected members shall be divided, as follows, between the various communities and special interests:—

	No.
(1) Muhammadans	62
(2) Hindus	44
(3) Sikhs	14
(4) Representative of the University	1
(5) Chambers of Commerce, both European and Indian	1
(6) Representatives of other communities or special interests	3
TOTAL	125

2218. (3) As to the mode of election, though personally I am in favour of a joint register of Hindus and Muhammadan voters, but as the majority of the Muhammadans are for separate election, I therefore would let there be separate registers for all the above-mentioned communities and interests for the Provincial Council for election.

2219. (4) For the purposes of election the Province shall be divided into election districts corresponding to the existing revenue districts subject to the conditions that in certain cases districts may be combined for the purposes of election. A population unit for a district shall be determined by dividing the entire population over the number of elected seats and this unit shall determine how many members are to be allotted to any district. Important cities like Lahore and Amritsar should have one member extra each. The franchise shall be as follows:—

- All persons paying income-tax.
- All persons owning property the value of which is Rs. 1,000 or more or possessing immoveable property the rental value of which is Rs. 36 per annum.
- All persons resident in the electoral area six months before the date of election who have passed the Matriculation Examination or hold an Oriental Diploma, but are not students.
- All persons paying land revenue of Rs. 20 or more per annum.

NOTE.—One person should have one vote and not more in any one of the various electorates from which he must choose one for the purpose of vote.

Disqualifications of voters.

2220. The following persons will be disqualified from voting at the election:—

- Minors.
- Persons adjudged by competent court to be of unsound mind.

Disqualifications for candidates for membership of the Provincial Council.

2221. The following persons should not be eligible to stand as candidates for membership of the Provincial Council:—

- Those who are not British subjects.

(b) Government officials.

NOTE.—In the case of a Minister, who should be an elected member, it will be incumbent on him to seek re-election on acceptance of his office.

- Persons convicted of treason or felony and sentenced to any punishment exceeding 12 months' hard labour.
- Persons holding pensions at the pleasure of the Crown either for themselves or for others in whom they were interested, civil service pensioners being excluded.
- Persons holding hereditary titles or jagirs.
- Persons who directly or indirectly themselves or through intervention of a stranger or strangers hold or undertake any contract or commission for or on account of the public service.
- Honorary Magistrate.

Written Statement of Mr. Duni Chand on behalf of the Hindu community of Ambala.

Communal representation.

2222. In dealing with a problem so complex and momentous in its issues as the system of franchise, the authors of the scheme have themselves recognised the drawbacks of communal representation, and the community which I have the honour to represent regards it as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. But considering that, in the existing circumstances, communal representation is the only safeguard of the rights of the Hindus, who form a minority in this province, particularly in view of the insistent demands of certain other communities for separate electorates, this community feels constrained to ask for an extension of the same system to Hindus as well.

If not extended, favoured classes to be excluded at general elections.

2223. If, however, this extension be denied to the Hindus, the community respectfully submits that, in fairness to the Hindus, other communities enjoying the privilege be debarred from exercising the additional right of voting or standing at general elections.

Principle governing franchise.

2223a. While admitting the desirability of making the franchise "as broad as possible," it is impossible to ignore considerations of unequal population, wealth or education that obtain in different parts of this province and have so important a bearing on the subject. Consequently, in the humble opinion of this community, numerical strength alone should not be the guiding principle in framing a constitution.

Qualification of voters.

2224. Bearing the above principles in mind, therefore, the community begs to suggest the undermentioned qualifications which a voter should possess:—

2225. Every male person (excepting students) who has attained the age of majority and is not insane, insolvent

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[Continued.]

or deaf and dumb and has not been convicted of an offence implying moral turpitude, and

(1) possesses—

- (a) house property worth at least Rs. 2,000 or
- (b) land measuring at least 7 acres, or
- (c) occupying rights in land measuring at least 10 acres, or
- (d) an income of Rs. 500 a year; or

(2) pays house-rent to the amount of Rs. 100 a year at least or

(3) holds—

- (i) a certificate of having passed the Matriculation or School-leaving Examination of any recognised University in or outside India; or
- (ii) a diploma in any Oriental language is eligible as a voter.

Mr. Duni Chand called and examined.

2226. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a barrister of Lahore, a member of the Municipal Committee, Secretary to the Indian Association, and Vice-President of the Provincial Congress Committee. He approved as the representative of the Provincial Congress Committee.

2227. He wished to revise his distribution of seats on the Council. He now proposed to give 60 to Muhammadans, 34 to Hindus, 11 to Sikhs and 5 to representatives of different interests, and to have 25 nominated members total 125.

2228. For the purpose of election he would have a joint register for Hindus, Sikhs and others excluding Muhammadans, but he would reserve separate seats for the Sikh community. He made this proposal because it was very difficult to distinguish Hindus from Sikhs. He did not consider that it would be prejudicial to the scheme if separate representation was not given to Sikhs.

2229. The district was his unit for rural constituencies, and he would give separate seats to big cities.

2230. He was in favour of a wide franchise. He had no objection to the middle school examination as the educational qualification.

2231. By "minor" he meant below 18, but he would exclude students.

2232. Each man should have only one vote, and, if entitled to vote in more than one constituency, he should have the choice of the constituency in which he should vote.

2233. He had been a municipal commissioner for the last 12 or 15 years and had experience of elections. The municipal franchise was based on communal lines. Sikhs and Hindus were formerly combined but were now separate. Inter-marriage was very common between Hindus and Sikhs in urban areas. He himself claimed to be a Sikh.

2234. (*Mr. Aftab.*) His proposal to give 50 seats to the Muhammadans and 50 to the rest was in accordance with the Lucknow compact as he understood it.

2235. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He adhered to his opinion that the Council should be of 125 members. His personal view was that 112 should be elected.

2236. He would give the Muhammadans special electorates in order to please them, the other communities would come in through the general electorates, but he would make it obligatory on certain constituencies to return 11 Sikhs in all. The Sikhs should get that

proportion of the representation to which they were entitled on a population basis.

2237. He would reserve the nominated seats as far as possible for officials.

2238. He proposed separate seats for 7 or 8 big towns because of the superior intelligence of the urban population.

2239. He did not think that there was a conflict of interest between town and country and he would admit townsmen as representatives of rural constituencies, without any restriction as to residence, except that they must reside in the province.

2240. There was no objection to women voting if they were prepared to vote with men.

2241. He would include as a British subject any person who had been living in British India for some years.

2242. He would recognise proceedings under Section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code as a disqualification if the proceedings were of a judicial character. He would not allow the Local Government to disqualify anybody they liked.

2243. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He did not wish to press his point that ministers on appointment should seek re-election.

2244. He had been elected to the Lahore Municipal Board by a Hindu constituency.

2245. There were many Sikhs of his sect, the Sehjdharis, who represented more than 40 per cent. of the whole.

2246. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) He could not say whether there had been any independent Sikh representative in the last three Councils.

2247. He would have 45 representatives (11 plus 34 for the Sikhs and Hindus) but if the Sikhs persisted he would give them 11 per cent. taking, if necessary, one of the seats from Hindus and one from the Muhammadans. No body in the Punjab, however, would be likely to agree to this.

2248. He would leave rules about the definition of British subjects to be made later on.

2249. He considered Sikhs and Hindus as of the same community and would therefore be opposed to Sikhs being given representation in the Punjab on the lines on which Muhammadans had been given representation in other Provinces.

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Raja NARENDRA NATH.

[Continued.]

At Lahore, Friday, December 6th, 1918.

PRESENT:

Sir F. G. SLY, K.C.S.I., L.C.S. (Deputy Chairman).

Fahibzada AFTAB AHMAD KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., L.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOOG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Mr. P. J. FAGAN, C.S.I., L.C.S., Financial Commissioner.

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur SUNDER SINGH MAJITHLA.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., L.C.S. (Secretary).

Raja NARENDRA NATH representing the Punjab Hindu Sabha.

Written Statement.

(Copy of a letter to the Government of the Punjab, dated November 21st, 1918.)

2250. I have the honour to invite your kind attention to my letter dated 18th August 1918 (copy enclosed for facility of reference) on the subject of Hindu representation on the Councils under the Reform Scheme, and to request that the scheme of proportionate but joint representation of Hindus and Muhammadans contained in the letter be laid before the Franchise Committee. With regard to other matters connected with the question of franchise the Sabha has asked me to submit the following proposals:—

2251. (2) The Province should be given a Council of 100 members of whom four-fifths, viz., 80, should be elected.

2252. (3) The following seats should be allotted to special and communal electorates:—

(i) Senate of the Punjab University	3
(ii) Graduates of Universities in the British Empire of not less than 10 years' standing	3
(iii) Sikhs	8
(iv) Chamber of Commerce—	
(a) European 1 }	2
(b) Indian 1 }	
TOTAL	16

2253. (4) Out of the remaining 64 seats, 18 should be allotted to the following big towns having a population of more than 50,000:—

(1) Lahore	4	} Half to Hindus and half to Muhammadans.
(2) Amritsar	2	
(3) Multan	2	
(4) Rawalpindi	2	
(5) Ambala	2	
(6) Jullundur	2	
(7) Sialkot	2	
(8) Ferozepore	2	

2254. (5) Forty-six seats left for rural constituencies should be distributed amongst 28 districts of the Province in such a way that in districts in which Muhammadan population predominates, Muhammadans should get more representatives than the Hindus, and vice versa, but the total assigned to Hindus and Muhammadans should be equal, viz., 23 to each. The Sabha has suggested the following distribution:—

	Muhammadans.
Hissar and Gurgaon	1
Simla and Ambala	1
Kangra and Hoshiarpur	1
Rohtak and Karnal	1
Jullundur and Ludhiana	1

In the remaining 18 districts Musalmans should get one member for each district.

	Hindus.
Muzaffargarh and D. G. Khan	1
Montgomery and Jhang	1
Rawalpindi and Attock	1
Shahpur and Mianwali	1
Gujrat and Jhelum	1

In the remaining 18 districts Hindus should get one member for each district.

2255. (6) On the subject of franchise for rural areas and for 8 big towns given in paragraph 3, the Sabha would make the following suggestions:—

(i) Rural areas:—

All men above the age of 21, who either pay Rs. 100 as land revenue, or pay income-tax, or are matriculates of 5 years' standing (not reading in an educational institution) or pay a house-rent of Rs. 5 a month.

(ii) Urban areas of the towns:—

Mentioned in paragraph 3.

All men above the age of 21, who either pay income-tax or are matriculates of 5 years' standing (not reading in an educational institution) or pay house-rent of Rs. 180 a year.

The Sabha thinks that the above limit is broad and low enough consistent with efficiency. The sense of political responsibility has yet to be awakened amongst voters.

2256. (7) The Sabha strongly recommends the scheme of election by mixed electorates explained in the enclosed printed letter and thinks that it is quite workable. The election of Hindu and Muhammadan candidates should take place on separate days, both in the rural and urban constituencies, the whole electorates taking part in the election of each class of candidate. The same rule may be observed in the electorates of graduates who may be directed to return a Hindu, a Muhammadan and a Sikh candidate. Election by the Senate, which contains a large number of Europeans, need not be fettered in this way. Opportunity has been afforded for a candidate of each of the three communities being returned.

2257. (8) The reason which has led the Sabha to propose so many as six seats for the University and the graduates is that the Sabha wishes to secure the return of a sufficient number of educated men to the Council. With the low franchise proposed for urban and rural areas, or with the franchise that may ultimately be adopted, there is no guarantee that the voters who have up to the present no political education will return men other than their equals in education. The association

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[Continued.]

of educated men in the Council is necessary for various reasons:—

- (1) Government should utilise the highest characters and the best intellects of the country in the work of Government.
- (2) Government should be given a field wide enough out of which to choose its Ministers and Under-Secretaries.
- (3) The object of the Scheme being to lessen irresponsible criticism, by making a beginning in responsible government, the scheme would fail in its object if the educated classes, who are at present the chief critics of Government were left out of the Councils.

2258. (9) With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council, the Sabha thinks that the elected members of the Provincial Council should form the electorate and that election should be on the principle laid down in paragraph 8 of the enclosed letter.

2259. (10) The Sabha understands that in most European countries, if not in all, residence in the constituency is not a necessary qualification for candidature. The Sabha sees no reason to recommend deviation from that rule in the Punjab.

2260. This letter and its enclosures are full and exhaustive and explain the principles on which the proposals of the Sabha are based. If, however, there is anything which needs further explanation the Sabha has nominated me to appear as a witness before the Franchise Committee.

Copy of the letter from the Punjab Hindu Sabha, to the Government of the Punjab referred to in the foregoing statement.

2261. The Punjab Hindu Sabha, at their meeting held on 22nd July 1918, resolved to submit, for the consideration of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, a representation on the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reform, so far as it is likely to affect the interests of the Hindus of the Punjab, deferring, for the present, a discussion of the scheme in its general political aspect. I am, therefore, desired by the Sabha to address you as follows:—

2262. (2) In 1909, when Morley-Minto Scheme was announced, the Punjab Hindu Sabha had reason to believe that the interests of the Hindus of the Punjab were not sufficiently safeguarded by it. The grant of special communal electorate to Muhammadans created alarm. It was thought that the old policy of absolute impartiality and neutrality had been departed from. These fears were aggravated by a retrospect of the policy of legislation and administration which had been followed and which appeared to the Hindus to indicate a deviation from the line of strict neutrality and a departure from that healthy political principle which regards all human beings as essentially equal in the eye of the powers that be. The Sabha then submitted a memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy, paragraph (III) of which related to the anticipated working of the Reform Scheme. The paragraph is reproduced in Appendix I to this letter. A reply to the memorial was vouchsafed in letter No. 1174, dated Simla, the 21st of October 1909, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Officiating Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab. Paragraph 12 of that letter referred to the representation in respect of enlarged Councils; and is subjoined to the extract from the memorial in the Appendix.

2263. (3) I invite your attention to Statements I and II printed in Appendix II to this letter. Statement I shows the composition of each Punjab Council since 1910, the year in which enlarged Councils under the Morley-Minto Scheme were established. Statement II shows the number returned for the Imperial Council from the Punjab at each election. The history of the gradual expansion of the Provincial Council since the introduction of the Morley-Minto Scheme is well known to you. It would, however, serve the purpose of this letter to recapitulate

it. Regulations for the nomination and election of members of the Legislative Council were framed and published by Punjab Government, Home Department Legislative Notification No. 31, dated 15th November 1909. The Punjab was given 5 elected members to be elected in the following way:—

- (i) By the University of the Punjab—1 member.
- (ii) By the Municipal and Cantonment Committees—3 members.
- (iii) By the Punjab Chamber of Commerce—1 member.

2264. In 1912, the Regulations were revised and the amendment was published by Government of India Notification of 15th October 1912. By this amendment franchise was for the first time granted to District Boards, which were arranged in 3 groups, each group returning one member. The franchise for towns was also re-arranged. More towns were included in the municipal groups. Early in 1916 there was a further revision of the Regulations. The amending notification of Government of India was dated 30th March 1916. According to it the District Boards in each revenue division were given the right of returning a member, the Municipal and Cantonment Committees were given the right of returning 4 instead of 3 members, the Committees of the Central Group being sub-divided into two groups, A and B.

2265. (4) Statement (I) in Appendix II shows that the result of polling was very unfavourable to the Hindus in 1910, one Hindu being returned against three Muhammadans. In 1913 the tide turned in favour of Hindus, the election resulting in the return of 5 Hindus against one Muhammadan. In 1916 the results were fair to both sides, the number of Hindus and Muhammadans elected being equal. On the first two occasions the deficiency of election was made up by nomination. Statement III in Appendix (II) shows the numerical strength of Hindu and non-Hindu voters in each constituency, except the University, at each of the elections, which have taken place, since the introduction of Morley-Minto Scheme. An examination of it will show that out of the three Municipal groups of the first election Hindus were in a minority, in two, and were equal in one, as compared with non-Hindus. In 1912 out of 6 constituencies of Municipal and District Boards the Hindus were in a majority in 3, equal in 1, and in a minority in 2. In the Central Group of Committees there were 67 Hindus as compared with 62 Muhammadans, but 2 Parsis and 7 Europeans constituted a majority of non-Hindus. In the Western Group of Committees there were 61 Hindus, 58 Muhammadans and 3 Europeans. In 1916 out of 9 electoral circles of local bodies the Hindus were in a majority in 5. The University having a majority of non-Hindus, there were 5 electoral circles in which Hindus constituted a majority and 5 in which non-Hindus predominated. The result was that the Council of 1916 was the only one in which seats were equally distributed between Hindus and Muhammadans. The relative proportion of Hindus, Sikhs and Muhammadans in the Council, including both nominated and elected members, was as follows:—

First Council.		
Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.
3	7	2
Second Council.		
Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.
5	5	3
Third Council.		
Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.
7	7	2

This retrospect of the history of the Provincial Council points to three conclusions:—

- (i) That elections have proceeded mainly on communal lines.

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[Continued.]

(ii) That Government have made up the deficiency of election in the case of each community by nomination.

(iii) That since 1913 the claim of Hindus to equal representation with the Muhammadans, exclusive of Sikhs, has been recognised.

2266. (5) The Sikhs have now been given a separate electorate. This separation of Sikhs from the Hindus, as the result of an avowed policy, is much regretted by the Sabha though the concession (if a measure, which deprives a community of the weight and influence of numbers, be a concession), is not grudged, as it has been given in deference to the explicit desire of the community. This separation, however, should lead Government to crystallize the policy which has so far been in a more or less nebulous state, viz., that the seats allotted to Sikhs should count as separate and not be deducted from those assigned to the Hindus. Apart from the considerations urged in the Memorial of 1909 and the facts and figures cited therein, the Sabha thinks that it would be anomalous to treat Hindus in any part of Hindustan, whatever be the numerical proportion of their population to other communities, as anything other than an important minority. The Congress-League Scheme, which embodies the mutual compact of Hindus and Muhammadans about their relative influence in politics, recognises the claims of the Hindus of the Punjab to equal seats with the Muhammadans. The case of Sikhs was not considered at the time, as the grant of communal electorate to the Sikhs was not anticipated. The recognition of the claim of the Hindus of the Punjab to equal representation with Muhammadans was the natural result of the conciliatory spirit shown by the Hindus towards Muhammadans in the preparation of the Scheme. The total population of the United Provinces is 47,182,044 out of which the Hindus are 40,253,433 and Muhammadans 6,658,378. The total population of Behar and Orissa is 34,490,084 of which Hindus are 28,365,235 and Muhammadans 3,666,861. In the Punjab, the total population is 19,974,956, of which Hindus, excluding Sikhs, are 6,682,818. The Muhammadans form in the United Province 14.1 per cent. of the population and in Behar and Orissa 10.6 per cent. of the population. The Hindus in the Punjab are 33.4 per cent. of the population. The Congress League Scheme conceded to the Muhammadans of the United Provinces 30 per cent. and to those of Behar and Orissa 25 per cent. of the elected seats in the Legislative Councils, respectively. It cannot be conceived that the Muhammadan leaders could have ever thought of assigning to the Hindus of the Punjab (considering the Sikhs to be so completely separated from them as to deserve and to get separate electorate) anything less than half the number of seats. The claim advanced, in certain quarters, that the seats assigned to the Sikhs should be deducted from the share of Hindus, is preposterous, and if it is sought to borrow strength from any interpretation put on the mutual compact of the Hindus and the Muhammadans indicated in the Congress-League Scheme, that interpretation is perverse. *The first prayer of the Hindu Sabha is, that out of the total number of seats fixed for the Provincial Council, those assigned to special and communal electorates, namely—the University, Chamber of Commerce, Landed Gentry and Aristocracy, and Sikhs, should be deducted and the rest divided equally between Hindus and Muhammadans.*

2267. (6) The Scheme of Reform, which forms the subject of the report prepared by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, marks a new epoch in the History of Indian political advancement. The Legislative Councils of the future will no longer be consultative Boards, reflecting and focusing the opinion of intelligent classes on administrative matters, but will be bodies entrusted with responsibility, controlling certain departments, through Ministers selected out of them. The Sabha is of opinion that for the successful working of the Scheme two things are essential:—

(i) to insure the adequate representation of all classes in the Council, and

(ii) to keep off, as much as possible, from its atmosphere, sectional and denominational bias, which is obstructive of the growth of the spirit of citizenship.

2268. There is no doubt that the changes introduced by the Reform Scheme, which alters the character and status of Councillors, from irresponsible critics to responsible administrators, will in itself create and develop a sense of citizenship, but this will take time. Nothing should be done at the outset which unnecessarily divides classes. I cannot do better than quote here the concluding part of paragraph 229 of the report:—

“The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides 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 change of being hypocritical or shortsighted.” *The Sabha therefore prays that the educational and pecuniary qualifications of voters, though differing territorially, should be the same for all communities.* Any course to the contrary will produce great heart-burning and will be prejudicial to the successful working of the Scheme.

2269. (7) I now come to the crux of the problem, namely, how to secure adequate representation of all classes on the scale mentioned in paragraph 5 of this letter. Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs are the three main classes in the Punjab with whom we are concerned and who will be affected by the Regulations about elections. They differ from one another in education and wealth. It is difficult to fix upon any qualification which will secure numerical equality of the members of each community in the constituencies which may be formed. The Sabha does not mind if franchise is kept low enough to secure approximate equality. But exact equality of numbers it is impossible to attain. The coming events afford no time for experiments or tentative measures. The functions assigned to the Council will be of too important a character to admit of variations in the return of members belonging to various classes. Our experience of the Minto-Morley Scheme tells us how slight variations in the electoral roll tell on the classes of members returned. In the memorial submitted in June 1909 the Sabha asked for separate communal representation for the Hindus of the Punjab. The evils of communal representation, though self-evident, were not then recognised by the authorities. Paragraphs 228 and 229 of the report condemn communal electorates as opposed to the teaching of history and calculated to perpetuate class divisions. The Sabha shares these views, but is at the same time cognisant of the necessity of securing adequate representation for the community which represents. It wants no recurrence of the results of 1910. Nor does it want to perpetuate the unsatisfactory state of Hindu representation on the Imperial Council which exists up to the present day and with which I will deal later on. Short of communal representation which has been retained by the authors of the report as a necessary evil, and in consequence of pledges, given in haste, there is but one contrivance which has been briefly alluded to in the concluding part of paragraph 232, but which I will explain more fully as the words of the report omit an essential part of the method of election. *The Sabha proposes that after deducting the seats assigned to Sikhs and special electorates, and determining the number assigned to Hindus and Muhammadans, election of each class of candidate should take place not simultaneously but separately preferably on different dates, to avoid confusion, voters of all classes taking part in the election.* Supposing for instance that the Punjab is given a council of 125, out of which 40, s.e., 100 are to be elected. Supposing, out of 100, 26 go to communal and special electorates, such as the University, Landed Gentry and Chamber of Commerce. Then 74 seats remain open to Hindus and Muhammadans. Supposing, that for the 27 seats allotted to the Hindus there are 50 candidates. Then, all qualified voters of the Punjab belonging to different communities in various constituencies, should be called upon to elect, on one day

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37 Hindus out of the 50 that present themselves. Similarly for Muhammadan candidates, but on a different date. No other mode of election, short of separate communal election, will guarantee to a community the number of seats assigned to it in an electoral scheme. As pointed out in the Memorial submitted in June 1909 most of the questions that come up before Council affect Hindus and Muhammadans alike. There is no reason why a Hindu should not have a vote in the choice of a Muhammadan representative, who has an equal vote with his Hindu colleague on all questions that come up, and vice versa.

2270. It is needless for me to say that the right of election is highly valued by each community, so much so, that the number of seats for election thrown open to a community is considered to be the measure of its importance; otherwise there would have been no need for communal electorates. As the future councils will have a substantial elective majority, and as various interests will have to be represented, there will be little scope for nomination.

2271. (8) Statement II in Appendix (ii) shows how unsatisfactory and inadequate is the representation of the Hindus on the Imperial Council. Within the last nine years only one Hindu has been returned, and even he was not an elected Hindu member of the Provincial Council. *Whatever be the electorate finally fixed for the Imperial Council, the Sabha requests that the method and principle of election of the Hindus of the Punjab for the Imperial Council, as well as their numerical proportion, should be the same as for the Provincial Council.* In conclusion, the Sabha desires me to say that if Government finds itself unable to attach due weight to the considerations which have found expression in paragraphs 228 to 231 of the report, if Government thinks that it is impossible to make franchise qualifications equal for all communities, then, and as a last resort, the Hindu Sabha prays that the Hindus may be given separate communal electorate with the same number of seats as the Muhammadans. The Sabha is a communal body, and though one of its objects is to promote mutual good feeling between communities, yet the primary object of it is to protect the interest of the Hindus. If Government finds itself unable to help the Sabha in promoting one of its subsidiary objects, the Sabha cannot be expected to abandon a principle which is its *raison d'être*.

APPENDIX I.

2272. *The Reform Scheme.*—Your Excellency's memorialists fully appreciate and feel deeply grateful for the spirit of generosity and large-minded statesmanship, which actuated Your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble Lord Morley in inaugurating the great Scheme of Reforms.

2273. The main object of the Reform Scheme is to satisfy the classes which, to quote Your Excellency's words used on a memorable occasion, "by growth of education and encouraged by British rule were claiming equality of citizenship and aspiring to take a larger part in shaping the policy of the Government." Unhappily the principle which has been accepted in providing for the separate and special representation of one particular community puts educational qualifications at a discount, and introduces a new factor of "political importance" which by giving rise to invidious and unjustifiable distinctions, based purely on denominational considerations, will tend to accentuate racial feeling, and largely militate against the good results that the people of India expected from the noble Scheme of Reforms initiated by Your Excellency. Your Excellency's memorialists beg to point out that the Hindus have looked upon the acceptance of this principle of the excessive representation of the Muhammadans on the ground of a supposed political importance as a slur particularly upon their community, who form the vast majority of the population of this country and principally contribute to its military defence, and who assuredly occupy the first

place in loyalty, education and commercial enterprise as well as in providing the finances of the Empire. As regards the military defence of the Indian Empire, Your Excellency's memorialists beg to state that while the Hindus (including Sikhs) contribute 128,000 men to the various branches of the military service, the number of Muhammadans does not exceed 48,000 including soldiers recruited from among the Muhammadan border tribesmen. As regards education, taking the Punjab alone, according to the last Census Return (of 1901) there were 568,367 Hindus literate against 158,251 Muhammadans, whilst the number of English-knowing Hindus was 39,729 against 15,333 Muhammadans of the same class. Your Excellency's memorialists venture to submit that for the first time in the history of British rule in India, considerations of creed have been introduced into administrative policy by the acceptance of the principle of special Muhammadan representation, while the old golden rule of holding all subjects equal in the eye of the law is ignored. Your Excellency's humble memorialists fail to find any justification for the introduction of a differential treatment of Muhammadan interests, for they know of no occasion in the history of British India on which it was found that in matters of legislation the interests of Hindus and Muhammadans had been in real conflict. Nor has any case been made out for any special concessions to the Muhammadan community on the score of their alleged historical or political importance. That the Government of the country was, in almost every case, acquired by the British from the Hindus; that the vast majority of the Muhammadans in the country are descendants of Hindu converts; that the Indian Muhammadans have never been rulers of the country, and that, even at the present time, a great majority of the Native States of India are ruled by Hindu Chiefs and Princes are facts which Your Excellency's memorialists respectfully submit cannot be controverted.

2274. Your Excellency's memorialists beg respectfully to point out that it is not only the general principle laid down for the representation of the two great communities that will place the Hindus at a serious disadvantage in the matter of representation in the reformed Council. Under the details, so far as they have been worked out by the Government of India in consultation with the Local Government, the Hindus of the Punjab feel that their chances of representation on the new Provincial Council are very meagre indeed, and practically none on the Imperial Council. Your Excellency's memorialists are aware that the Scheme, as laid down in Your Excellency's Despatch, dated the 1st October 1908, will be subject to modification in the light of subsequent events which have raised the maximum strength of the Provincial Council from 24 to 30 and have sanctioned a non-official majority. But Your Excellency's memorialists believe they are justified in taking the aforesaid scheme as a safe guide to the probable intentions of the Government. Under this scheme it is provided that out of the 12 non-official members of the Provincial Council one shall represent Commerce, one the University, and 3 will be returned by the large cities. The remaining seven are to be nominated members in the proportion of 2 Muhammadans, 1 Hindu, 1 Sikh, and 3 representing other interests. Now it may be safely presumed that the member for Commerce will be a European nominated by the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades Association, and under the present state of affairs it is doubtful whether a Hindu will be returned by the Senate. As regards the election by the larger cities the chances are that here too the Muhammadans, with their larger number, will have an advantage over the Hindus, and the only seat that the Hindu can be certain about is that to be filled by nomination, which would make their representation only 1 in a Council of 24, unless they can occasionally secure one or more of the seats to be filled by the larger cities. On the other hand, the Muhammadans may have from 4 to 5, or even 6 if the University also returns a Muhammadan. The matter is too self

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evident to require elaboration, that allowing for all contingencies, there can be doubt that the representation of the Hindus on the Provincial Council would be quite inadequate to their strength and importance from the point of view of either number, wealth or education.

2275. As regards the Imperial Legislative Council it is feared that the Hindus may fail to secure even a single seat, while all three may go to Muhammadans. The member representing the Provincial Council is almost sure to be Muhammadan, owing to the Muhammadan majority on the Council, and the same is likely to be the case with the representatives of landholders, who will generally be Muhammadans. In addition to these, a member will be returned by the Muhammadans alone and by an election in which the Hindus shall have no part. Thus it is easy to see that the Hindus will simply be nowhere on the Imperial Council, and the undesirability of this state of things from their point of view need only be mentioned to demonstrate its hardship.

2276. Even on the principle of safeguarding the interests of minorities, the Hindus of the Punjab are entitled to claim a substantial representation on both the Provincial and the Imperial Councils, constituting as they do a stronger and more important minority than the Muhammadans of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. While ample provision has been made for the representation of the Muhammadan minority of the United Provinces on the Provincial as well as the Supreme Councils, no such provision has been made for the Hindus of the Punjab. The invidiousness of this distinction has been keenly felt by the Hindus of this Province, and Your Excellency's memorialists would be failing in their duty if they omitted to give proper expression to the feelings of disappointment which pervade the general body of the Hindu community. They trust that before the scheme takes final shape, the matter will receive the attentive consideration of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and Your Excellency in Council, and they hope that in the Rules and Regulations to be framed under the new India Councils Act, due provision will be made for giving the Hindus a representation which will be commensurate with their education, number, wealth and importance on the Provincial as well as the Supreme Council.

2277. Your Excellency's memorialists are confident that it cannot be the intention of the Government to place the Hindus of the Punjab at such a glaring disadvantage in comparison with the Muhammadans. They, therefore, fervently hope that in the remodelling of the scheme, so as to bring the Councils to the increased strength sanctioned by the Councils Act, these differences will be adjusted and the hardships entailed by them on the Hindu community will be removed. If Your Excellency's memorialists are to offer any specific suggestion, they would propose that the number of the Hindus be made equal to that of the Muhammadans in the Provincial Council, and that an opportunity be given to the Hindus to elect their representatives to the Provincial Council by special electorates, a privilege which is proposed to be conceded to the Muhammadan minority of the United Provinces. Further that the Hindus may be allowed equal opportunities in returning members to the Imperial Council and the proposal of allowing the Muhammadans to return a special member to the Imperial Council by a special electorate be eliminated.

2278. In conclusion, the memorialists beg to assure Your Excellency that it is not in a spirit of captiousness or out of spite to another community that they have sought leave to approach Your Excellency with this representation. Nor are the grievances they have detailed of a merely sentimental character such as might be silently borne by an undemonstrative community like the Hindus of the Punjab. They are solid disadvantages weighing

upon the community with the heavy load of practical disabilities. Indeed, even as they were, the Hindus of the Punjab bore them for a long time, without any serious protest, until they began to find that they were losing ground all along the line. And now Lord Morley's concession of the Muhammadan demands has brought home to them with greater force the truth, felt far some time past, that not merely in the distribution of Government appointments, but even in the grant of political privileges, denominational preferment was going to be a part of Indian policy. Your Excellency's memorialists are constrained to say that circumstanced as they are in the Punjab, the disabilities and disadvantages referred to above are most keenly felt by the Hindus of this Province. They have affected, and are affecting, them in the pursuit of their livelihood; they are telling injuriously upon their social status as representatives of an ancient civilization with its accompanying traditions, and finally they stand in the way of their political advancement as an important unit of the Empire. The above are circumstances which might well create serious alarm in the minds of the Hindu community as to their position as compared to their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen in the eyes of the authorities. But the Hindus, true to the traditions of their race, have the fullest confidence in the ultimate sense of justice and fair play of their rulers. They are firmly convinced that no measures having reference to the administration of the country can form a permanent part of the policy of Government, which are inconsistent with the spirit of British rule and are opposed to the gracious assurances held out to the people of India by their beloved Sovereign on a recent occasion when all classes of His Majesty's subjects were told that none of them would be permitted to suffer by reason only of their religious beliefs.

2279. The disabilities that have been imposed upon the Hindus of the Province are felt to be peculiarly distressing because they would appear to attach to them, not by reason of any radical differences in their temperament and constitution as a race as distinguished from the Muhammadans, but because of their having a system of religion different from that of their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen. And it is this feature of their hard case which has emboldened Your Excellency's memorialists to approach Your Excellency with this humble memorial in which they seek to give expression to the feelings of their co-religionists. Your Excellency's memorialists are confident that as the noble representative of their august Sovereign, Your Excellency will be gracious enough to accord a favourable consideration to their prayers, and that Your Excellency will be pleased so to direct matters as to ensure the Hindus of the Province being placed on a footing of equality with their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen in all matters of administration and thus restore peace of mind and equanimity to a large and influential class of His Majesty's subjects, who are second to none, in their loyalty to the Government and their devotion to the British Crown. And for this act of generosity Your Excellency's memorialists, in duty bound, will ever pray.

Paragraph 12 of Government of India letter No. 1174, dated 21st October, 1909.

2280. Finally I am directed to refer to the complaints of the memorialists that under the scheme for enlarged Legislative Councils the principle of special representation for the Muhammadan population has been accepted. That large and important question is no longer open to discussion, for the principle to which the memorialists refer has received the sanction of the Secretary of State. In so far, however, as the representation of the Hindus of the Punjab is concerned I am directed to say that ample provision will be made to safeguard the interests of all important minorities.

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APPENDIX II.

STATEMENT I.

Punjab Provincial Council.

Year.	Total number of members.	OFFICIAL MEMBERS.				CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.				NON-OFFICIALS.						
		Europeans.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.	Europeans.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.	Elected.		Nominated.				
										Europeans.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.			
1910	24	10				1				1	3	1	2	4	2	First Council.
1913	24	9				1				5	1	1	1	4	2	Second Council.
1916	28	10				1				5	5	1	2	2	2	Third Council.

STATEMENT II.

Imperial Legislative Council.

Year.	Total number from Punjab.	ELECTED BY PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.			NOMINATED.			OTHER INTERESTS NOMINATED.				
		Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.	Land-owners.			Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.		
					Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.					
1910	4			1		1		1			1	First Council.
1913	3			1	1			1				Second Council.
1916	4			1		1		1		1		Third Council.]

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STATEMENT III.

Year.	Electorate.	VOTERS.				GRAND TOTAL OF VOTERS.	
		Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Parsis.	Euro- peans.	Hindus.	Non- Hindus.
November 26, 1909.	Cis-Sutlej Group of Municipal or Cantonment Committees.	24	23	1	8	..	..
	Central Group of Municipal or Cantonment Committees.	43	38	2	8	..	..
	Western Group of Municipal or Cantonment Committees.	28	23	..	5	95	108
November 22, 1912.	Cis-Sutlej Group of District Boards.	149	77	..	..	..	..
	Central Group of District Boards.	102	62	..	2	..	..
	Western Group of District Boards.	93	324	..	..	344	465
	Cis-Sutlej Group of Committees	75	57	..	4	..	..
	Central Group of Committees	67	62	2	7	..	..
April 3, 1916	Western Group of Committees	61	58	..	3	203	193
	Cis-Sutlej Group of Committees	48	37	..	3	..	..
	Central Group (A) of Committees.	66	54	1	3	..	..
	Central Group (B) of Committees.	47	54	..	8	..	..
	North Western Group of Committees.	49	49	..	3	210	212
	Ambala Group of District Boards.	45	9	..	..	..	..
	Rohtak and Gurgaon Group District Boards.	76	46	..	..	..	..
	(B) Jullundur Group of District-Boards.	93	35	..	1	..	..
	Lahore Group of District Boards.	65	52	..	1	..	..
	(D) Rawalpindi Group of District Boards.	40	197	..	1	..	..
(E) Multan Group of District Boards.	54	125	..	..	373	467	

Raja Narendra Nath called and examined.

2281. (Sir Frank Sly.) He had been a statutory civilian. He was now a jagirdar and zamindar living in Lahore. He appeared as the representative of the Punjab Hindu Sabha. The main features of the note which he had submitted represented his own ideas but the specific shape had been given to it by the members of the Sabha.

2282. The Sabha had been in existence for 8 or 9 years. Its object was to protect the interests of the Hindus of the Punjab and to promote good relations between them and other communities. He believed it to be fully representative of the Hindus of the Punjab.

2283. The Sabha apprehended that with a low franchise the necessary number of competent men would not be forthcoming. Hence they proposed a constituency of graduates from any university in the Empire, so as to secure a certain number of educated men. This electorate would number 3,000 to 4,000. Graduates of the Punjab University would not vote as such in the Punjab University electorate neither would ordinary fellows because that electorate consisted of the members of the Senate. He did not wish to include the graduates with the Senate because the Senate would vote on non-denominational lines whereas the graduates would vote on communal lines. Graduates should be restricted to men of 10 years' standing so as to secure ripe experience. They would be more susceptible to new political ideas than the ordinary man and therefore the age limit should be fixed higher in their case.

2284. There was an Indian Chamber of Commerce but it was in a nebulous condition. He was not even very sure about its existence. The Local Government's proposal for a constituency consisting of factory owners,

etc., would not altogether meet the wishes of the Sabha: the constituency should be rather more representative of trade.

2285. His Sabha proposed that 18 urban representatives should be given to 8 big towns and that the other towns should be included in the rural constituencies. The Sabha had discussed a proposal to give representation to all towns with a population of 5,000 and above but had come to the conclusion that an electorate of that sort would be too wide and unmanageable. There was more community between the small towns than there was between the small towns and the rural areas; but they had to draw a line somewhere and they drew it at towns with a population of 50,000 and above.

2286. The Sabha was against communal representation if it could be avoided, but if communal representation was given to the Sikhs they would like a mixed electorate of Hindus and Muhammadans. They gave special representation to the Sikhs because they were in a marked minority. The Hindus and Muhammadans were approximately equal in number and they thought that in such circumstances the full defects of communal representation would be apparent. In the case of the Sikhs the privilege had been granted in the Report and the Sabha thought it unnecessary to dispute what had already been conceded. In the Hindu and Muhammadan joint constituency the whole electorate should vote on consecutive days for the Hindu and Muhammadan candidates.

2287. His Sabha was opposed to the Lucknow compact and did not represent the people who were a party to it. They had not considered whether departure from it would cause acute feeling which would

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be likely to prejudice the scheme, nor had they taken into consideration the political effects of abandoning it. Muhammadan opinion on the subject, so far as he could see, was divided. The Sabha had not considered whether the Muhammadan community strongly favoured communal representation. If their proposals were not accepted the Sabha were prepared to accept communal representation. In 1909 the Sabha had asked for communal electorates for the Hindus, but only if communal electorates were granted to the Muhammadans, in order that they might safeguard their interests.

2288. As regards the proportion of seats assigned to the different communities the Lucknow compact had not taken the Sikhs into account but had assigned 50 per cent. to the Muhammadans assuming that the other 50 per cent. would go to the Hindus. He did not think that the remaining 50 per cent. had been intended for non-Muhammadans generally. On the merits of the case and apart from what the compact meant any special electorate granted to the Sikhs should be outside the balance to be divided between Hindus and Muhammadans. He did not deny the close affinity between Hindus and Sikhs, but in the past the Sikhs had been regarded as a separate body and the balance of the seats had been divided equally between the Hindus and Muhammadans. The other small minorities, such as Parsis, etc., should be represented by nomination.

2289. As regards the Legislative Assembly the Sabha proposed that the members should be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Council.

(*Mr. Hailey.*) Speaking with long experience of the Punjab he considered that communal representation to the extent indicated was essential to the good-will of the communities in the province. He thought it essential to give it to the Sikhs. As regards the Hindus and Muhammadans he would only fix the number of seats for each. His feeling with regard to sectional representation in the municipalities of the province was that it had been very unsatisfactory. He attributed the extreme ill-feeling that existed between Hindus and Muhammadans in Multan while he was Deputy Commissioner there to the system of sectional representation. The Deputy Commissioner had to keep the two sections of the municipal committee apart as much as possible. According to his system relations would have been less acrimonious. By sectional representation the bigoted Hindus and Muhammadans got in; according to his system more broad-minded men would be elected. As communal representation had already been given to the Sikhs in the Report he did not press this argument in their case although it applied with equal force. But communal electorates for the Muhammadans were still an open question.

2290. He had never had any practical experience of a system of elections like that recommended by the Sabha, but it was his own idea and had been suggested to him by his experience in the Multan municipality. He understood that Sir Ali Imam and Mr. Jinnah had prepared a scheme on similar lines. It was doubtful if the voters in rural areas would turn up at the first day of the elections and even if they came on the first day they would certainly not come on the second. In the towns he thought the voters should come to the poll; the scheme was more suited to urban areas.

2291. A Hindu special electorate followed as a corollary from the creation of a special Muhammadan electorate under the Lucknow compact.

2292. He was not prepared off-hand to give an opinion on the proposal to substitute a general electorate for the Hindu electorate. The Hindus, although they were in a minority, claimed 50 per cent. of the seats, and, even if non-Hindus were excluded from their number, he still thought they were entitled to this amount of representation on the principle on which Muhammadans had been given representation in other provinces, though it was true that in other provinces, in spite of the weighting of the Muhammadan vote, the Hindus were still predominant. He would be prepared to admit into the Hindu electorate persons who would not be admitted

into an orthodox Hindu temple. Jains and all the depressed classes were represented by his Sabha.

2293. He had vehemently supported the proposal to give a separate electorate to big landholders but the majority of his Sabha had been against it. The big landholders were distinct from the smaller landholders in so far as they were big employers of labour whereas the smaller landholders would themselves be tenants and would employ tenants who were themselves proprietors. The big landholders occupied a very important position in the social life of the western districts.

2294. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He thought from paragraph 231 of the Report that the question of communal representation for the Muhammadans in the Punjab was still an open one. It was true that the Report suggested that communal representation would not be necessary for a community which formed the majority of the voters, but he did not think that that made much difference in this case because the franchise in the Punjab could be so pitched that there would be very little difference between the number of Hindu and Muhammadan voters.

2295. In regard to paragraph (5) of his memorandum he did not mean that Hissar and Gurgaon, for instance, would return no Hindu member. On the contrary these districts would be included in the 18 Hindu districts and return one Hindu member each. The proposals in that paragraph simply referred to grouping.

2296. His Sabha over-weighted the urban vote for fear of the Council being swamped by agriculturists who would not understand or take any interest in politics. He was not in favour of candidates for rural constituencies being confined to members of agricultural tribes. He would avoid giving undue recognition to the conflict between town and country. If the interests of the rural population were jeopardised by the enfranchisement of a large urban population the Government should intervene. The Sabha was emphatically of opinion that a residential qualification was unnecessary.

2297. Students should be excluded; it was undesirable that they should take part in politics as they would not be of mature judgment.

2298. The Sabha had proposed a land revenue payment of Rs. 250 and he had reduced it to Rs. 100. In urban areas they had proposed Rs. 250 house rent and he had reduced it to Rs. 150.

2299. (*Mr. Hogg.*) The other smaller electorates should be allowed to vote in the joint Hindu and Muhammadan constituency which he proposed, but these minorities could only be represented by nomination. If communal electorates were given to the Muhammadans and Hindus the small minorities could be included with the Muhammadans; he would like to consult his Sabha before agreeing to include these classes in the Hindu electorate.

2300. He had not gone into the point but he thought that the Europeans predominated on the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

2301. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) It was the deliberate opinion of the Sabha that the Council should consist of 100 members, four-fifths of whom should be elected, and so far as he could judge this was also the opinion of the Hindu public. He had no objection to dead weights in the Council. If the size of the Council was increased, the number of dead weights would only increase proportionately.

2302. His own feeling was that communal representation would increase the gulf between the communities. He thought that the Sabha would object as a matter of sentiment to the small minorities being included in the Hindu electorate.

2303. They over-weighted the urban vote in order to secure educated men on the Council who would make the scheme a success. He understood that this was done in all countries where there were representative institutions.

2304. The large number of Indian members in the Council would, he hoped, lead to more responsible criticism in the press.

2305. He doubted whether groups of the smaller towns would form manageable electorates; their interests would be sufficiently safeguarded by the representatives

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[Continued.]

of the larger towns. For these reasons he would merge the smaller towns into the rural electorates.

2306. Personally he was in favour of special representation for the landlords. The influence of the "raja" class was declining and they were being excelled in every walk of life by members of the other classes. His proposal would give them a further temporary life.

2307. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) The educational qualification should be the same for all communities. This would not affect the Muhammadans prejudicially if a certain number of seats were reserved for them. The object of his scheme was to exclude bigots and secure more liberal-minded men.

2308. The Hindu Sabha considered that Sikhs were not separate from the Hindus but, if the Sikhs refused to accept this decision and also Government, the Sabha were not in a position to give an authoritative decision in the matter.

2309. Ordinarily he thought that the Indian seat for the Chamber of Commerce would be secured by a Hindu, but there were a large number of Sikhs who did not regard themselves as separate from the Hindus and who were engaged in trade and one of them might secure the seat. It was also possible that a Sikh might secure the University seat; if the University was given 3 seats there was a very good chance of a Sikh securing one of them. If the Sikhs got 10 seats he thought they would be fairly represented on the Council.

2310. More seats could be given to them but this would reduce the number available for the Muhammadans. Really however the Hindus and Sikhs had so much in common that it was unnecessary to give the Sikhs more than their proportionate number.

2311. (*Mr. Aftab.*) The Sabha did not regard the Congress League compact as inviolable and they had worked out their own plan independently. If, however, deviation from the compact meant friction between the two communities the Sabha were not prepared to press their views. Taking all the provinces into consideration the

Muhammadans, although they were losers in the Punjab were on the whole gainers rather than losers by the compact.

2312. He thought his system would secure the election of Hindus with a pro-Muhammadan tendency and Muhammadans with a pro-Hindu tendency. Such men would be much better than bigots. He could not say what had been the experience of communal representation in other provinces.

2313. His Sabha was not in favour of lowering the franchise. One result of lowering it would be to increase the number of Muhammadan voters.

2314. In the last Council the Hindus had held 7 seats, the Muhammadans 7 and the Sikhs 2; and the general opinion of the Hindus was that the Sikhs had combined with the Muhammadans against them.

2315. (*Mr. Fagan.*) His family had had a long official connection with the Punjab since pre-British days. He had an inherited sympathy with the big landholders and he knew that the feeling of that class was that unless they got separate representation they would be submerged in the rising tide of change. They would not be so progressive as members of other classes and they would not condescend to canvass the general electorates. Their feelings should be respected.

2316. Rural interests were divergent from urban interests; the word "hostile" was too strong. The clash would come in chiefly on the personal side, and the divergence of economic and material interests would be less felt. Town candidates would not take interest in purely rural interests which were of supreme importance to the rural population.

2317. In framing their scheme the Sabha had no information as to the size of electorates based on land revenue payments of Rs. 100 or Rs. 50. The qualification had been put at Rs. 100 because they attached primary importance to getting intelligent voters. He would not oppose a qualification of Rs. 50 land revenue.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur CHAUDHURI LAL CHAND.

Written Statement.

2318. (1) Rural and urban classes should have separate electorates.

2319. (2) The number of seats for each group should be in proportion to population and taxes. Fortunately the ratio in both cases is 1 to 9. I could ask for more for rural classes on the score of their services during the present war and so the present demand is very modest. The view has been accepted by the Provincial Legislative

Council on its last meeting and I would respectfully refer to my speeches in that connection.

2320. (3) Safeguards should be provided that urban candidates should not contest rural seats. I would therefore debar all non-agriculturists permanently residing in towns from standing for seats belonging to rural classes.

2321. (4) Franchise should be as wide as possible in order that people may take real interest provided the constituencies are manageable.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Chaudhuri Lal Chand called and examined.

2322. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a member of the Local Legislative Council on which he represented the District Boards of the Ambala Division.

2323. (His chief desire was to secure adequate representation of the rural areas. He proposed on the basis of population to give them 9 seats to every one given to the urban area, and he would debar non-agriculturists from the town from standing in rural constituencies. By a "non-agriculturist" he meant any person who was not a member of the notified agricultural tribes.) He would only restrict the choice of the agriculturist voter to that extent. Experience had shown that non-agriculturists were sometimes returned from agricultural constituencies by the use of influence and that, when this occurred, they neglected agricultural interests.

2324. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) Officials for the most part belonged to the urban classes and they were apt to use their influence at elections. He only had this on hearsay.

2325. Generally speaking town people would be opposed to an increase of pay in the army because it would mean extra taxation. He would not allow town men to stand as candidates in rural constituencies simply because they had a place of residence unless

they permanently resided there.

2326. Any number of statutory agriculturists would be forthcoming to stand for the Council. His proposal of a Council of 100 members, 4-5ths to be elected, represented public opinion.

2327. As an ideal he objected to communal representation: he preferred territorial representation. But if it was allowed to Muhammadans in other provinces he would allow it to them in the Punjab also although they were in a majority. He would also give it to the Sikhs, i.e., to the Jat Sikhs, on the score of military service. For the other small minorities, such as Parsis or Indian Christians he would have nomination.

2328. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He had been a recruiting officer during the war. He was a Hindu Jat and president of the All-India Jat Mahasabha. The Jats were just as military as the Sikhs.

2329. (*Mr. Hailey.*) There was a feeling amongst the agricultural classes of the province that they should only be represented by members of the agricultural tribes. They had no organisation for formally representing their opinions. Last year the zamindars had

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The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur CHAUDHURI LAL CHAND.

[Continued.]

submitted a memorial asking that agricultural interests should be duly represented.

2330. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) He thought that agriculturists were much more numerous than non-agriculturists in urban areas. He was not surprised to hear that in rural areas there were 31 per cent. of non-agriculturists because many people were included in that figure who lived upon agriculture.

2331. The Jat Sikhs numbered about 80 per cent. of the community. He would not on account of the

military service of the Jat Sikhs give communal representation to the whole community.

2332. He was a Sanatanist Hindu but he was related to Sikh families.

2333. (*Mr. Fagan.*) He had been a naib tahsildar before he took up the legal profession.

2334. (*Mr. Aftab.*) He would like the franchise as broad as possible. He would like a payment of Rs. 20 land revenue to qualify for a vote.

The Hon'ble SARDAR BAHADUR GAJJAN SINGH.

Written Statement.

2335. (1) As communal representation has been allowed to the Sikhs, I am strongly of opinion that Sikhs should be returned by separate electorates of their own. Under no circumstances should they have mixed or joint electorate as this will defeat the very object of the communal representation.

2336. (2) The Sikhs ought to get one-third of the number of seats allotted to non-officials. Their military and political importance as detailed in the opinions submitted by the Chief Khalsa Diwan of Amritsar is a sufficient justification of this demand.

2337. (3) Communal representation should be allowed in the State Council like the Legislative Assembly.

2338. (4) There should be separate electorate for rural urban areas and the rural seats in the Council (both Provincial and Imperial) should be fixed in proportion to taxes and population.

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh, called and examined.

2341. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a nominated Sikh member of the Legislative Council and a pleader of Ludhiana.

2342. He claimed one-third of the elected seats on the Council for the Sikhs on the same grounds as the Chief Khalsa Diwan and with the additional reason that the Sikhs paid about one-third of the taxes and land revenue of the province.

2343. He regarded wounded soldiers and pensioners as more distinguished and therefore proposed that they only should get the vote, in order to secure manageable electorates.

2344. Candidates should be permanent residents in their constituency, that is to say they should have a permanent place of residence. Provided the candidates had a place of residence he did not lay stress on the qualification that he should be a member of the agricultural classes.

2345. (*Mr. Hailey.*) The urban electorates should be separate from the rural electorates and on a separate franchise. He had not worked out details but in the case of the rural electorate it would be based on payment of land revenue or something of that kind.

2346. He did not think that there would be any difficulty in deciding who was a Sikh. He would accept a declaration to that effect provided the claimant's hair was uncut and he looked like a Sikh.

2339. (5) Franchise should be given to the following:—

- (a) Every Lambardar, Sufedposh and Zaildar.
- (b) Every Commissioned Military Officer.
- (c) Every soldier who has won a decoration or has got a Wound or Injury Pension.
- (d) Every person who pays Land Revenue (Rs. 50 and over).
- (e) Every person who pays Income-Tax (Rs. 50 and over).
- (f) Every member of a local body.
- (g) Every Jagirdar (Rs. 100 and over).
- (h) All Darbaris and Title-holders.

2340. (6) For a rural candidate I would insist upon permanent residence in a rural area if the candidate belongs to non-agricultural classes.

2347. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He was not a party to the resolution passed by the non-official members that the Council should consist of a 100 members, four-fifths to be elected.

2348. (*Mr. Aftab.*) The only objection he had to a qualification of Rs. 20 land revenue payment was that the electorates would become unmanageable. If Government thought they could manage electorates of that size he had no objection.

2349. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) He accepted the following definition of a Sikh:—

"A Sikh is one who believes and professes in the unity of God the brotherhood of man and the ten Sikh Gurus and the tenets of the Adi Granth as the only means of his or her salvation. With the above cardinal principle of faith it is also essential for the Sikh that his hair be in a natural condition." Converts must also conform to these rites. No one who smoked was a follower of the Gurus.

2349-A. Sikhs must be given representation on the same line as the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans had gained more seats than they had lost by the Lucknow compact. The Sikhs should be represented on the Council of State on the ground of their special claims.

The Hon'ble Sir MALIK UMAR HAYAT KHAN, TIWANA, K.C.I.E., M.V.O., representing the Punjab Muslim Association.

Written Statement.

FRANCHISE, ELECTORATES AND ORGANIZATION.

2350. (1) The Association is strongly of the opinion that the Franchise should be as low as possible so as to admit of real representation of the various sections and factors making up the population. While the owners of land will undoubtedly be represented, it is also essential that the tenantry of the soil should be adequately and effectively represented. It is their labour which largely fills the coffers of the State and any denial of the Legislative Franchise to them on the false assumption that their income does not come up to the level of the minimum income which contributes income-tax, will be

a great injustice and hardship. The tenantry should be placed on a par with those who have the Franchise on the ground of occupation in urban areas, and should enjoy the Franchise on basis of an annual rent of Rs. 100.

2351. (2) Urban and rural areas should be constituted into special electorates, the elective seats being distributed between them in a certain fixed proportion. Population will be, roughly speaking a good basis for the distribution of seats, but the Association is prepared to qualify the rigidity of the application of this rule and suggests that some special consideration should further be shown to towns. In other words, besides the seats to which they may be entitled on the basis of the population figures, some extra seats to be determined judiciously

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The Hon'ble Sir MALIK UMAR HAYAT KHAN, TIWANA.

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might also be allotted to them. Towns are the centres of political activity and the Association admits this, but not so as to turn the scale against the rural areas.

2352. (3) The Association is of the opinion that one-fourth of the strength of the Council should be nominated. This large power of nomination is asked, because the Association feels that there will be many representatives of ancient families, characterised by the uniform and unbroken tradition of staunch loyalty to the Government who will not be prepared or willing to throw themselves in the welter of election, and whose representation in the future Councils will be needed as much in the interests of the welfare of the country as in the stability of Government. They will be the anchor which will prevent the ship of the Councils from being strayed by the gusts of democratic passion and violent innovation that might at times blow, and as their stakes in the peaceful and gradual progress of the country are immeasurably great, their claim to effective representation will be denied. It has

been stated above that as a result of custom and and in the peculiar circumstances of the country to-day, they cannot reconcile themselves to standing in open classes whom western education is bringing up to the surface. The only avenue of admission into the Councils which they can have is the power of nomination reserved to the head of the Government, and the Association therefore is of the opinion that this power should be large enough to admit of *their* (the representatives of the ancient families) effective representation.

2353. (4) That provision should be made, if practicable, for limiting the number of lawyers not belonging to agriculturist castes or tribes.

2354. (5) That the Vice-President of at least the first Council under the Reforms Scheme should be a European in order to help whenever there arise dissensions between various classes and various religions, and to guide and control new inexperienced elements in the enlarged Councils.

The Hon'ble Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, Tiwana, called and examined.

2355. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) The views expressed in the memorandum were those of the Punjab Muslim Association which represented the Muhammadan land-holders in about three-quarters of the province.

2356. They advocated a wide franchise because their community was poor and it was desirable to include a substantial proportion of smaller land-holders. Tenants also who paid an approximately equivalent rent should be included. A sum of Rs. 20 land revenue was roughly the equivalent of Rs. 40 rent.

2357. His Association would give very little extra weight to the urban vote.

2358. Originally the Association had proposed a Council of 125 members but after seeing the Report they thought that 100 would be about right. One-quarter should be nominated because the old families of the province would not like to stand for election.

2359. A separate constituency for land-holders would be useful. The big land-holders only differed from the small land-holders in the size of their holding. In many cases they would be related, but the nobles were the heads of their lines.

2360. In the military classes he would even include daffadars and all military pensioners whose conduct had been good, though most of the latter would be land-holders who would be qualified as payers of land revenue.

2361. (*Mr. Sastri.*) His objection to lawyers was that they would swamp the Council, but his objection did not extend to lawyers who had done some work in the mufassil and who were really in touch with the agriculturists. The agriculturists were a backward class and were ousted by the educated classes from appointments and seats in the Council.

2362. To begin with, the Vice-President of the Council should be a European official who would be free from prejudice and who, belonging to no Indian community, would command the respect of the rural electorates.

2363. (*Mr. Hogg.*) For the old families they preferred nomination to a special electorate.

2364. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) The post of Vice-President of the Imperial Council was more responsible than the corresponding post in the provincial council. Sir Ali Imam had been Vice-President of the Imperial Council for too short a time to show whether he could discharge the duties of that post satisfactorily.

2365. He would like agriculturists who were 90 per cent. of the total population to elect agriculturists. If this was done lawyers, who mostly belonged to the trading class, would not be eligible. He had no objection to a lawyer who was himself an agriculturist standing in a rural electorate. He knew pleaders who had houses in the country but they had no real knowledge of the country.

2366. He would rather like to form the large towns with a population of 50,000 or more into separate constituencies. He would like the townsmen to elect their own men and not to meddle with others. Ordinary municipalities could be grouped together; towns with a population of less than 5,000 could be grouped with villages.

2367. (*Mr. Aftab.*) As regards communal representation, if the number of seats whether elected or nominated for Muhammadans in the Punjab was fixed in proportion to their population, they should be content, because they were in the majority. He did not think that the Congress League compact gave the Punjab Muhammadans their fair share and he did not see why they should suffer for the sake of Muhammadans in other provinces. The men who made the compact were not the leaders of India, and other communities did not think they were bound by it. The whole of the Punjab had to break away from the All-India Moslem League and the Punjab branch of the League was now a nominal one. The people of the Punjab got tired of townspeople. His Association represented chiefly rural Muhammadans.

2368. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) The Sikhs were a very important minority and he agreed that they deserved more representation than they were entitled to on a population basis, both in the Provincial and Imperial Councils.

2369. He thought the large land-holders would prefer nomination to special electorates.

2370. (*Mr. Fagan.*) His view was that the rural classes would tend to distrust a town representative as having inadequate sympathy with and insufficient knowledge of their peculiar interests, economic and other. They would not regard him with hostility. Restrictions should be placed on the agriculturists' choice of a candidate in their own interests, until they gained political experience.

BARKAT ALI, Esq., representing the Provincial Congress Committee and the Provincial Conference Committee.

Written Statement.

THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

2371. (1) *Strength of Council.*—The Strength of the Punjab Legislative Council, inclusive of the President, shall be 125.

2372. (2) *Proportion of elected and nominated members.*—Four-fifths of the members of the Punjab Legislative Council shall be elected, and the remaining one-fifth nominated. Of the nominated members, not more than one-half shall be officials, the nominated non-officials to represent interests not otherwise provided for. The heads of the Government shall have the power of nomination.

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2373. (3) *Distribution of elected seats.*—The elected seats shall be distributed as follows:—

Muslims	50
Hindus	49
University (as a special interest)	1

2374. No other special interest shall be recognized. The Sikhs have been included amongst the Hindus, as it is not conducive to national interest to segregate these two communities, possessing the same social customs and practically the same religion. Further, there has been no real demand on the part of the Sikh Community for separation. But should Government decide to give the Sikhs separate representation, I would then suggest the following distribution of seats between these two communities:—

Hindus	34
Sikhs	15

2375. The Mohammadan members shall be elected by exclusively Muslim electorates, and in case Sikhs are given separate representation, their members also shall be returned by exclusively Sikh electorates. Voters of communities enjoying separate representation through separate electorates shall not take part in other general elections, elections of special interests like the University being an exception to this rule.

2376. (4) *Disqualifications of Voters.*—No person shall be qualified to vote at any election for a seat on the Punjab Legislative Council if such person—

- (a) is a minor, or
- (b) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind, or
- (c) is a police official, or
- (d) is a Returning Officer in the constituency in which the election over which he presides as Returning Officer takes place.

2377. (5) *Ineligible Candidates.*—No person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council if such person—

- (a) is not a British subject, or
- (b) is an official or (Minister after appointment to seek re-election), or
- (c) has been adjudged by a competent Court to be of unsound mind, or
- (d) is under twenty-one years of age, or
- (e) is an uncertificated bankrupt or an undischarged insolvent, or
- (f) holds *jagir* at the pleasure of the Government, it being immaterial whether the *jagir* is held by him in his own name or by another in trust for him, or
- (g) directly or indirectly, himself or through the intervention of a trustee, holds or undertakes any contract or commission, for or on account of the public service, or
- (h) is convicted by a criminal court of an offence and sentenced to death, transportation or rigorous imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or for simple imprisonment for a term exceeding twelve months (the sentence not having been subsequently reversed or remitted), the disqualification to cease if sentence has been served or pardon granted.

2378. (6) *Franchise or qualifications for voters.*—The following persons, if not otherwise disqualified, shall be entitled to vote:—

- (a) persons owning agricultural land assessed or assessable to land revenue of Rs. 20 a year,
- (b) persons occupying agricultural land and paying an annual rental of Rs. 100,
- (c) persons owning household property of the value of Rs. 1,000,
- (d) persons occupying household property of the annual rental value of Rs. 120,

(e) persons paying income-tax,

(f) persons who have passed the Middle school examination, including the Vernacular, provided they are not students,

(g) holders of University diplomas or titles on the Oriental side, provided they are not students. Provided that a person falling under more than one of the foregoing descriptions shall not be entitled to more than one vote for any description that he chooses.

2379. (7) *Qualifications for Candidates.*—Any person who is a voter in the province can stand from any constituency provided he is not otherwise ineligible.

2380. (8) *Constitution of electorates.*—Rural and urban areas shall be constituted into electorates separately on the basis of single member constituency. A fixed number of seats shall be allotted to rural and urban areas. In constituting electorates for rural and urban areas, regard shall be paid to existing district divisions, districts or portions thereof being combined in cases of necessity. The appointment of seats between rural and urban areas shall not be exclusively on the basis of population. Urban areas have always and everywhere been given special importance and treatment, as the seats of intellect and the foci of social and political currents. I would also suggest the direct and special representation of the towns of Lahore and Amritsar by allotting them a certain fixed number of seats to be filled by the members of the several communities in the proportion and by the methods stated in rule 3 above.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

2381. (1) Its strength inclusive of the President shall be 150.

2382. (2) Four-fifths shall be elected, one-fifth to be nominated, not more than half of the nominated members to be officials.

2383. (3) The Punjab shall be allotted 12 elective members, half of whom shall be Muslims and the rest non-Muslims. The elections to these seats shall be direct and in the manner mentioned in rule 3 above, i.e., *via* separate electorates for Muslims.

2384. (4) The disqualifications for voters and candidates shall be the same as those mentioned in paragraphs 4 and 5 above.

2385. (5) The qualifications or franchise for voters shall be a little higher than those for provincial voters.

I will suggest the following:—

- (a) Land revenue paying qualification to be raised to Rs. 75 a year.
- (b) Rent paying qualification to be raised to Rs. 1,000 a year.
- (c) House-owning qualification to be raised to owning property of the value of Rs. 3,000.
- (d) House-occupation qualification to be raised to occupation of house of the annual rental value of Rs. 500.
- (e) Income-tax paying qualification to be raised to payment of income tax of Rs. 50.
- (f) Literacy qualification to be raised to the possession of a University degree.

2386. (6) Every voter to be entitled to stand for election from any constituency, provided he is not disqualified otherwise.

2387. (7) Electorates to be constituted on the basis of single member constituency.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

2388. (1) The Punjab shall have three elected representatives on the Council of State.

2389. (2) The three elected members shall be elected by the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Council and one of them at least shall always be a Muslim.

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[Continued.]

Mr. Barkat Ali, called and examined.

2390. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He appeared as representative both of the Provincial Congress Committee and the Provincial Conference Committee. The Conference Committee was a central committee consisting of leading men of the province, the object of which was to organize provincial conferences and to discuss questions of public interest in the province.
- ✓ 2391. The Council should consist of 125 members, 4-5ths to be elected and out of 1-5th nominated only half to be officials, i.e., 12 officials in all. His Council did not approve of the constitution of the Grand Committee but if they were to be appointed the number of officials would have to be altered.
2392. His Committee considered that Hindus included Sikhs and therefore recommended that of the elected seats half should go to the Muhammadans and half to the Hindus. The other communities such as Parsis would be provided for by nomination, but if these communities so desired their representatives should be elected and the seats deducted from the nomination group.
- ✓ 2393. His Committee did not think separate representation for the big land-holders necessary and proposed to withdraw the present representation of the Chamber of Commerce. Commerce and trade would have ample opportunities of getting themselves represented on the Council with the proposed broad franchise. A Chamber consisting of 5 or 10 persons should not get separate representation.
2394. There was no real demand for communal representation for the Sikhs. The general opinion in the Punjab was that they should not be segregated from the Hindus with whom they mingled freely. The Provincial Muslim Association and the Hindu Sabha represented very conservative opinion and their views with regard to the Sikhs were not generally endorsed in the province.
- ✓ 2395. His Committee was in favour of a low franchise.
2396. Minors, i.e., persons below 18 should not get a vote; the age of 18 was the legal age for attaining majority in India.
- ✓ 2397. The Legislative Assembly should consist of 150 members elected on a high franchise by direct election. The Punjab should get 12 members.
2398. The Punjab should send 3 members to the Council of State by indirect election. The Council of State was an upper-house in which provinces should be represented in their totality. The Report proposed 2 seats for the Punjab in this Council but the Punjab already had 3 members on the Imperial Council, which would become the Council of State, and they did not want their rights curtailed.
2399. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) Both the Provincial Conference Committee and the Provincial Congress Committee wanted a Provincial Council of 125 of which 4-5ths would be elected.
2400. The restriction he suggested with regard to ministers seeking election after appointment was intended to ensure that they retained the confidence of their original electorate. His Committee proposed to disqualify persons who were doing business on behalf of Government but they were prepared to let them stand provided the restrictions imposed by the municipal rules were observed.
- ✓ 2401. His Committee considered that towns of 5,000 and over should be grouped in urban constituencies and that big towns like Lahore and Amritsar should form separate constituencies. This would however depend on the number of seats available for the urban areas. They had fixed no definite proportion for the distribution of seats between rural and urban.
2402. (*Mr. Aftab.*) His distribution of seats between Hindus and Muhammadans was in accordance with the Congress League compact. A small minority of his Committee were in favour of deducting the special seats but the majority of his Hindu friends did not agree.
2403. In the Punjab there was a large class of superior peasant proprietors. Originally his community were in favour of a broad franchise but subsequently they had fixed the qualification at Rs. 100 rent in order to exclude people who did not want the vote.
2404. (*Mr. Sastri.*) The views in his statement were those of the Provincial Congress Committee. Some of the points had been settled before he wrote the statement; others had been settled since. The Committee had not exactly worked out the details which he gave in regard to the Indian Legislative Assembly.
2405. His Committee did not think a Council of 125 too big to begin with. It might have to be increased later on. In fixing this number they had considered the public interests to be represented. Three times that number of competent men could be found. The present members of the Legislative Council which had passed a resolution in favour of a Council of 100 members were not representative of the life outside. His Committee might agree to a Council of 100 but anything less would be regarded as a grievance. A Council of 50 or 60 would be a rude shock to the public.
2406. His Committee proposed that in the case of persons disqualified on account of a conviction by a criminal court, the disqualification should cease when the sentence had been served or the pardon granted. He thought they might agree to exclude from the scope of this proposal persons convicted of serious moral crimes.
- ✓ 2407. After very careful consideration his Committee had decided that the restriction that only agriculturists should be allowed to stand for agricultural constituencies would tend to neutralize the value of the large Councils. Even if the restriction was not imposed, only people who enjoyed the confidence of the rural electorates would get in.
2408. (*Sardar Sunder Singh.*) The Provincial Congress Committee had about 50 members and the Provincial Conference Committee had about 200 members. The latter organized conferences in the province. Two of the leading members of the Conference Committee were Sikhs. It contained no Singhs. His Committee must have verified their statement that there was no real demand for communal representation on the part of the Sikhs.
- ✓ 2409. His Committee proposed that jagirdars holding their jagirs at the pleasure of Government should be disqualified from standing because they would be under the influence of Government.
- 2409.A. His Committee intended clause (d) in paragraph (6) relating to the qualification of voters for the Provincial Council elections to apply in urban areas only.

LALA GULSHAN RAI.

Written Statement.

2410. Under a system of responsible government which is going to be set up in Indian Provinces, at least, so far as transferred subjects are concerned, the centre of power in the government must shift from a bureaucracy to the electorates. These electorates then are to be our future masters under the new scheme of constitutional reforms. What is to be the nature and attributes of this new master, is a very important problem, requiring careful solution, and I beg to submit the following few remarks with respect

to the nature and constitution of the electorate, that is possible for us under the present circumstance to construct. I do not claim to have studied to any great extent conditions in other provinces, and therefore I will confine myself to the Punjab alone. My remarks are intended to apply to this province, and I cannot say with any definiteness whether or not they can be applied to other provinces as well.

2411. Before I proceed to describe my Scheme of Franchise in the Punjab, I would first like to formulate

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[Continued.]

certain theoretical principles, which we should always keep in mind while constructing electorates. On theoretical grounds every economic and moral interest requires adequate representation in the council. Religion, having been completely dissociated from the State in India, is not in the domain of administration functions, and consequently separate representation on the basis of religious distinctions alone should not, strictly speaking, be allowed a place in our constitutional law. This question however is of absorbing interest to our Muhammadan and Sikh brethren in the Punjab, and therefore it is not practical politics to avoid it. Any scheme that may be constructed must therefore provide for adequate communal representation. But I would propose to defer this question for a moment, and again come to deal with it in a later portion of my statement. Coming to separate representation of different interests, apart from religious distinctions we find there are two territorial interests and four economic ones. Each of them is distributed thus:—

Territorially.	By economic and moral interests.	
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Rural 90	Agriculture 55	
Urban 10	Commerce 12	
	Industries 22	
	Professions 5	
	Miscellaneous 6	
	100	100

2412. There are two methods of constructing electorates. Either it can be done on the basis of population distribution into rural and urban areas, or on the basis of distribution of population into economic and moral interests. I would not advocate the adoption of the first method. In the Punjab 90 per cent. of the population live in rural areas and the remaining 10 per cent. in urban areas. If separate electorates were constructed for rural and urban areas and the number of seats were allotted in these areas in proportion to the population residing in such areas, adequate representation of all economic and moral interests could never be provided for. In rural areas 69 per cent. of the people are agriculturists and only 26 per cent. are engaged in commerce and industries. It is therefore evident that in rural constituencies commercial and industrial interests can have no chance of representation. The natural leaders of persons engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits live in towns. But since towns under this scheme would possess only 10 per cent. of the representation, the representation of commercial and industrial interests would be very inadequate. Moreover, even this 10 per cent. of the seats given to towns will not be wholly available to them, for some seats in urban constituencies will necessarily be filled by non-economic interests. Under the circumstances the construction of electorates on the basis of population distribution into rural and urban areas would prove very injurious to the commercial and industrial interests of the province. I would therefore strongly urge that representation in council be fixed on the basis of distribution of population into economic and moral interests. A glance at the figures given above will show that it would be equitable to have half the seats consisting of agriculturists, 40 per cent. for commerce and industry, and 10 per cent. for liberal professions, who are to look after the moral interests of the people as a whole.

2413. Having fixed the nature of the council composition, the next problem is to determine the way in which this scheme is to be carried into effect. The higher moral interests can be well represented if a separate electorate, consisting of all the graduates and diploma-holders, in medical, law, oriental, arts and science faculties of more than 10 years standing is constructed, and 10 per cent. of the seats are given to them. The Punjab University from its incorporation in 1882 up to the year 1903 counted among its graduates and diploma-holders some 3,500

persons. The chief divisions into which the professions are divided are: public administration, religion, law, medicine, public instruction, and other literary and artistic pursuits. Persons engaged in these professions are supposed to look after the social, moral, physical and intellectual well-being of the people. These aspects of national well-being are looked at from different standpoints. It is here that the different civilizations and cultures of the world differ. Each system applies different methods to solve questions affecting the higher and nobler interests of mankind, and curiously enough each system is very often irreconcilable with the other. Eastern and western sociologists, or Hindu and Muhammadan plans for the structure for society differ poles apart. In India all the great civilizations of the world meet, and they influence very considerably our daily lives. But still in culture and civilization we are predominantly Hindu. If under a responsible system of government, India is not to suffer any catastrophic change in her social legislation, we must be very careful in fixing the type of University representatives we will want. India cannot, at the present stage without unhinging its entire social fabric, afford to undertake social legislation on the lines of western countries. Mr. Bāṁ's marriage bill introduced in the Indian Legislative Council a few years ago, and Mr. Patel's recent bill on inter-caste marriages, among Hindus, have raised among the general masses a storm of protest and such legislation, I fear, can never, under the present circumstances, be safe. But since under the new scheme of constitutional reforms the transferred subjects in provinces deal mostly with subjects in the social sphere, social legislation must be the most important function of the new enlarged Councils. The University representatives being abler and more intellectual, naturally take a leading part in the deliberations of the Council generally and in social legislation particularly. We had so far in the Punjab Council 3 representatives from the University. An examination of their work in the Council illustrates my point. What I would insist upon is that the University representatives should not, as at present, represent only one culture and civilization, viz., the western one. If the University be given a small number of seats, I fear cultures other than European will find no representation, and there is a great danger of drastic social legislation being undertaken in the provinces. Out of 3,500 proposed University voters only less than 1,000 represent non-European culture. I would therefore advocate an increase in the number of seats for the University. At present out of 11 elected members 1 represents the University. As I hold that the strength of the new Council should not be less than 100, I would allot out of this 10 per cent. of the seats to the university. I would abolish the present system of indirect representation through the Senate, and give the franchise direct to the graduates and diploma-holders.

2413. The 40 per cent. of the electorate, as I stated above, is to represent under my scheme commercial and industrial interests. In this occupation we find merchants, artisans, bankers, millowners, shopkeepers, capitalists, house-owners, and men engaged in transport. They form 63 per cent. of the urban population. Some of them pay income-tax to the Government, while others, though not paying direct taxes, are intelligent and politically awakened enough to take part in Council elections. In urban constituencies therefore it is evident they can win most of the seats, and they can, I am sure, well represent the commercial and industrial interests of the province. But before any practical scheme is worked out, for the construction of urban electorates, representing commerce and industries, I would again like to fix certain theoretical principles which may guide us. I would like to put the following principles for your favourable consideration:—

- (1) The electorates should not contain a large number of ignorant people unable to exercise independently their powers of vote and should not be such as to be easily led away by designing persons or by party organizations which are likely to spring into existence, once responsible government is set on foot.

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- (2) The electorate should not contain a majority of rich and monied classes, who are peculiarly tempted to exploit the masses.
- (3) Every interest and community should be adequately represented in the electorates.
- (4) Every electorate should contain a large number of persons not identified with any particular economic interests, and should be sufficiently intelligent to exercise in an independent manner their powers of vote.
- (5) Every electorate should contain a large number of persons who are politically awakened, and who can set an example for, and guide, without undue influence, their less gifted countrymen, and thus train them in the art of self-government.
- (6) The qualifications of voters should be sufficiently defined, so as to avoid fraud or misrepresentation.

2414. Now since every interest and community is to be adequately represented in the electorate, we have to find how the urban population is distributed according to interests. From the census figures of 1911 we know that it is distributed thus:—

	Per cent.
Industries	33
Commerce	30
Professions	17
Menials	12
Agriculture	8
	100

2414. It is, therefore, evident the chief interests to be represented in towns are industries, commerce, and professions, I have already provided for, through the University, the representation of the last interest. By representing commerce and industry, through the towns we secure the representation of another 63 per cent. of urban population and thus 80 per cent. of the population in towns is disposed of. The agricultural interests, I think, would be adequately represented by constructing separate electorates for rural areas, and by giving franchise to people living in such areas. The figures given above show that the urban population, roughly speaking contains commercial and industrial interests, practically in equal proportions. So the construction of our urban electorates should be so devised as to secure equal representation of both these interests. Again out of 6 lakhs of commercial population in urban areas, the actual male workers I estimate at 250,000. Now should all these people possess the franchise? This would be so if universal manhood franchise were adopted. But till literacy becomes more universal I am afraid, we cannot afford to adopt universal manhood franchise. It is not so entirely, even in England. We must then, under the circumstances, fix some qualifications—literary, or income, or both—for the voters. I would propose that the franchise should be conferred on all income-tax payers in the urban areas. This would bring into the electorate, I believe, some 20,000 people. Again there are in the province some 50,000 Indian literates in English, and, I presume, all of them reside in towns. By looking into the University matriculation results, I should think that the Punjab has up to 1916 produced some 45,000 matriculates. If to these matriculates are added the holders of proficiency certificates in oriental and vernacular languages, we should get some 4,000 odd men more. Now I submit that 20,000 income-tax payers plus 50,000 matriculates and holders of proficiency certificates, should together form half of the urban electorate. The majority of the matriculates, I should think, are employed in commercial and industrial occupations. An overwhelming majority of income-tax payers are also engaged in commerce and industry. The 4,000 odd holders of proficiency certificates, and a minority among the matriculates who are employed in Government offices and other liberal professions, are not identified with any particular economic interest. These people are intended in the electorate, to steady the too materialistic tenden-

cies that may be developed among the majority of persons engaged in commercial pursuits. Now, as to commercial interests I have proposed to give 70,000 votes; the industrial interests should also be represented to the same extent, i.e., we should have in the urban electorate 70,000 voters belonging to industrial interests as well. Now how can this be done. Very few of men engaged in industries are income-tax payers, and a very small proportion of them are literates. With qualifications, literary or income fixed for men engaged in commerce we would not be able to bring in the electorate sufficient number of men engaged in industries. Their literary and income qualifications are very low. It might be suggested that we might lower the income and property qualification all round for these interests and thereby provide for the adequate representation in the electorate of industrial interests. But this remedy, I fear, would not serve our purpose. If we lower the literary qualification all round it would benefit men engaged in commerce to a much greater extent than those engaged in industries. Even general literacy prevails to a much greater extent among commercial classes than among artisans. If we lower the income qualification, I fear, in order to bring equilibrium between commercial and industrial interests, the qualification will have to be lowered so much that it would bring in a very large number of ignorant, illiterate people into the electorate. Moreover the larger the number of voters with lower incomes we have, the more there will be chances for fraud, false impersonation, and misrepresentation. Men in the class of income-tax payers we can easily fix upon. There is an official agency to find them out. But how are people with smaller incomes to be found out? There is at present no special agency to get at these people. We might fix a certain amount of house rent as one of the voters' qualifications to reach these people, but then this qualification would have entirely served our purpose, if an overwhelming majority of such people were tenants. That in reality is not the case, and therefore those small-income persons who live in their own houses will not be reached. The annual value of such houses is not known, as generally no house tax is levied in municipal areas in the Punjab. Again beyond income-tax we do not pay any direct tax. Almost all our municipal taxation is derived from an indirect tax, octroi. So under the present circumstances, in order to avoid fraud and false impersonation, the number of voters with untaxable incomes should not be very large. The lowering of income and literary qualifications all round would therefore not do. We must think of some other device. I would therefore lower the literary qualification, not all round but only for men engaged in industries. I would advocate the grant of franchise to all literates (i.e., all those who have passed the upper primary examination) among the industrial classes. I would also lower the income qualification in their case. I do not know what is the exact number of literates among the artisan and industrial classes, but I am sure their number is not large. As I have proposed the grant of franchise to all these people, and as I have fixed 70,000 votes for the industrial interest, I would give franchise to such number of small-income people, who make up the difference between 70,000 and the number of literates. I would adjust the income qualification higher or lower according to the number we want in the electorate. But this qualification I would fix once for all not open to future adjustments. Under this scheme then, the following would be the constitution of the urban electorates:—

1. Matriculates, etc.	50,000
2. Income-tax payers	20,000
3. Industrial classes	70,000
TOTAL	140,000

Thus out of 20 lakhs urban population I propose the grant of franchise to 140,000 people, i.e., exactly 7 per cent. of the total urban population, which comes to, I believe, 30 per cent. of the adult male population in such areas. America started in her responsible government

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with a franchise enjoyed by 4 per cent. of her total population. Under the existing Indian constitution, 1 out of 4,739 persons possesses a franchise in urban areas. My proposals result in the grant of franchise to 1 out of 14 persons. I, therefore, extend the franchise by more than 338 times. But beyond this, I hold, it would at present be dangerous to move. I would advocate the extension of franchise by stages, just as the scope of responsible government in India is to be widened in stages. In other countries also it is only by gradual stages, after some experience in self-government has been gained, that a "franchise on as broad a basis as possible" has been attempted. Even England, the mother of representative institutions, and inventor of the responsible system of government, was as late as 1832 governed by a close oligarchy. Even the reforms of 1832 meant mainly a redistribution of seats, rather than any great extension of franchise. It was only in 1867 that serious efforts were made to extend widely the franchise. The real democracy did not get entry into the franchise till 1884 and 1885. India is a country more conservative than England, and I should think sudden and entire democratization of Indian electorates is fraught with great dangers to the peace and tranquillity of the country. The foregoing remarks therefore result in fixing the following voters' qualifications:—

- (1) All income-tax payers.
- (2) All matriculates or persons having passed equivalent examinations.
- (3) All literates engaged in industrial pursuits.
- (4) Persons engaged in industrial pursuits, and paying certain minimum house rent to be fixed after proper adjustments.
- (5) House-owners engaged in industrial pursuits and having a certain minimum income qualification to be fixed after proper adjustments.
- (6) All the above 5 classes of people must be males above the age of 21.

2415. Having determined the nature and constitution of the urban electorates, our next problem is to construct suitable constituencies for these voters. Taking tentatively the strength of the Punjab Council to be 100 the problem is to divide the 40 seats among different towns and cities. I would not advocate the construction of single-seated territorial constituencies. As each such constituency is to return one member, it is evident the more numerous interest or community in the locality will be over-represented and minorities will always go unrepresented. Under a system of single seated constituencies, therefore, all interests, classes or communities, cannot secure adequate representation. The second plan is to make the district an electoral unit, by combining all towns in a district into one electoral compartment. I fear this would be a very unscientific method, and would bring about serious inequalities in representation. For example, I would submit the case of the two neighbouring districts, Lahore and Montgomery. If every district under the new scheme is to possess equal representation, the inequality in representation is illustrated most prominently. The urban population of Lahore District is 277,332. In the district of Montgomery it is only 24,278. Evidently then district constituencies cannot serve our purpose. Again grouping of districts, in couples or triples in such a way as to provide equal population for every electoral division, cannot also be a lasting solution of our problem. In the first place elaborate calculations and alternative groupings will have to be made and considered before electoral boundaries are fixed. But even if this could be easily done, there still remain graver objections against this method. The populations of different towns do not grow in equal proportion, for many and diverse causes contribute towards the decay and growth of towns. Territorial constituencies, based originally on equal populations, will always after some time bring about inequalities in representation, requiring constant redistribution of seats. It happened so in England also, and the story of pocket boroughs is more or less due to the original construction of constituencies on purely territorial consider-

ations. I would propose to avoid this mistake in the very initial stages of our political training, and would not advocate the constitution of equal-population-territorial constituencies. The foregoing remarks then lead us to the following conclusions:—

- (a) Single-seated constituencies should not be adopted.
- (b) Districts cannot form the basis of our electoral unit.
- (c) Equal-population-territorial constituencies cannot be a lasting solution of the problem.

2416. Under these circumstances, I would advocate the establishment of purely population units. Since under my scheme 40 seats are available for 20 lakhs urban population, 50,000 becomes the unit of representation. I would, therefore, first separate off all those towns and cities that have a population of 50,000 or more, and turn them into independent constituencies. Including Ludhiana, there are 9 such towns and cities in the Punjab, and their aggregate population is about 9 lakhs. This gives them 18 seats. I would divide the 18 seats among these towns in proportion to their population. The rest of the 22 seats I would distribute among the minor towns, grouped according to divisions again in proportion to the urban population in each such division. Under this scheme Ambala Division gets 8 seats, Jullundur 6 seats, Lahore 13, Rawalpindi 6, and Multan 5. This makes up 38. The remaining 2 seats I would give to Indian and European Chambers of Commerce. It is evident in this scheme I adopt the Commissionership as the electoral division. By adopting this scheme we can introduce the system of proportional representation in almost all the constituencies, and thereby provide for the adequate representation of all interests, classes and communities. Again by fixing a population unit, the increased representation of towns can be adjusted automatically in exact accordance with their varying importance. The difficulties connected with inequalities in representation can never arise under such a system, for it provides for an automatic redistribution of seats without any fresh legislative enactment, and without any danger of injury to vested interests involved in every such legislation.

2417. The remaining 50 per cent. of seats in the Legislative Council I reserve for agricultural interests. Numerically this interest absorbs practically half the population, hence I propose the grant of half the seats to them. I am aware that in some quarters demands are made on behalf of agriculturists for 90 per cent. of the seats. This claim is based on the ground that the rural population amounts to 90 per cent. of the total population. But, as I have stated above, the rural population is not entirely agricultural. We have still in villages, due to the existence of cottage industries, a considerable amount of industrial and commercial population in rural areas. They form 26 per cent. of the total rural population. But on the other hand, the agriculturists form the majority everywhere, their average proportion being 63 per cent. in such areas. The interests of these 3 classes always clash, and they are never on good terms with each other. For example, in the recent Jhang riots these people were the first to suffer at the hands of the agriculturists. To think that the majority consisting of agriculturists will represent the interests of commercial and industrial classes, contemptuously termed by them as *hiras* and *kamins*, is a mistake. To think that they will be able to secure some seats for themselves in the rural constituencies is also a mistake. Under these circumstances, in my opinion rural constituencies should be given seats only in proportion to the strength of the agricultural population in the total provincial population.

2418. The task of constructing rural constituencies is not so complex as was the case in urban areas. There we had to balance against each other the different conflicting and jarring interests of commerce, industries and professions. In rural areas we have no such difficulties. The total number of male agricultural workers in the Punjab is about 36 lakhs. I cannot say how many of them are

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above the age of 21. But I think we can fix their figure at 30 lakhs. Most of them are peasants and proprietors so here in this province there is no sharp division between landlords and tenants. There is no such class as talukdars or zamindars in the Punjab. I would therefore not advise the constitution of a separate electorate for big zamindars. By doing so, we shall shut whatever small number there may be in this class into a water-tight compartment, rendering them unfit to have any sympathy with the general peasantry. I would act in such a way as to induce them to seek election from the general mass of peasant voters. The big zamindars by their influence, culture and position are the fittest persons to lead the poor, ignorant and illiterate agriculturists. Left to themselves the enfranchised agriculturists are capable of any mischief. If we do not make the agriculturists accept big landlords as their political leaders they will accept somebody else. That choice may be a worse one. I would put big landlords, small landlords, and ordinary tenants all into one electorate. After fixing the nature of the electorate we are then to approach another problem. Literacy for instance is a rare commodity in villages. The entire peasantry is steeped in rank ignorance, and deep superstition. It is therefore evident that unless literacy spreads to a greater extent, franchise cannot be based on a very broad basis in rural areas. I would extend franchise in proportion to the extension of literacy. At the outset, in rural constituencies it would be necessary to have a low literary test as one of the voter's qualification. I would propose the grant of franchise to all literate landlords and tenants. But in case of illiterate landlords and tenants, I would fix a high land revenue or rent-paying qualification, say, at Rs. 250 or more per annum. A man paying Rs. 250 per annum in land revenue or rent is usually a man of some consequence, with some sense of responsibility. On the other hand, literacy test, I imagine, would encourage the spread of education among agriculturists. Gradually as education spreads, high land-revenue paying qualification will slowly and automatically disappear without causing any catastrophic change, and eventually the franchise in rural areas will indeed become almost universal manhood suffrage. The rural electorates will then under my scheme be constituted thus:—

- (1) All literate landlords and tenants.
- (2) All illiterate landlords and tenants who pay in land-revenue or rent Rs. 250 or more per annum.

2412. Having determined the constitution and nature of rural electorates, our next task is to construct proper constituencies for them. Taking rural population to be 18 million and seats for the agricultural interest 50 in number we arrive at 360,000 as the unit of representation. Here again I would constitute Commissionerships to be electoral units and distribute the seats among the divisions in proportion to their population. Under this scheme Ambala will get 10 seats, Jullundur 9, Lahore 11, Rawalpindi 10, and Multan 10. In this electorate also I would abolish single-seated constituencies and districts as electoral units. My object in doing so is to provide for an adequate representation of the Hindu minority in the western Punjab districts, and of the Muhammadan minority in south-eastern Punjab and of the Sikh minority generally. By grouping districts into divisions we will allow the minorities to combine together and thus enable them to return their own representatives.

2420. It now remains for me to say how far I provide for communal representation, so much insisted upon by Muhammadans and Sikhs. At the outset I wish to point out that in order to provide communal representation I do not propose to construct special separate communal electorates. Special electorates would shut up the different communities into water-tight compartments, with no opportunity for co-operation among them. I would view special electorates as a great national calamity. The Government is pledged to give to Muhammadans a certain fixed amount of communal representation, but I do not think they are called upon to set up special elec-

torates also. If the Government wants to guarantee to the minorities representation in proportion to their population only, then I submit it is not necessary to construct special electorates. I would therefore like to keep the voters belonging to different communities in a joint electorate. The Muhammadans are in a majority in the Punjab so they need not fear a joint electorate. Even at the present moment there is no special electorate for the Muhammadans in the Punjab. In the first council election the Muhammadans won all the seats in the territorial constituencies. In the present council out of 10 elected seats 5 are filled by Hindus and 5 by Muhammadans. The population of Muhammadans is 56 per cent. Joint electorates, however, require to be looked at from the point of view of Hindus who form 33 per cent. of the population and Sikhs who form 11 per cent. But the question of adequate representation of minorities is not a problem peculiar to India alone. If we have to deal, at present, with minorities based on religious distinctions, other countries have to deal with minorities based on party distinctions, on economic and political lines. In western countries also the problem of the adequate representation of minorities has arisen and been solved. Again in the history of every constitutional country we find that the people started on the road to responsible government with parties based on religious distinctions. This is particularly so of England of the times of William III and Queen Anne. If these countries could do without special electorates built on religious distinctions at the commencement of their history in responsible government, there is no reason why Indians should not be able to do the same. The only successful method that has been discovered by western countries for the adequate representation of all minorities is proportional representation. This method reflects in the legislature, with almost mathematical accuracy, the proportions between the different sections of the general population. I would therefore strongly urge the adoption of the method of proportional representation in India. I have worked my scheme of franchise outlined above on the basis of proportional representation. For this as well as other reasons detailed above, I have tried to abolish single-seated constituencies as far as possible. One thing, I confess, the scheme of proportional representation cannot provide. For instance, excessive representation of certain communities claimed in certain quarters, due to the so-called political importance alleged by them, is certainly impossible under proportional representation as it is understood to be. But I imagine this could also be done by introducing certain modifications in the rules governing transfer of transferable votes. By requiring the transfer of transferable votes only in favour of candidates belonging to a minority we may bring about the desired results. At any rate, I think the difficulties should not be insurmountable. I would prefer, by far, proportional representation to special electorates. This system has been tried in other countries with excellent results, and, I presume, it would have been adopted in England also, but for the selfish attitude displayed by certain party organisations in that country.

2421. It may be asked what guarantees I provide for the adequate representation of different communities in the Legislative Council. Though I have based the distribution of my electorates on the basis of economic and moral interests, it will be seen that throughout my statement I have taken pains to provide adequate communal representation in the electorate itself. In the case of urban constituencies, for instance, I lowered the income and educational qualifications for industrial classes. Now industries in the Punjab are almost wholly monopolised by Muhammadans and commerce and trade by Hindus. I have provided equal number of votes for both these interests in the electorate. Though I have not fixed the number of seats for every community, yet I compose the electorate in such a way as to enable the electorate to repeat in the Legislative Council the proportion of different communities in exact accordance with their proportion in the general population. Having reproduced the provincial proportion between different communities in the

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electorate, I leave it perfectly free to do whatever it pleases. I do not like the idea of restricting the voters' freedom of choice. At the present moment the claims of communal representation are pressed before Government with a good deal of force backed with a certain amount of public agitation. I am, however, not sure how far this agitation reflects the real feelings of the people concerned. So far as I can see, this feeling is confined only to those who want to come under the prominent notice of the Government. In reality the economic, moral and political interests of the different religious communities are not in my opinion different, and neither do they clash. But since this question has now come prominently into public notice, it should not be ignored, and requires looking into. The best way to find this out is to repeat, as correctly as possible in the electorates, the respective proportions of different religions of the province. If electorates, constituted in this way chose to run elections on a communal basis, I dare say the system of proportional representation will satisfy their requirements. If, on the other hand, the present agitation is in reality a got up affair, the different religious communities will not care to carry religious distinctions in the sphere of the administration of public affairs, and would like to group themselves on economic distinctions or may be on political party lines. In that case also proportional representation will serve their purpose. This system of election will, I am sure, point out what the real wishes of the people are. On the other hand, if we adopt special electorates we condemn the people irrevocably to water-tight compartments without any likelihood of their obtaining freedom to group themselves on distinctions other than religious. The scheme of constitutional reforms also does not contemplate the perpetuation of distinctions based on religion. The authors of the scheme desire to retain even communal representation not permanently. They propose to re-open this question in the very next parliamentary commission. As special electorates will help to perpetuate religious distinctions, I would not think it advisable to construct them.

2422. There are now left only a few more points to be dealt with. I have assumed throughout my statement that the strength of the elected members in the Punjab should

be 100. This means on an average one representative for every 200,000 population. I think this is not asking too much. The United Kingdom has for 45 millions of population about 700 members in the House of Commons, which means one representative for every 64,000 people. In the colonies the representation is even greater. Again we are equal in population to Bombay, and I think the size of our Council should not be smaller. The nominated officials and non-officials should, in my opinion, be in addition to the 100 elected members. I would propose 12 officials and 13 nominated non-officials in the Punjab Council. This would bring into the council the Heads of all important Departments, and also provide for the representation of other interests. The total strength of the Punjab Council would then become 125, out of which 4-5 this would be elected.

2423. Then as regards qualifications of candidates. I would rather not lay down any beyond legal incapacities and defect of character. I would not lay any property, educational, or residential qualification in case of candidates. I would give perfect freedom of choice to the voters. As regards residential qualification, I would only lay down that the candidate should ordinarily reside in the province and have his place of business in the Punjab. I would not require the candidate to be necessarily resident of the constituency whose election he seeks.

2424. As regards representation of Punjab in the proposed Indian Legislative Assembly, I would submit that each Commissionership should form a constituency, each returning one member. This disposes of 5 seats. Out of the remaining, I would assign one to Commerce and one to University. I imagine that out of the 5 Divisional seats, 2 will go to the Hindus and 2 to the Muhammadans and one to the Sikhs. Out of the nominated non-official seats that may fall to the share of Punjab, I would like one seat to be reserved for the Sikhs. As regards franchise for the Indian Legislative Assembly, I would raise the land revenue or rent-paying qualification to Rs. 500 and the income-tax paying qualification to Rs. 75. I would also give franchise to all graduates of Universities of the British Empire residing ordinarily in the Punjab.

Lala Gulshan Rai called and examined.

2425. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a professor of history at the Sanatana Dharma College which was affiliated to the Punjab University. His memorandum represented his individual opinion.

2426. His scheme was that the Council should represent the economic and moral interests of the province. He divided the community up according to their economic interests; the moral interest was represented by the university. This interest should be represented as a counterpoise to materialistic interests. He treated the trading classes as commercial and the artisan and manufacturing classes as industrial. The owners of factories and mills would also be industrial. The owners of shops would be commercial. The general line which he drew between commerce and industry was that between the distribution and production of goods. The objection that he was giving seats to persons engaged in industry while he denied them to persons engaged in commerce could also be made against the county constituencies in England. Difficulties were bound to arise and he thought his method the least objectionable.

2427. In the rural areas every literate person should get a vote; in the town areas all matriculates. Amongst literates he included all those who had passed the upper primary examination. The department had no doubt records of passed students. The would-be voters would have to produce certificates that they had passed this examination.

2428. He proposed a system of proportional representation based on a single transferable vote. This would prevent the communities being shut up in water-tight compartments.

The leaders of the people with whom he had discussed his scheme had approved of it.

2429. (Mr. Hailey.) His system would guarantee proportional representation of the Sikhs in the Council. It would not guarantee them a member in every division or every district. But the representation which the Sikhs would secure in Lahore and Jullundur would be sufficient to represent the whole Sikh community. In the Rawalpindi Division the Sikhs were not really separate from the Hindus.

2430. He provided 40 seats for urban areas.

2431. (Mr. Bostri.) Recent legislation by Government had strained the relations between agriculturists and non-agriculturists. If the two classes were amalgamated in the same electorates the commercial classes would be in a position of serfdom.

2432. He would keep the big land-holders in the rural electorates so as to keep the electorates out of the hands of the smaller officials. The class of tenants pure and simple was very small; most tenants also had a proprietary interest in land.

2433. (Mr. Hogg.) There was an Indian Chamber of Commerce in the Punjab, but not fully organized.

2434. Income-tax payers he would class as commercial.

2435. (Mr. Banerjee.) He had no detailed scheme to lay before the Committee.

2436. (Sir Frank Sly.) Proportional representation did not guarantee any representation to small but only to appreciable minorities. The Indian Christians would not get in except perhaps through the European commercial constituency.

6 December 1918.]

LALA GULSHAN RAI.

[Continued.]

2437. (Mr. Banerjee.) Towns of over 50,000 should be given separate representation. Other towns should be combined by divisions in urban constituencies.

2438. He thought it would be possible to find 125 competent men in the Punjab. Education in the province was well-advanced. The Punjab produced as many graduates as Bombay.

2439. (Mr. Aftab.) In no circumstances would he like communal representation. If his own scheme was not feasible he would prefer joint electorates voting on consecutive days and seats reserved for the different communities.

2440. (Sardar Sunder Singh.) He regarded the Sikhs as part of the Hindus. In the past they had been able to get representation in the Imperial Council.

Mrs. S. D. CHAUDHURI and Mrs. H. ROSHAN LAL called and examined.

2441. (Sir Frank Sly.) Mrs. CHAUDHURI—She was a Bengali Brahman and Mrs. Roshan Lal a Punjabi Kaisth. They were both residents of Lahore. In a sense they represented the All-India Women's Association, but they had not been formally authorised to express their views. She wished to hand in a statement.*

2442. Women should not be debarred from voting simply because they were women. To begin with the vote might be given to women graduates. There might be special arrangements for women to vote separately at the polling stations. If such arrangements were made purdah ladies could vote. Identification could be effected by lady returning officers.

2443. Every female non-student matriculate should vote, and income tax payers and owners of land and those who had earned decorations. In the Punjab there were a large number of widows with the required property qualifications.

2444. She would like to see women members as well as women voters.

2445. As votes were given to men's associations, votes might also be given to women's associations. Seats might be given to represent women, as such, and not women of any particular class. A seat might be given to the All-India Women's Association which had about 500 members in the Punjab. That could be a beginning.

2446. No one had thought of asking that women should be allowed to vote at municipal elections in the Punjab.

* Not printed.

IV.—THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

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PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

I.—GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE.

2501. (1) The Province, excluding the Feudatory States, covers 99,823 square miles and supports a population of 13,975,279 persons. It comprises five administrative Divisions or Commissionerships, which are again sub-divided into 22 districts of an average extent of 4,537 square miles (i.e., rather larger than Devon and Somerset) and with an average population of 632,559 persons.

The main natural features of the Province are:—

- I. The Nerbudda Valley to the north,
- II. The Satpura Plateau south of it, running east and west,
- III. The Maratha Plain in the south-west, and
- IV. The Chhattisgarh Plain in the south-east.

2502. (2) The *Nerbudda Valley* and *Satpura Plateau* contain the Jubbulpore and Nerbudda Divisions with ten districts in all. The Nerbudda Valley is the main wheat-growing area of the Province. In the four Plateau districts the soil is poor and minor crops take the place of wheat over large areas. There are eight coal mines and a few manganese mines on the Plateau, and a number of limestone quarries in the Jubbulpore district, but no other important mineral production. There is a glass factory, a cement factory and a Gun-carriage factory in or near Jubbulpore, but no other modern industries. The only towns of importance are Jubbulpore (population 100,851), Saugor (45,908), Khandva (21,604) and Burhanpur (30,435). The first-named is an important cantonment. Burhanpur is an old Mahomedan town well known for its weaving and gold-wire work. The *Maratha Plain* comprises the Nagpur and Berar Divisions with nine districts in all. In the three easternmost districts rice is the main staple. The remaining six districts produce cotton and jute and constitute by far the most wealthy portion of the Province. The eastern districts contain important manganese mines. The six western districts support 358 cotton gins and presses and 11 spinning and weaving mills. The only towns of importance in this area are Nagpur (134,008), industrially the chief town as well as the administrative capital of the Province; Amraoti (40,610), the head-quarters of the Berar Division, and Akola (27,183). The *Chhattisgarh Plain* corresponding with the Division of the same name comprises three districts only. It is mainly a rice-growing country. There are practically no modern industries in the Division and no towns of importance unless we except Raipur, the Divisional head-quarters (35,335).

2503. (3) Over the Province as a whole no less than 79 per cent. of the population are occupied in pasture and agriculture. Six per cent. are engaged in industries, and 4 per cent. in trade.

The percentage of literacy in the Province is 6 for males and 3 for all persons.

Berar, it may be noted here, is settled on the Bombay *ryotwari* system, the cultivator being directly responsible for the revenue of his holding to the State. In the Central Provinces the revenue system is known as *malguzari*. The individual cultivator is secured in possession of his holding and his assessment is fixed by Government, but his payments are made to a village proprietor or *malguzar* who alone is responsible for the land revenue of the village.

II.—SYSTEM OF POPULAR REPRESENTATION IN FORCE AT PRESENT.

2504. (4) Under existing arrangements the people of the Province, other than the wealthier landholders, are represented in the local Legislative Council by a system of indirect election. There are at present 10 elected members of the local Legislative Council. Four were elected by the 584 members of those "notified" Municipal Committees which enjoy a local income of not less than Rs. 5,000 per annum. Of these 584 members 117 were nominated. Three were elected by the 432 members of District Councils (or District Boards as they are called in Berar) of whom 79 were nominated members. Three were elected by 1,154 "landholders"—a term which includes Honorary Magistrates and *Barbaris* and those whose land is assessed to land revenue of not less than Rs. 3,000 (in Berar Rs. 1,000) per annum.

2505. (5) Certain statements are appended* which give the statistics of popular representation in the Central Provinces Legislative Council. The first of these statements gives the numerical strength of the voters on the rolls in notified Municipal Committees as 49,593, while that of the voters for the Local Boards, by whom in turn the members of the District Councils or Boards were chosen, was 66,270. The varying character of the franchise in different Municipal and Local Board electorates is also indicated.

2506. (6) Certain backward rural areas have been excluded from this measure of popular representation, either because they have not (like the Mandla District) been brought within the scope of the Local Self-Government Act, or because they have (like many of the Scheduled Districts) been excluded under Section 36 of that Act from the operation of the ordinary provisions regarding local elections (see paragraph 8).

2507. (7) A note† explaining the qualifications of voters and candidates and also the electoral machinery employed under the present system of elections to municipal and local bodies is appended.

III.—BACKWARD AREAS FOR EXCLUSION.

2508. (8) The Chief Commissioner, following the suggestion made in paragraph 199 of the Indian Reforms Report for the special treatment of backward tracts, has decided that the following areas in the Central Provinces should be classed as backward and omitted from the electoral scheme:—

- (1) The Sironcha Tahsil of the Chanda District,
- (2) All scheduled districts according to the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874, and 12 other zamindari estates in the Chhattisgarh Division,
- (3) The Mandla District except Mandla Town, and
- (4) The Melghat Taluq of the Amraoti District.

These areas are for the most part inhabited by a homogeneous aboriginal population which keeps itself aloof from the Hindu population. They are remote, ill adapted to good class agriculture, and mainly occupied by hills and forest. The elective principle for Local Boards under the Local Self-Government Act is not at present applicable to them, and until it is applied it does not seem reasonable that they should be included in constituencies for election to the Legislative Council.

2509. (9) The Local Administration's letter No. 389-A—IV, dated the 21st November 1918, of which a copy is appended‡ to this note, explains the Local Administration's proposals. The total population of the area recommended for exclusion is 1,646,870. It is proposed to nominate one member in the local Legislative Council to represent the Mandla District (population 396,855) and another to represent the 62 excluded Zamindaris (population 1,162,404).

* Appendix I.

† Appendix II.

‡ Appendix III.

Continued.] PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The Scheduled Districts of the Central Provinces are the following :—

CHHATTISGARH ZAMINDARIS.

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1. Khariar. | 11. Pandaria. |
| 2. Bindra-Nawagarh. | 12. Pendra. |
| 3. Sahaspur. | 13. Matin. |
| 4. Gandai. | 14. Uprora. |
| 5. Siheti. | 15. Kenda. |
| 6. Barbaspur. | 16. Lapha. |
| 7. Thakurtola. | 17. Chhuri. |
| 8. Lohara. | 18. Korba. |
| 9. Gondardehi. | 19. Chapra. |
| 10. Fingswar. | 20. Phuljhar. |

CHANDA ZAMINDARIS.

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Ahiri. | 11. Murangaon. |
| 2. Ambagarh Chauki.* | 12. Panabaraa. |
| 3. Aundhi.* | 13. Palagarh. |
| 4. Dhanora. | 14. Rangl. |
| 5. Dudhmala. | 15. Sirsundi. |
| 6. Gewarda. | 16. Sonsari. |
| 7. Jharapapra. | 17. Chandala. |
| 8. Khutgaon. | 18. Gilgaon. |
| 9. Koracha. | 19. Pawi Muntanda. |
| 10. Kotgal. | 20. Pategaon. |

CHHINDWARA ZAMINDARIS.

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| 1. Harai. | 6. Bargarh. |
| 2. Chhater.† | 7. Pachmarhi. |
| 3. Gorakghat. | 8. Partagarh. |
| 4. Gorpani. | 9. Almod. |
| 5. Baktagarh. | 10. Sonpur. |
| | 11. Barism Pagara.‡ |

IV.—STATISTICS ON WHICH PROPOSALS ARE BASED.

2510. (10) The proposals which will now be made for the formation of constituencies for the Central Provinces and Berar are based on figures which have been collected during the past three months from the districts. A copy of the statistics so collected and of the instructions which were issued to district officers in regard to their preparation is appended to this note. The Chief Commissioner wishes to call attention in the first place to the system which has been adopted in dealing with recorded joint sharers in the ownership of land or in a tenant holding. These are contained in items V and VII of the Instructions for Form A. For example, where two persons are recorded as joint tenants of a holding assessed to Rs. 50 rent, each is shown in the statistics as paying Rs. 25 only. This has an important bearing on the representation of the joint Hindu family. If the elder member of the family in possession of the holding were alone taken into account, he would qualify for the vote. As it is under the system proposed for the Central Provinces the joint family in the instance given is unrepresented. It seems, however, more logical to allow each person claiming to vote the benefit only of such a property qualification as can be properly ascribed to him as an individual.

2511. (11) Under item VI of the same Instructions holders of rent-free or revenue-free plots have been, for simplicity's sake, left out of account. For the same reason the landlords and ploholders or tenants' classes have under item X been made mutually exclusive. For instance, a landlord in the Nagpur District assessed to a land revenue of Rs. 95 and also paying Rs. 45 as rent for a tenant-holding is excluded from the number of those qualified to vote. And no account has been taken of the rental valuation of a landlord's home-farm, thus on a given franchise excluding the smaller landlords whose revenue payment is not of the qualifying amount even though the rental valuation of their home-farm might qualify them for it in their capacity as cultivators. These considerations indicate that the statistics collected, though only intended to be approximately correct, have a tendency to understate the number of voters which will eventually be disclosed.

2512. (12) In the municipal towns statistics have been collected of persons occupying houses on stated annual rental values. The figures have been supplied by the municipal committees concerned, but in some cases the returns appear to be open to question. There has been no time, however, to verify the returns received. It is probable that here also some addition to the roll of voters might result on a further scrutiny of the rental lists.

V.—QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE NEW FRANCHISE.

2513. (13) The Chief Commissioner in the note which he has recorded on the joint scheme of Reforms has strongly emphasized the necessity of caution in deciding as to the extent to which the franchise should be conferred. He does not here wish to repeat the arguments which have led him to the opinion that in the Central Provinces the franchise cannot be really broad, further than to mention that the people, especially in the rural tracts, show little interest in public affairs, and that it would further be impossible to conduct elections without irregularities if the polls were swamped with masses of voters.

2514. (14) He has come to the conclusion that the following classes should be regarded as qualifying for the vote in the Central Provinces :—

- (1) Landlords paying or liable to pay Rs. 100 or more land revenue.
- (2) Persons whether landlords, tenants, ploholders or ryots holding agricultural land assessed at Rs. 50 more in rent or revenue.
- (3) Persons paying income-tax.
- (4) Persons residing in urban areas and occupying houses of a rental value of Rs. 48 or more per annum.

*Now in Drug District.
†Now in Hoshangabad District.
‡Appendix IV.

2515. (15) The Chief Commissioner adheres to the opinion which he expressed in January last that the qualification for the actual cultivator of land should be lower than that for the rent-receiver or landlord, seeing that the cultivator's assessment connotes a much higher income than that indicated by the corresponding assessment of a mere rent-receiver. He has therefore taken the figure of revenue payment for the latter at double the cultivators' payment. The principle underlying this differentiation is already accepted in the existing electoral scheme for these Provinces (see paragraph 4 above), a payment of Rs. 1,000 by a cultivator in Berar being taken as the equivalent of a payment of Rs. 3,000 by a landholder in the Central Provinces.

The Chief Commissioner would in rural areas take a rental of Rs. 50, corresponding roughly to an income of Rs. 600 or 600 per annum, as a convenient standard for the franchise. But there is no hard-and-fast principle underlying the selection of this figure. The only satisfactory guide in forming an electorate is to estimate from local knowledge the class of intelligence which will be brought into play in a given area by the application of a given franchise.

In the towns, it is proposed to base the qualification for the vote on the payment of house-rent as indicated in item (4) above. It may be taken for granted that most income-tax payers will find a place amongst persons paying Rs. 48 and above as house-rent and in the statement appended*, setting forth the detail of the electorates proposed, these are left out of account for the purpose of arriving at the number of voters in a constituency.

2516. (16) With regard to the standard of Rs. 50 put forward as the qualification for a cultivator's vote, the Chief Commissioner is prepared to modify it so as to accept a lower rate in the case of certain lightly assessed districts where a standard of Rs. 50 would give an electorate too small for the proper representation of the cultivating class. These districts are—

Bhandara and Chanda in the Nagpur Division,
Raipur, Drug and Bilaspur in the Chhattisgarh Division,
Nimar, Betul and Chhindwara in the Nerbudda Division,
Seoni in the Jabulpore Division, and
Yeotmal in the Berar Division.

In all these districts the incidence of the rent on tenant land is less than one rupee per acre. In Chanda and the three districts of Chhattisgarh tenants' holdings are small, and here and in Betul, where, though holdings are larger the average incidence of rents is only 6 annas 10 pies per acre, Rs. 30 is proposed for the cultivator's franchise. In the other lightly-assessed districts and in Balaghat, where, though the rental incidence is over one rupee, the holdings are unusually small, a payment of Rs. 40 may be taken to qualify the cultivator for a vote.

A statement† is appended showing the incidence of tenants' rents per acre in the different districts of the Province and indicating the average area upon which the minimum rental qualifying for the proposed franchise is paid.

2517. (17) Only males of 21 years of age resident within the territorial limits of the constituency who register themselves as voters will be qualified to exercise the franchise. No person (other than members of the University Senate, who will also exercise their territorial franchise) will be qualified to vote in more than one constituency.

2518. (18) No separate educational qualification is suggested. While fully admitting the value of education as a supplementary qualification for the franchise, the Chief Commissioner would strongly deprecate its adoption as a qualification *per se*. Intelligence is not the same as common sense, and the latter quality can best be imported into politics by providing that the voter shall have a practical and not merely theoretical interest in the issues at stake.

2519. (19) In the case of urban constituencies the proposal is to base the franchise mainly on the ownership or occupation of a house of the annual rental value of Rs. 48 per annum. The existing municipal franchise is usually based either on assessment to taxation or on receipt of a certain income. But the preparation of accurate estimates of income is always difficult, while the basis of taxation in the municipalities of these Provinces is most frequently the house-rent, and the latter seems therefore most suitable for adoption for the purpose of the new electoral franchise.

2520. (20) Statistics show that there are in municipal areas nearly 24,000 persons whose house-rent is Rs. 48 or more per annum. But only 4,700 persons are assessed to income tax. From these figures it is clear that a house-rent of Rs. 48 implies the receipt of a net income considerably less than Rs. 1,000 per mensem. Probably such a house-rent would be paid in many localities by those with a net income of about Rs. 600 per annum, which may be taken also as the approximate net income of the average cultivator who possesses the minimum qualification for a vote.

VI.—URBAN CONSTITUENCIES.

2521. (21) The total population of the Provinces, excluding the Feudatory States, is 13,975,279. Deducting the population of the backward areas already mentioned, the population for whom representation is to be found in the new Council will be 12,328,609. Nine members are proposed* for urban constituencies with a population of 826,611 persons, as against 36 members for rural constituencies with a population of 11,501,998 persons. The disproportionate representation thus given to the towns is justified by the comparative intelligence of the townsman and his aptitude for political education and also by the fact that the professional and commercial classes are largely concentrated in urban areas.

2522. (22) Separate representation is provided for the two cities of the Province—Nagpur (with Kamptee) and Jabulpore. The other towns are grouped in the Central Provinces by Divisions, those of each Division forming a separate constituency. In Berar, where the urban population is larger, it is proposed to have two constituencies, one for the towns of East Berar and another for those of West Berar. The total urban electorate for the Province will number 27,608 persons or 3.3 per cent of the total urban population.

2523. (23) An alternative scheme forming the nine largest towns into eight separate constituencies has been prepared for the consideration of the Committee. But the Chief Commissioner is inclined to prefer the system of grouped towns explained in the preceding paragraph.

2524. (24) Polling will present no difficulty in the towns. The largest municipality in the Province is Nagpur with some 5,000 electors. It was possible at the last municipal elections‡ for a single officer to deal with about 50 voters per hour or about 300 in the day. There will be no difficulty in finding a sufficient number of reliable polling officers. Almost all the towns which form urban constituencies are Tahsil if not District Head-quarters with a staff of responsible officials. And their work will be facilitated by the relatively large proportion of literate voters. In the twelve towns of the Province for which the figures are available the percentage of literate male adults to the total population is 10 per cent.

*Appendix VI.
†Appendix V.
‡See Appendix II.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

VII.—RURAL CONSTITUENCIES.

2525. (25) The population to be represented in the rural constituencies totals 11,501,998 persons. The statement attached* show the constituencies which the Chief Commissioner proposes for adoption. They are 36 in number. In some of the larger districts such as Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara, Saugor and Amraoti, it has been found impossible to divide the districts into suitable areas so as to form separate constituencies without running counter to the existing lines of administrative sub-division. The system of administration in these Provinces is based on the District Tahsil, and any classification of areas for the purpose of forming homogeneous constituencies which cuts across this system would not be readily understood, otherwise the Chief Commissioner would have no strong objection to it, if it is thought better to have smaller single-member constituencies. In the districts mentioned it is therefore proposed to form plural constituencies, electing in some cases three and in some cases two members. The Chief Commissioner himself sees no great objection to plural constituencies in the case of these districts. He would have personally preferred small single constituency areas within the district, could these have been suitably formed. But as we are in any case making an experiment in representation, he does not think that the adoption of plural constituencies in a certain number of cases should be opposed at this preliminary stage. The existence of plural constituencies will in no way alter the system of voting. One man one vote is a simple principle which the people can understand and it should be everywhere applied.

2526. (26) Generally speaking the basis of representation which the Chief Commissioner would for the present adopt is that no single constituency should have more than 3,000 voters, though it has been found impossible to adhere to this standard in all cases. With regard to individual districts the Chief Commissioner wishes to make the following remarks. In the *Bhandara* district the number of voters might indicate that only one member should be given for the district. Its population is, however, large (773,677), practically all rural. A re-settlement of the district is at present in progress and the number of persons paying Rs. 40 rent and over is likely to be substantially increased before the new electorates are formed. On the whole therefore the Chief Commissioner would prefer to make it a two-member constituency.

The *Narsinghpur* district is a small one with a population of 325,677. It contains, however, a large number of tenants of good standing, and it is proposed that it should be allowed to return two members.

The three districts of *Raipur*, *Bilaspur* and *Drug* contain large populations, namely, 1,324,866, 1,146,223 and 775,688. But if Zamindari areas are excluded, as has been proposed above, the figures for the rural population are reduced to 817,552, 774,067 and 581,391. Even taking Rs. 30 as the qualification for a cultivator's vote, the number of voters in the Bilaspur district will be comparatively small. The Chief Commissioner thinks that Raipur, which is the most important of the three districts, might be given two members, the others returning one each.

2527. (27) As regards polling in rural constituencies, past experience in connection with Local Board elections can provide but little useful information.† Under the existing system the tahsil is the largest unit for which an election is held. And the electorates in each tahsil number only a few hundred persons, of whom a comparatively small percentage take the trouble to attend the poll. The present elections are handled by the Tahsildar and his assistant and give no practical indication of the difficulties which will arise in polling the very much larger electorates now proposed.

2528. (28) The main factors governing an estimate of the number of rural voters which can be polled would seem to be—

- (1) The intelligence of the voters and the number of literates among them.
- (2) The number of officers of standing available for the work of polling.

As to (1) there will be a marked difference in this respect between rural and urban constituencies.‡ Knowing the average cultivator's ideas of punctual and prompt compliance with instructions, the Chief Commissioner doubts whether a single polling officer will be able to deal with more than 200 to 250 rural voters in a day. In the Chief Commissioner's opinion it is desirable that, if possible, the polling at each polling station should be completed in one day; protraction would facilitate impersonation, undue influence and so forth, which it can hardly be hoped altogether to avoid.

As to (2), in the Chief Commissioner's opinion it will be best to employ selected Government officers to supervise the polling. The required number of officials will be forthcoming in the persons of the three or four Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioners, the District Excise Officer, the three or four Tahsildars and Naib-Tahsildars, the Deputy Inspectors of Schools and Headmasters of middle schools and the Superintendent of Land Records and his assistant, who are attached to every district. In a district of average size their number will be not less than fifteen. The best plan would appear to be to hold the elections for different tahsils on different dates, so as to enable the requisite number of polling officers to move from one to the other, if this should be necessary.

VIII.—CONSTITUTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

2529. (29) The present Council includes, besides the Chief Commissioner who is a member *ex-officio*,

- (a) 10 elected members, as explained in paragraph 4 above;
- (b) 14 nominated members, of whom 10 are nominated officials;

(The officials at present nominated are the Financial Commissioner, the Commissioner of Berar, three Secretaries, the Legal Remembrancer, the Chief Engineer, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, the Inspector-General of Police, and the Director of Public Instruction.)

and (c) one expert member.

The total, exclusive of the President, is thus 25 as against a statutory maximum of 30.

2530. (30) The new Council may be constituted as follows:—

Ex-officio Members.

- 1 President.
- 1 Member of the Provincial Executive Council;‡

Elected Members.

- 9 Members for Urban Constituencies.
- 36 Members for Rural Constituencies.
- 1 Member for the Central Provinces University.

* Appendix VI.

† See Appendix II.

‡ The other member will be one of the elected Legislative Council members.

Nominated Members.

- 1 Member for the Mandla District.
- 1 Member for the excluded Zamindaris.
- 7 Official Members.
- 1 Expert Member.
- 1 Member to represent the Zamindars and hereditary Title-holders of the Province.
- 3 Members to represent the Mahomedan Community.
- 1 Member to represent the non-official European and Anglo-Indian Community.
- 1 Member to represent the Depressed and Backward Classes.
- 1 Member to represent the Mining Industry.
- 1 Member to represent Factories.

The total membership of the Council, exclusive of the President, will thus be 65, of whom 46 members will be elected, 18 nominated, and one appointed *ex-officio*.

2531. (31) The Central Provinces University has not yet come into existence. When it is established the member to represent it can most suitably be elected by the Senate. The Senate in the final scheme will consist of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, 9 *ex-officio* members, 14 nominated members, 34 members of the Teaching Staff of the University and incorporated Colleges nominated by the Chancellor, 15 graduates elected by registered graduates, and 3 co-opted members. The Chief Commissioner is not in favour of devising a special electorate of registered graduates and teachers. It is the University which is to receive representation in the local Legislative Council, and in view of the proposal so to constitute the Senate as to secure due representation of all its members, it seems unnecessary to devise any wider electoral body.

IX.—PROPOSALS FOR NOMINATED MEMBERS.

2532. (32) One member will be nominated to represent the excluded district of Mandla (population 395,855) and another to represent the excluded Zamindaris of Chhattisgarh, Chanda and Chhindwara (population 1,182,404)—*vide* paragraphs 8 and 9 above.

2533. (33) There will be seven nominated official members. With a Council, as proposed, of 65 members, nine officials will be needed to provide the maximum official representation permitted in the Grand Committee. In addition to the seven here proposed there will be one member of the Executive Council in the Legislative Council, and one expert who, to begin with, will usually be an official.

2534. (34) The Chief Commissioner would recommend the nomination of eight members to represent those special classes, communities or interests which are unlikely in the new Council to gain the representation which they need.

2535. (35) The Chief Commissioner would nominate a member to represent the Zamindars and important landholders having hereditary titles. These constitute a distinct class. There is already separate representation for landholders, and the most important of these, constituting as it were the aristocracy of the Province, should continue to hold a seat in the reformed Council. The Zamindars concerned number 106, including those belonging to excluded areas as well as those from other parts of the Province, for there is no distinction between them. And there are 88 title-holders all of whom represent old landed families. The class is small but represents an important landed interest and has a historical position in the Province. It would be in keeping with the traditions of the class that its representative should be nominated and not elected.

2536. (36) The Chief Commissioner in his note on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme has pointed out that "in the Central Provinces we are fortunately so circumstanced that the question of communal electorates can hardly be said to arise. The Mahomedans are but a fraction of the population and are widely scattered: it is next to impossible to suggest constituencies to meet their case, and in the Central Provinces it would be correct to lay down from the outset that the special exception which the Report has made as to the representation of this community cannot be carried into practical effect."

The total Mahomedan population of the Provinces is 574,276 or 4 per cent. of the whole. In the proposed urban constituencies the Mahomedan population is 161,337 or 20 per cent. of the whole. But in only three towns (Jubbulpore, Nagpur and Burhanpur) does their number exceed 10,000 and in only seven others (Saugor, Khandwa, Amraoti, Akola, Ellichpur, Raipur and Kamptee) does it exceed 5,000. In rural areas the total Mahomedan population is 393,160 and in no district does it exceed 60,000.

The arrangement "promised to the Mahomedans by Lord Minto in 1906 and secured to them by the Reforms of 1909," to which a reference is made in paragraph 227 of the Reforms Report, is of doubtful application to the Central Provinces and Berar. A Legislative Council for these Provinces was formed only in 1913, and the proposal of the Chief Commissioner at that time to the effect that "the Mahomedan community which is small and scattered can most conveniently be provided for by the nomination of one of its leaders" was definitely accepted by the Government of India. The authors of the Reforms Report themselves regard any system of communal electorates as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle, and in the absence of any pledge by Government to such a system in the Central Provinces it appears undesirable to introduce it, if it can be avoided. As in the case of other minorities therefore the Mahomedan community will in these Provinces be most suitably represented by nomination. And it will be sufficiently represented by three members.

2537. (37) It is proposed to nominate one representative for the European non-official and Anglo-Indian communities. Figures distinguishing officials from non-officials are not available, but the total number of British subjects at last census was 6,957 of whom nearly half were in all probability British troops and their dependants at Jubbulpore, while the Anglo-Indian community numbered 3,343. The numbers are small, but under the new régime it will be desirable to give this class a representation which it cannot otherwise hope to obtain.

2538. (38) Certain backward or depressed classes also require special representation. They will have a certain number of votes in the ordinary constituencies, but these will be comparatively few as their status is ordinarily not such as to qualify them for the franchise, though their numbers are considerable. The impure castes, which are 13 in number, total 3,060,232 persons according to last census, of whom 1,165,177 are Mahars and 901,594 are Chamars. The same number of Forest and Hill tribes total 3,378,895 of whom 2,333,893 are Gonds. In this case also nomination is not only desirable in principle but is practically essential if the peculiar interests of these special classes are to be properly represented.

2539. (39) There are important mining interests in the Central Provinces and Berar. The manganese mines, 51 in number, employ on an average 13,142 persons daily, and have an annual output of 462,961 tons valued at Rs. 37,75,467. The coal mines number 11, employ on an average 4,256 persons daily, and have an annual output of 371,901 tons valued at Rs. 15,15,931.

The Central Provinces and Berar Mining Association, constituted in 1908, is fully representative of the two chief mining industries of the Province. But its membership is small, 16 persons in all, and for this reason the

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Commissioner would advise that the representative of this interest be for the present nominated. But if election is preferred, it would be better to leave it in the hands of the members of the mining Association at a special general meeting than go behind the Association and create a wider electorate.

2540. (40) The only factories of importance are those connected with cotton. There are 13 cotton spinning and weaving mills which employ on an average nearly 14,000 persons daily, and 426 cotton gins and presses employing nearly 28,000 persons. But neither owners nor managers have so far formed an association of any sort to protect or promote their interests. This is an industry which requires special consideration. The Chief Commissioner would therefore allot one seat in the Council to factory owners and managers to be filled, in the absence of a fully organized and representative association, by official nomination.

X.—THE QUALIFICATION OF CANDIDATES.

2541. (41) As regards the question of the qualification of candidates for election to the Legislative Council it seems only necessary to prescribe the general condition that no person shall be eligible for election unless he possesses the qualification for a vote and has been registered as a voter within the constituency for which he stands.

XI.—THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

2542. (42) In paragraph 274 of the Reforms Report it is proposed to allot five seats in the Indian Assembly to members elected to represent the Central Provinces and Berar. This representation will, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, be adequate, seeing that officials will also, according to paragraph 277, be eligible for nomination to the same body. At present one additional member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council is elected by landholders in the Central Provinces and another by the non-official members of the local Council. The Provinces are also as a rule represented by an official nominee, but this depends on the choice of the Governor-General.

The Chief Commissioner would recommend that under the new scheme the five provincial representatives in the Indian Assembly should be elected by the non-official members, whether nominated or elected, of the local Council. But candidature should not be restricted to that body. Any person should be eligible for election who is qualified to vote in any constituency in the Province. Direct election will not be feasible. Elections for the local Council will sufficiently tax the intelligence of such an electorate as these Provinces can produce, and for the Indian Assembly there would appear to be no practical alternative to indirect representation.

XII.—THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

2543. (43) This Province will, according to the scheme outlined in the Reforms Report, return one elected member to the Council of State—officials also being here, as in the Legislative Assembly, eligible for nomination. The Chief Commissioner accepts the proposal. Here again the non-official members of the local Legislative Council will form the only feasible electorate. But in view of the standing of the Council of State the Chief Commissioner would propose to limit the candidature in these Provinces to persons paying Rs. 5,000 as land revenue or having an income of Rs. 25,000 per annum.

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

APPENDIX I.

Statement showing statistics of popular representation provided in the present Central Provinces Legislative Council.

Name of the constituency.	Total number of persons in the constituency qualified to elect to the Provincial Legislative Council.	Number of elected and nominated members (shown in column 2).		Total numerical strength of the electorates which chose the elected members.	Nature of the qualification for the franchise.
		Elected.	Nominated.		
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. The Municipal Committee of the Jubbulpore Town and the Notified Municipal Committees of the Jubbulpore and Nerbudda Divisions.	218	196 ^a	22	20,303	In Jubbulpore and Nagpur Municipalities the qualification for a vote is— (a) the assessment to an annual sum of not less than Rs. 6 in taxes other than octroi, or (b) the assessment to an annual sum not less than Rs. 50 in respect of octroi.
2. The Municipal Committee of the Nagpur Town and the Notified Municipal Committees of the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions.	212	174	38	17,344	NOTE.—Some special electorates have been formed, e.g., for managers of mills and factories and for graduates. In other Municipalities the qualification for a vote generally is—
3. The Municipal Committee of the Nagpur and Jubbulpore Towns.	59	49	10	5,876	(a) the assessment to not less than Rs. 2 per annum in taxes, or (b) the possession of immoveable property, either within the town or district, of an annual letting value of not less than Rs. 50; or (c) the receipt of an annual gross income of not less than Rs. 20.
4. The District Councils of the Jubbulpore and Nerbudda Divisions.	145	(a) Mukaddam members . 71 (b) Trade and Commerce members . 32	42	12,972 3,661	(a) Appointment to the office of mukaddam of a village. (b) Possession of an income of Rs. 250 a year from non-agricultural sources.
		103		16,633	
5. The District Councils of the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions.	162	(a) Mukaddam members . 98 (b) Trade and Commerce members . 34	30	13,661 7,885	
		132		21,546	
6. The Municipal Committee of Berar.	154	97	57	11,946	Assessment to taxes of not less than Rs. 2 a year or payment of not less than Rs. 25 a year in land revenue. Also follows or graduates, barristers, advocates, pleaders, jurors, assessors, honorary magistrates, factory owners and managers, and dealers who pay income-tax.
7. The District Boards of Berar.	125	(a) Agricultural members . 106 (b) Non-agricultural members . 12	7	21,872 6,219	(a) Payment of not less than Rs. 4 a year to jaglia or local cess. (b) Possession of a certain amount* of income from non-agricultural sources.
		118		28,091	

* This qualification has been lately added, and the amount of income has yet to be prescribed.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Statement giving by Districts the distribution of the electorates shown in column 5 of the preceding Statement.

Name of District.	Total number of persons entitled to elect members for Municipal Committees.	Total number of voters of the Mukaddam class entitled to elect members for the Local Boards.	Total number of voters of the mercantile classes entitled to elect members of the Local Boards.
Nagpur Town	4,398	2,143	1,290
Nagpur District	1,073		
Bhandara	1,814	1,744	443
Chanda	1,052	1,548	735
Wardha	3,983	1,375	2,010
Balaghat	568	1,023	474
Jubbulpore Town	1,548	2,436	475
Jubbulpore District	660		
Saugor	2,426	2,101	561
Damoh	589	1,313	435
Mandla	854		
Seoni	949	1,509	690
Hoshangabad	2,148	1,225	611
Nimar	7,967	1,140	109
Betul	823	1,267	307
Chhindwara	1,419	1,383	173
Narsinghpur	1,120	698	310
Raipur	1,649	1,885	510
Bilaspur	1,977	2,242	1,869
Drug	No Municipality.	1,701	564
Amraoti	3,198	7,499	3,904
Akola	5,521	7,238	129
Buldana	2,362	6,036	841
Yeotmal	865	2,059	1,445
TOTAL	49,693	48,505	17,765
COMBINED TOTAL		115,863	

Statement showing the number of voters in each Municipality, District Council and Local Board in the Central Provinces and Berar.

Name of Municipality.	Number of electors.	Name of District Council Board.	Number of electors.	Name of Local Board.	Number of electors.
Nagpur	4,741	Nagpur	74	Nagpur	703
Ramtek	659			Ramtek	565
Khapa (a)				Umrer	744
Kaimleshwar (a)				Katol	804
Umrer	858	Bhandara	44	Saoner	379
Mowar	305			Bhandara	840
Saoner	156			Sakoli	535
Bhandara	1,490			Gondia	584
Tumsar	313	Chanda	81	Warora	749
Fauni	214			Chanda	274
Chanda	662			Brahmapuri	576
Warora	390			Gawhrioli	406
Wardha	826	Wardha	76	Chanda Zamindaris (b)	
Arvi	1,210			Wardha	1,238
Deoli	326			Arvi	1,194
Hinganghat	836			Hinganghat	778
Pulgaon	689	Balaghat	25	Balaghat	605
Balaghat	568			Waraseoni	757
Jubbulpore	1,548			Baihar	469
Sehora	72	Jubbulpore	94	Jubbulpore	800
Murwara	536			Patan	624
Saugor	2,275			Murwara	463
Deori	171			Sehora	917
Khurai	166			Saugor	637
Damoh	623	Saugor	60	Khurai	669
Seoni	943			Behli	1,014
Mandla	854			Banda	387
Hoshangabad	405	Damoh	33	Damoh	989

(a) Has a nominated Committee.

(b) There is no election.

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

Statement showing the number of voters in each Municipality, District Council Board and Local Board in the Central Provinces and Berar—contd.

Name of Municipality.	Number of electors.	Name of District Council Board.	Number of electors.	Name of Local Board	Number of electors.
Harda	1,383	Seoni	40	Hatta	825
Seoni-Malwa	359			Seoni	796
Pachmarhi (n)				Lakhnadon	845
Betul	618			Hoshangabad	478
Chhindwara	1,038			Sohagpur	531
Pandhurna	385	Hoshangabad	51	Seoni-Malwa	245
Sausar	604			Harda	672
Narsinghpur	463			Betul	511
Gadarwara	238			Multa	638
Chhindwara (Chota)	163	Betul	38	Bhainsdehi	387
Khandwa	2,532			Chhindwara	685
Burhanpur	5,407			Amarwara	324
Raipur	1,176			Sausar	493
Bilaspur	1,977			Chhindwara Jagir (b)	
Drug (a)		Chhindwara	50	Narsinghpur	426
Dhantari	231			Gadarwara	278
Amraoti Town	3,222			Khandwa	991
Amraoti Camp (a)				Burhanpur	324
Ellichpur City (a)		Narsinghpur	24	Harsud	507
Ellichpur Civil Station (a)				Raipur	781
Akola	2,715			Dhantari	595
Akot	1,104			Baloda Bazar	818
Karanja	642	Nimar	37	Mahasamund	319
Basim	1,605			Raipur Zamindaris	
Murtizapur	795			Bilaspur	1,177
Buldana (a)				Mungeli	898
Khamgaon	844	Raipur	91	Janjgir	1,202
Shegaon	920			Bilaspur Zamindaris	
Malkapur	819			Drug	595
Yeotmal	607			Bemetara	623
				Sanjari	456
		Bilaspur	85	Drug (Northern Zamindaris)	
				Drug (Southern Zamindaris)	
		Drug	72	Amraoti	2,466
				Chandur	2,079
				Morni	1,168
				Ellichpur	1,830
		Amraoti	80	Daryapur	1,436
				Akola	2,050
				Akot	1,150
				Bilaspur	1,180
				Basim	1,295
				Mangrui	531
		Akola	108	Murtizapur	1,174
				Chikhi	755
				Mehkar	1,044
				Malkapur	1,638
		Buldana	90	Jalgaon	902
				Khamgaon	1,576
				Yeotmal	746
				Darwha	553
				Pusad	346
				Kelapur	280
		Yeotmal	90	Wun	614

(a) Has a nominated Committee.

(b) There is no election.

APPENDIX II.

NOTE ON THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF ELECTIONS TO MUNICIPAL AND OTHER LOCAL BODIES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

PART I.—MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

A.—The Qualifications of Electors and of Candidates for Election in the Central Provinces.

2544. (1) The following are the qualifications entitling a person to vote or stand as a candidate at any Municipal election:—

- (1) residence within the town for not less than six months before the election; and also
- (2) one or more of the qualifications entered on the first page of Appendix I as required for each Municipality

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

But no person is qualified to vote at a Municipal election who—

- (a) is a female; or
- (b) is of unsound mind; or
- (c) is under 22 years of age; or
- (d) has been convicted of any heinous or disgraceful offence; or
- (e) makes his livelihood by begging or any immoral occupation; or
- (f) whose name is not on the register of electors (Rules 13 to 16) at the time of the election.

2545. (2) No person is qualified to stand as a candidate for election who—

- (a) is a female; or
- (b) is of unsound mind; or
- (c) is under 22 years of age; or
- (d) has been dismissed from Government service for misconduct, or has been declared to be disqualified for employment in the public service, or has been convicted of any heinous or disgraceful offence; or
- (e) has been declared insolvent; or
- (f) earns his livelihood by begging or any immoral occupation; or
- (g) is unable to read and write; or
- (h) is a non-gazetted servant of Government and has not obtained the sanction in writing of the Commissioner of the Division to his offering himself as a candidate for election; or
- (i) whose name is not on the register of electors (Rules 13 to 16) at the time of the election; or
- (j) who has been removed from the Committee under Section 13 of the Municipal Act, unless the sanction of the Chief Commissioner has been obtained to his candidature.

2546. (3) When an undivided Hindu family, a company or a firm is qualified to vote at a Municipal election only one member thereof is eligible to vote as a representative of such family, company, or firm.

B.—The Qualifications of Electors and of Candidates for Election in Berar.

2547. (4) The qualifications for enrolment in the register of voters for the several constituencies are:—

- (1) residence, or the possession of a shop, office or other place at which the voter carries on his business, within the limits of the Municipality concerned during the whole of the four months next before the first publication of the lists of voters, provided that temporary absence shall count towards the period of four months, and
- (2) the qualifications specified on the first page of Appendix I: but no person is qualified for entry in the register who—
 - (a) is less than 21 years of age;
 - (b) is of unsound mind;
 - (c) is not either a native of Berar or a natural born or naturalized British subject or a subject of a State in India.

NOTES.—(1) When a company or firm is qualified for enrolment in the register of voters, only one member or manager thereof is eligible to vote as its representative.

(2) If two or more persons jointly occupy a house or land as owners, they select one of themselves to be a voter.

2548. (5) Every candidate for election as representative of a ward constituency must possess the following qualifications:—

- (a) Enrolment in the revised lists of voters.
 - (b) Payment of Rs. 10 or more on account of the taxes specified in Section 41 (A), (a), (b) and (c) and of any taxes referred to in Sections 42 and 43 of the Municipal Law:
- But this qualification is not required of fellows or graduates of a university, barristers, advocates, pleaders, jurors, assessors, and honorary magistrates.

2549. (6) Persons enrolled in the last revised list of voters for the Factory, Commerce or Joint Factory and Commerce constituencies are eligible as candidates for those constituencies:

But—

- (a) No person is eligible as a candidate for any constituency, who—
 - (i) is a woman;
 - (ii) is unable to read and write;
 - (iii) has been declared insolvent;
 - (iv) has been convicted of a non-bailable and cognisable offence, or has been bound over by a criminal court to keep the peace or be of good behaviour.
 - (v) has been declared by notification to be disqualified for employment in Government service;
 - (vi) is in the service, or has been dismissed from the service, of the Municipality concerned;
 - (vii) is an officer of Government and has not obtained the sanction in writing of the Commissioner of the Division to offer himself as a candidate;
 - (viii) whose election would, in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner, be dangerous to the public peace or order;
 - (ix) has, directly or indirectly, any share or interest in any work done by order of the Municipal Committee, or in any contract or employment with or under that Committee; and
- (b) No person is eligible for candidature in a ward constituency who has not resided or carried on business in the ward for which he is a candidate during the whole of the six months next preceding the date of the election: but temporary absence counts towards the period of six months.

C.—The Electoral Machinery Employed.

2550. (7) The following is a description of the system adopted at Municipal elections in Nagpur City.

2551. (8) Every third year a general election is held to elect 29 members to represent the rate-payers of the 20 wards into which the Municipality is divided and three special classes, viz., octroi-payers, graduates and mill and factory owners. The elections continue for 6 days as the polling of only 4 or 5 wards or classes can be dealt with in a single day.

2552. (9) The date, hour and place of election for each ward and class is fixed at least 21 days before the date of election by the Deputy Commissioner and is notified by posting printed notices at conspicuous places in each ward. As far as possible the polling station for each ward is fixed within the ward. A polling officer not below the status of a Naib-Tahsildar is appointed for each station, but where the number of registered voters exceeds 350 a second officer is appointed. None but officials are employed. Extra-Assistant Commissioners supervise the polling which

is actually conducted by the Tahsildar, Additional Tahsildar, Naib-Tahsildars and Court of Wards Managers. On an average a polling officer can deal with 300 voting papers in a day of 6 hours or 50 per hour. In the last election in one ward 322 voting papers were actually dealt with in 6 hours.

2553. (10) A supervising officer of the status of an Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioner is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner to supervise the proceedings of two or more polling officers. At each polling station a voting paper with the names of the candidates printed thereon is delivered in the presence of the candidates or their agents by the tax-collecting and sanitation staff to each registered voter as he enters the polling booth. The literate voter goes to a side table, scores out the printed names of all except the candidate or candidates for whom he wishes to vote and puts his initials against each entry scored out by him. He then signs the voting paper, folds it and hands it over to the polling officer, who in his presence puts it into a sealed box through a slit in the lid. An illiterate voter takes his voting paper to the polling officer and puts his mark on it and the polling officer attests it. As far as possible each voter is identified before he votes by Municipal officials and the candidates. If any question as to the identity of a voter is raised by a candidate or by a person entitled to vote or by the polling officer himself, the latter enquires into the matter at once and by an order in writing rejects or admits the vote in question. In doubtful cases the polling officer may require the voter to affix his thumb impression.

2554. (11) At the close of the poll, the boxes containing the voting papers are sent by the polling officers to the Secretary after being properly closed. Each box is opened by the President (or by members of the Sub-Committee to whom he may delegate his power) at the Municipal office in the presence of such candidates as may desire to be present there; the date and time of opening the box is announced to the candidates by the polling officer at the close of the poll.

2555. (12) At the last general election out of 4,589 voters in contested wards, 2,250 persons or 49 per cent. recorded their votes.

PART II.—LOCAL BOARD ELECTIONS.

A.—General.

2556. (13) In the Central Provinces the district is divided into from 3 to 5 tahsils. There is a Local Board for each tahsil and a District Council for the whole district. Each Local Board area is divided up into circles containing about 50 to 60 villages each. There are usually 8 or 10 circles in each Local Board area. The Local Board consists of as many mukaddam members as there are circles (one mukaddam being elected from each circle), three or four members elected from the whole tahsil to represent the mercantile or professional classes and three or four nominated members. In Berar the district is divided into from 4 to 6 taluqs. There is a Taluq Board for each taluq and a District Board for the whole district. Each taluq has 12 elected and 6 nominated members on its Board. Of the 12 elected members four are required to retire or stand for re-election each year and the four vacancies are filled by a general election for the whole taluq. There are no circles in Berar.

B.—The Qualifications of Electors and of Candidates for Election in the Central Provinces.

2557. (14) A representative mukaddam is elected in the presence of an officer of not less rank than a Naib-tahsildar or by the mukaddams of each circle.

Note.—The mukaddam is the executive headman of the village. Ordinarily one is appointed for each village from among the proprietors.

2558. (15) In the case of the mercantile classes or professions the electorate is composed of persons who—

- (a) belong to the mercantile classes or to professions (including Government service);
- (b) reside within Local Board areas;
- (c) are in possession of an income of Rs. 250 per annum from non-agricultural sources;

But no person is qualified to be enrolled on the register of electors who—

- (a) is a female; or
- (b) is of unsound mind; or
- (c) is under 22 years of age; or
- (d) has been convicted of any heinous or disgraceful offence; or
- (e) makes his livelihood by begging or any immoral occupation.

2559. (16) Any person whose name is on the register of electors is qualified for election as a mercantile or professional member: but no person is qualified who—

- (a) has been dismissed from Government service for misconduct, or has been declared to be disqualified for employment in the public service; or
- (b) has been convicted of any offence, which, in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner, renders him unfit to be a member;
- (c) has been declared insolvent in the past ten years;
- (d) is unable to read and write;
- (e) is a non-gazetted servant of Government and has not obtained the sanction, in writing of the Commissioner of the Division to his offering himself as a candidate for election.

C.—The Qualifications of Electors and of Candidates for election in Berar.

2560. (17) The electoral body consists of all male persons not being minors or insane paying not less than Rs. 4 per annum to the jaglia and local cess of the taluq. The cess is levied at the rate of one anna per rupee of revenue. Hence all those whose revenue assessment is Rs. 64 or more per annum are entitled to a vote.

2561. (18) The following persons, not being already qualified, are also electors and are entitled to vote at any election of members of a Taluq Board:—

- (a) Special Magistrates having jurisdiction within the taluq;
- (b) Revenue and Police Patels and Watandar Patwaris having jurisdiction within the taluq; and
- (c) The heads of Deshmukh and Deshpandiya families: if the head is a minor or insane or a female, the next senior male may vote.

2562. (19) The following persons are eligible for election as members of the Taluq Board:—

- (1) Any person permanently residing in the taluq who holds land therein, the assessment of which exceeds Rs. 100 per annum;
- (2) Any person who holds an inam or jagir in the taluq which would be assessed, if *khalsa*, at upwards of Rs. 100 per annum;

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

- (3) Special Magistrates and Revenue and Police Patels having jurisdiction within the taluq; and
 (4) Members of Deshmukh and Despandiya families resident within the taluq; but no person is eligible for election who:—
- (a) is under 21 years of age;
 - (b) has been dismissed for misconduct from Government employ;
 - (c) has been sentenced to such imprisonment as, in the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner, would authorize his removal under Section 9 of the Berar Rural Boards Law;
 - (d) is a clerk or servant of the Board;
 - (e) has directly or indirectly any share or interest in any contract or employment with, or on behalf of, the Board;
 - (f) is a female;
 - (g) is insane or afflicted with an incurable disease.

D.—The Machinery for Elections.

2563. (20) In the Central Provinces each Local Board is divided into 8 or 9 circles. Each circle elects one Mukaddam member and each Local Board elects three mercantile members.

2564. (21) *Preliminary work* consists in—

- (1) The preparation of electoral rolls for each circle.
- (2) Their publication for objections six months before the election takes place.
- (3) The despatch of a notice of elections in the vernacular to each elector one month beforehand.
- (4) The applications of candidates 15 days before election supported by the nomination of two duly-qualified electors.

2565. (22) *Election of Mukaddams.*—There is a polling station for each circle. The polling at each polling station is completed in one day. The polling is supervised by a Tahsildar or Naib-Tahsildar in person. Each voter has one vote only. The circles are taken up one after the other. If only one candidate appears, no formal election is held. If there is competition, each voter names his candidate openly to the polling officer, who records his vote on a list. There is no secret ballot, but if any voter is unwilling to speak openly he is allowed to give a slip of paper with the name of his candidate entered on it.

In no case at the last triennial Local Board elections in the Nagpur District did more than 34 voters attend at any one polling station, the number on the roll for any one circle being nowhere more than 72. In the Nagpur Local Board comprising eight circles there were in all 319 voters for the Mukaddam class, of whom 103 or 32 per cent. attended the polls. This may be taken as a fair average for the district.

2566. (23) *Election of mercantile members.*—The electoral rolls are prepared for each Local Board or tahsil area, and there is one polling station only, usually at tahsil headquarters. Each voter has three votes, one for each vacancy, but can only vote once for each candidate. The three candidates who receive the largest number of votes are elected. The polling is completed in a single day.

The total electorate for the Nagpur District was 1,290, of whom 244, or 19 per cent only attended at the last election. The maximum attendance was 89 in the Katol tahsil out of a total of 407 on the roll. In Katol there was keen competition between nine candidates. Of the three elected one obtained 70 votes, the second 45 votes and the third and fourth 39 each, and choice between the third and fourth was made by lot.

2567. (24) In Berar there are no circles. An electoral roll for each taluq is maintained by the Tahsildar who also holds the elections. The registered electors vary in number from about 300 to as many as 2,500 according to the wealth and importance of the taluq. Each voter can vote for as many candidates as there are vacancies but may not record more than one vote for the same candidate. There is one polling officer—the Tahsildar alone, and he completes the polling in a single day. The identification of the voters presents no difficulty as but few voters attend and they are known to the Tahsildar and his staff. The percentage of registered voters who attended the elections in three of the four districts of Berar was as follows:—Amraoti 5·5 per cent.; Akola 3·4 per cent.; and Buldana 6·57 per cent. Thus in Amraoti District only 490 voters attended, in Akola 250 voters, and in Buldana 389 voters, giving on an average about 70 voters for each Taluq Board election.

APPENDIX III.

Copy of a letter No. 389 A.—IV., dated the 21st November 1918, from the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department.

2568. I am directed to refer to your telegram No. 1324, dated the 3rd September 1918, in which request was made for recommendations regarding the special treatment under the Reforms Scheme of backward areas in the Central Provinces. An answer to this reference has already been telegraphed on the 8th instant, and I am now to explain more fully the nature of the Chief Commissioner's proposal.

2569. (2) Paragraph 199 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms contemplates that selected backward areas will be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed provincial Governments and administered by the Head of the Province. But such an arrangement would seem to be quite impracticable. For example, in a Government divided into reserved and transferred sections, the Minister would, it is assumed, have nothing to do with the administration of the transferred departments in the excluded areas, and every "transferred" department would be subject in these areas to the direct control of the Governor. Either the Governor would be compelled in the interests of uniformity to subordinate his individual policy in the excluded areas to that of the reformed administration in the rest of the Province, or else the departments concerned might find themselves compelled to give effect to different policies in the different areas. Similar difficulties would arise, though perhaps to a less degree, whatever shape the reformed administration might take. In fact, the suggestion in paragraph 199 appears to have been put forward with a very vague idea of what it really involved.

2570. (3) At the same time, it may be readily admitted that there are areas the inhabitants of which are at present unfit for the political franchise. Such are the areas in which the Local Self-Government Act has not yet been applied. If the people of these tracts have not yet been found fit or have not shown any desire to elect their local representatives on local bodies, it is obviously undesirable to force on them the privilege, which they do not desire or for which they are not ready, of electing a representative on the Provincial Legislative Council, of the very existence of which most of them have never heard. At the same time, as explained in the preceding paragraph, such areas must come into the new administrative scheme and might, where they are of sufficient importance, be represented in the new Legislative Council.

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

Such representation should be, at the outset at any rate, by nomination by the Head of the Province. As the areas develop it will be a simple matter to form constituencies and allow them to elect their representatives in the Provincial Council or to amalgamate them with adjoining constituencies.

2571. (4) The areas to be thus treated will be—

Firstly.—All the scheduled districts of these Provinces listed in Part VI of the first schedule to the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874;

Secondly.—The 12 Zamindaris of Kantali, Chandarpur, Padampur, Malkharoda, Bhatgaon, Bilaigarh-Katgi, Parpori, Khuji, Deori, Suarmar, Narra and Kawria (all in the Chhattisgarh Division).

Thirdly.—The Mandla district (except the Mandla Town);

Fourthly.—The Sironcha tahsil of the Chanda district; and

Fifthly.—The Melghat taluq of the Amraoti district.

APPENDIX IV.

Copy of a letter No. 371—IV., dated the 22nd August 1918, from the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to all Deputy Commissioners and Settlement Officers, Betul, B. andara and Seoni.

(Copies to Divisional Commissioners and Commissioner of Settlements.)

2572. I am directed to address you regarding the collection of certain statistics with a view to the classification of the landholding population of your district according to their revenue and rental payments. This information is needed for submission to the Committee shortly to be appointed to consider the formation of electorates for these Provinces under the new Reform Scheme.

2573. (2) It is not known at present what will constitute the various qualifications for the new franchise. But presumably, for landholders, the basis will be their revenue and rental payments. It is, therefore, necessary to collect statistics of these payments which will indicate, approximately, how many landholders will be entitled to vote under each of a series of different rent and revenue qualifications. A classified statement of landholders, prepared for each tahsil in Form C appended to this letter, will give this information. The classification only covers revenue and rental payments from Rs. 10 upwards, while payments in excess of Rs. 100 will be entered merely as "more than Rs. 100." This will provide sufficient detail up to the limits within which the choice of the Committee is likely to range. Malik-makbuzas, ryots of ryotwari villages, absolute-occupancy, occupancy and ordinary tenants are all lumped together as one class; while Zamindars, Jagirdars, Inferior Proprietors, Malguzars and Village Thekadars are taken collectively as a separate class, under the general head of "Malguzars."

2574. (3) No totals for the district need be given. A classified statement in Form C for each tahsil in your district is all that is required. These statements should be sent in to this office by the 15th of October next.

2575. (4) In order to compile the information required for Statement C it will be necessary for Patwaris to prepare, for each village in the district, an *Asamitwar* Register in Form A. Detailed instructions are given separately on the back of the Form itself. Here it is only necessary to emphasize the following points—*Firstly*, in order to secure that each landholder shall appear only once in the village statistics, it is essential to assign all his payments of rent or revenue to his credit in the particular village where he resides; or, if he has more than one residence, in the particular village which constitutes his chief residence. It will also be necessary, in entering up his payments of rent and revenue, to record them for one class only (*vide* No. X of the Instructions for Form A). *Secondly*, to save labour, it is proposed to omit from the Form all persons who pay less than Rs. 10 as "Malguzar" or less than Rs. 10 as Malik-makbuzas, Government Ryot or Tenant. For example, if a landholder pays Rs. 9 as Malguzar and Rs. 9 as Tenant he will be omitted. Again, if his total payment for entry in column 4 or column 5, as the case may be, is any sum larger than Rs. 100, it will suffice to enter simply "more than Rs. 100" in that column. This will save work in dealing with the bigger landholders.

2576. (5) From his *Asamitwar* Register in Form A the Patwari will prepare a classified *Mauzawar* Statement for his Circle in Form B.

2577. (6) It will be necessary to collect information in Forms A and B as regards landholders resident within Municipal and Notified Areas, in the same way as in the case of residents of ordinary agricultural villages. The collection of this information may present some difficulty, especially in the case of large towns, as a special house-to-house enquiry will be necessary. It should therefore be arranged for, through the Municipal or Notified Area Committee concerned, as soon as possible. The figures for each Municipality or Notified Area will be reported separately in Form C.

2578. (7) It is recognized that the statistics now to be collected can, at best, be only approximately correct. The time for collecting them is short and the season unsuitable. At the same time it is believed that, with the personal co-operation and supervision of District Officers, it will be possible to attain a standard of accuracy which will serve all practical purposes.

2579. (8) The whole work, which will constitute a sort of census of the landholding population of the Provinces, must be carried through with the greatest expedition possible. But it is not proposed to dictate for every district the actual arrangements required to secure the necessary information. The *modus operandi* must vary according to local circumstances. It is obviously desirable that the information required for Register A should, if possible, be collected by the Patwari in the village; and, wherever arrangements can be made to instruct Patwaris adequately before they start the work and to supervise them properly while they are performing it, this is clearly the best method to adopt—more particularly so where agricultural tenures are complex, *pahi* tenants and absentee landlords numerous, and the division between the landlord and the tenant classes undefined. On the other hand, in remote tracts where communications are bad, the Patwari staff unreliable and close supervision impossible, while tenures are simple and non-residence rare, a District Officer may conclude that it will be better to assemble the Patwaris at one or more centres in the tahsil and there compile from the village papers the information required, utilizing the local knowledge of the Patwaris (and possibly that of the village Kotwars also) and controlling their work by means of selected officers of intelligence deputed for the purpose.

The Chief Commissioner leaves it to you to gauge the difficulties that will arise and to regulate your employment of the Land Record Staff in the manner best suited to meet them, having regard to the circumstances of your district, the competence of the local Patwari staff, the complexity of the local tenures, and the character of local communications.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Instructions for Form A.

I.—This Form is to be prepared on the basis of *Residence*. Each Landholder will only be entered in the form of that village which constitutes his chief or sole place of residence. For example, if a tenant's chief residence is in one village, while his cultivation is in three different villages where he also occasionally resides, he will be shown, with all his payments as tenant, *only against the village which forms his chief residence*, even though he has no cultivation there and is not entered in the Patwari's papers of that village.

II.—Only Landholders recorded in the Patwari's papers either as Malguzar (see Instruction IV below) or as Malik-makbuza, Government ryot, or tenant (see Instruction VI below) will be entered in the form. If a landholder resides in one village, and his name is recorded in the Patwari's papers of another village his name will be entered in the Form of the village of which he is a resident. A member of a joint family whose name is not recorded in the Patwari's papers will be omitted although he may have a share in the joint family property.

III.—Only Landholders paying either a total of Rs. 10 or over as Malguzar (see Instruction IV below) or a total of Rs. 10 or over as Malik-makbuza, Government ryot or tenant (see Instruction VI below) will be entered in column 1 of the Form.

IV.—Under the term Malguzar should be included Zamindar, Jagirdar, Izaradar, Inferior Proprietor, Village Thekadar, whether ordinary or protected, and their recorded co-sharers. If any of these pays less than the Kamil-jama by reason of his tenure, the Kamil-jama should be recorded and not the actual assessment. The term Malguzar does not include a mortgagee of proprietary rights.

V.—Recorded sharers, whose share in a village is assessed at Rs. 10 or over will be shown separately in columns 1, 2 and 3; and so much of the revenue will be entered against the name of each in column 4 as is debitable to his share in the joint property. For example:—Three brothers are recorded as joint sharers in a one-half share of a village assessed at Rs. 200. Each will be entered separately in the Form and Rs. 33-5-4 shown against each in column 4.

VI.—The term Tenant does not include sub-tenant. In the case of Malik-makbuzas, Government ryots and tenants only actual payments need be taken into account. For instance holders of muafi plots will be disregarded, though under Instruction IV holders of muafi villages will be regarded as paying Kamil-jama.

VII.—Similarly recorded sharers whose share in a holding is assessed at Rs. 10 or over will be entered separately in columns 1, 2 and 3, and so much of the assessment will be entered against the name of each in column 5 as is debitable to his share in the joint property. For example:—If two brothers both of major age are recorded in the Patwari's papers as joint holders of a holding on Rs. 50 rent, each will be shown in column 5 as paying Rs. 25. If one of them is a minor his name will appear in columns 1 and 2 only, and no entry will be made in columns 3 to 5 against his name. If three persons are recorded in the Patwari's papers as the joint holders of a holding on Rs. 27 rent, the payment of each will only be Rs. 9 and therefore none of them will be entered in the Form.

VIII.—If a Landholder entered in column 1 of the Form is less than 21 years of age or is a female, he or she will be shown in columns 1 and 2 only. Columns 3 to 5 will be left blank.

IX.—If the total payment in either column 4 or column 5 is known to be over Rs. 100 exact figures need not be given for that column. It will suffice to enter "More than Rs. 100."

X.—If a Landholder pays Rs. 10 or over as Malguzar and also Rs. 10 or over as Malik-makbuza, Government ryot or tenant, both payments must not be shown. Only the larger payment will be entered either in column 4 or column 5, as the case may be. For example, a Landholder pays Rs. 80 as rent in his own right as a Tenant, and holds a half share jointly with his brother in a village assessed at Rs. 150. As his separate assessment as Malguzar is less than his individual payment as Tenant, he will be shown as paying Rs. 80 in column 5 only, and column 4 will be left blank. Again, a Landholder pays the same amount as Tenant as he pays as Malguzar, or pays Rs. 100 or more as Tenant and Rs. 100 or more as Malguzar, but it is not known whether his assessment as Tenant or as Malguzar is the greater. In both these cases enter his payment as Malguzar in column 4 and leave column 5 blank. *In no case should the same individual's payments be entered both in column 4 and in column 5.*

FORM A.

Register of Resident Landholders in Village _____ Tahsil _____

[To be prepared by Patwaris.]

Name and caste of resident of village, who pays either Rs. 10 or over as Malguzar or Rs. 10 or over as Malik-makbuza, Government Ryot or Tenant.	Whether female or under 21 years of age.	If Mahomedan enter "Musalmān" in this column.	Total payment in all villages as Malguzar.	Total payment in all villages as Malik-makbuza, Government Ryot or Tenant.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6

[For instructions see opposite page.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES. [Continued]

PROPOSALS.

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Continued.]PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Instructions for Form B.

- I.—This statement will be prepared for his Circle by each Patwari from Register A.
- II.—The terms Malguzar and Tenant have the same meaning as in Form A.
- III.—Against each village, enter—
 - (1) the classification of *all* Landholders (including Mahomedans) distributing them between columns 2 & 3 according to their payments shown in column 4 or column 5 of Register A ;
 - (2) below these figures in red ink, the corresponding classification of *Mahomedan* Landholders only.

FORM B.

Classified Statement of Landholders in Patwari Circle No. Tahsil.

[To be prepared by Patwaris.]

VILLAGE.	NUMBER OF MALGUZARS (COLUMN 4 OF REGISTER A) WHO PAY							NUMBER OF MALIK-MARKUZAS, GOVERNMENT RYOTS OR TENANTS (COLUMN 5 OF FORM A) WHO PAY							REMARKS.
	Rs. 10 to Rs. 19-15-11.	Rs. 20 to Rs. 29-15-11.	Rs. 30 to Rs. 39-15-11.	Rs. 40 to Rs. 49-15-11.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 74-15-11.	Rs. 75 to Rs. 99-15-11.	Rs. 100 or more.	Rs. 10 to Rs. 19-15-11.	Rs. 20 to Rs. 29-15-11.	Rs. 30 to Rs. 39-15-11.	Rs. 40 to Rs. 49-15-11.	Rs. 50 to Rs. 74-15-11.	Rs. 75 to Rs. 99-15-11.	Rs. 100 or more.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
GRAND TOTAL :															
TOTAL MAHOMEDANS															

[For instructions see opposite page.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

PROPOSALS.

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Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Conspectus of Statistics in Statements II and III for Urban

District.	Municipality and Cantonment.	Page of Statements.	TOTAL POPULATION.	MALE POPULATION.			
				Muslims.	Hindus.	Others.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Jubbulpore	Jubbulpore	2-3	100,651	12,827	87,334	5,874	56,035
	Murwa	2-3	15,515	1,125	6,003	325	8,173
	Sihora	2-3	5,432	408	2,120	88	2,620
Damoh	Damoh	6-7	17,042	1,452	6,008	674	8,732
Saugor	Saugor	10-11	45,908	5,054	17,677	1,509	24,330
	Khural	10-11	8,948	860	2,472	305	3,437
	Doori	10-11	5,739	328	2,302	302	2,932
Seoni	Seoni	14-15	18,839	1,685	4,475	680	6,740
Mandsla	Mandsla	18-19	2,379	564	2,833	243	4,640
TOTAL JUBBULPORA DIVISION			220,670	24,061	83,478	10,050	117,589
Rajpur	Rajpur	22-23	35,335	2,982	14,421	655	18,058
	Dhamarti	22-23	10,480	354	4,169	657	5,170
Bilaspur	Bilaspur	26-27	19,860	1,410	8,106	467	9,983
Drug	Drug	30-31	7,048	414	3,007	108	3,529
TOTAL CHHATTISGARH DIVISION			72,698	5,140	29,692	1,947	36,780
Hoshangabad	Hoshangabad	34-35	5,508	777	2,153	63	2,998
	Hards	34-35	8,341	1,072	2,880	341	4,308
	Seoni-Mulwa	34-35	6,682	558	2,663	176	3,298
	Fachmarhi	34-35	8,822	529	1,490	143	2,162
Nimar	Khandwa	38-39	21,904	3,587	7,319	605	11,511
	Burhanpur	38-39	22,777	3,454	6,119	51	11,624
Narsinghpur	Narsinghpur	42-43	10,630	1,040	5,815	552	5,497
	Chhindwara	42-43	3,404	139	1,397	181	1,687
	Gadarwara	42-43	4,715	289	1,970	111	2,550
Chhindwara	Chhindwara	46-47	12,872	1,338	4,573	502	5,508
	Sausar	46-47	5,442	185	2,443	101	2,729
	Fandhura	46-47	7,058	358	3,108	61	3,527
Betul	Betul	50-51	7,454	785	2,761	323	3,869
TOTAL NARAYUDA DIVISION			120,190	10,051	42,661	3,299	62,011
Nagpur	Nagpur	54-55	101,415	7,854	42,187	3,655	52,696
	Kamptee	54-55	17,155	2,533	5,430	1,385	9,348
	Ramtek	54-55	9,806	811	4,408	121	4,940
	Sooner	54-55	6,636	236	3,154	45	3,425
	Khaps	54-55	8,238	301	3,614	25	4,140
	Kalmeshwar	54-55	5,575	151	2,977	40	3,208
	Mowad	54-55	4,719	137	2,109	11	2,307
	Unrez	54-55	17,630	462	3,122	16	4,600
Wardha	Wardha	58-59	10,541	720	4,803	396	5,719
	Deoli	58-59	5,575	195	2,560	53	2,808
	Pulgaon	58-59	5,495	341	2,411	118	2,870
	Hinganghat	58-59	14,943	1,011	6,280	399	7,690
	Arvi	58-59	11,902	677	6,326	221	6,154
Chanda	Chanda	62-63	10,866	719	3,955	408	10,077
	Wargoa	62-63	5,174	544	2,430	222	3,196
Bhandara	Bhandara	66-67	7,414	432	3,268	87	3,787
	Pasni	66-67	10,222	522	4,510	5	5,037
	Tumkur	66-67	4,373	123	3,933	17	2,123
Balaghat	Balaghat	70-71	7,460	455	2,949	261	3,665
TOTAL NAGPUR DIVISION			275,050	17,794	117,056	7,480	142,230
TOTAL FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINCES			688,908	63,046	272,888	22,770	358,710
Amroli	Amroli	74-75	40,610	4,347	16,540	594	21,481
	Bilichpur	74-75	13,909	2,373	4,533	101	7,027
Akola	Akola	78-79	25,828	3,205	10,235	416	14,006
	Akot	78-79	12,533	1,423	5,014	86	6,523
	Murtisapur	78-79	5,101	860	1,965	143	2,968
	Karanja	78-79	12,647	1,653	4,166	437	6,256
	Basim	78-79	9,088	1,026	3,674	163	4,867
Buldana	Buldana	82-83	3,820	408	1,553	74	2,037
	Malsapur	82-83	12,391	2,274	3,998	191	6,463
	Khamgaon	82-83	10,123	1,293	4,066	132	5,545
	Shegaon	82-83	11,922	923	5,297	70	6,290
Yectmal	Yectmal	86-87	13,525	967	6,007	275	7,249
TOTAL BERRAR DIVISION			171,566	21,154	66,820	2,733	90,737
TOTAL FOR CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERRAR			860,168	84,200	339,708	25,503	449,447

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

areas in the Central Provinces and Berar.

Literate male adults.	AGRICULTURISTS.						NON-AGRICULTURISTS.							
	PAYING AS MALGUEARS.			PAYING AS TENANT OR PLOT-HOLDERS.			WITH ANNUAL INCOME OF				PAYING ANNUAL HOUSE-RENT OF			
	Rs. 10 or more.	Rs. 50 or more.	Rs. 100 or more.	Rs. 10 or more.	Rs. 50 or more.	Rs. 100 or more.	Rs. 250 or more.	Rs. 500 or more.	Rs. 750 or more.	Rs. 1,000 or more.	Rs. 12 or more.	Rs. 24 or more.	Rs. 48 or more.	Rs. 72 or more.
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
12,882	278	229	199	373	102	39	1,178	886	702	274	7,036	4,180	2,424	1,014
Not given.	38	27	19	97	5	1	1,747	539	330	248	1,295	610	238	173
..	16	14	13	166	28	8	132	105	78	46	170	142	65	21
..	77	71	64	142	18	7	857	449	324	101	1,673	843	335	171
4,410	115	112	105	455	169	72	506	275	181	166	1,815	1,091	517	288
Not given.	28	22	17	104	24	7	219	109	78	27	402	197	102	60
..	39	35	24	166	26	8	256	121	62	8	646	225	109	67
..	57	51	44	141	24	5	290	156	109	97	1,501	864	382	198
..	60	49	46	141	16	2	356	179	115	86	1,122	591	105	80
..	708	610	581	1,775	412	140	5,601	2,819	1,969	1,008	15,669	8,683	4,367	2,602
3,709	198	179	169	37	8	..	548	488	360	137	4,920	2,489	1,115	646
Not given.	105	102	84	84	8	..	257	151	115	26	56	41	29	19
1,839	90	73	61	61	2	..	740	270	189	82	653	413	224	109
Not given.	28	20	12	49	1	..	470	171	88	54	1,725	1,066	373	208
..	415	374	327	231	16	..	2,015	1,080	677	299	7,363	4,098	1,781	982
..	36	30	25	90	31	12	292	185	188	58	1,307	958	441	216
..	45	42	39	158	75	37	648	292	157	26	976	594	331	200
..	15	15	15	150	63	19	181	75	61	23	678	311	128	37
..	..	..	..	27	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2,602	64	57	44	248	32	8	1,124	624	435	166	2,850	1,874	962	508
1,631	33	29	20	700	199	73	912	472	335	157	5,129	3,406	1,898	1,022
Not given.	40	42	38	198	73	25	177	73	39	33	758	436	120	58
..	21	15	12	105	44	17	92	40	27	21	195	127	54	12
..	20	18	17	137	32	13	147	74	42	27	717	396	130	87
..	187	16	5	88	58	42	320	132	64	58	1,776	869	350	180
..	5	5	5	226	29	6	234	98	45	12	142	94	44	30
..	47	30	24	405	39	4	70	37	28	12	899	136	19	14
..	48	33	30	121	18	6	361	138	81	86	423	420	170	89
..	620	372	310	2,648	685	261	4,408	2,218	1,440	719	15,890	9,668	3,676	1,917
9,068	253	245	230	595	279	109	4,600	2,472	1,740	449	8,586	5,843	3,408	2,275
Not given.	12	12	12	63	32	14	399	266	102	78	2,370	1,094	374	149
..	29	27	25	294	31	8	119	46	24	21	1,171	665	233	120
..	14	8	8	371	47	16	173	80	54	19	571	392	40	24
..	4	3	3	140	21	5	235	74	42	37	325	172	84	15
..	16	12	12	221	68	12	117	50	30	13	818	117	31	4
..	13	9	8	241	38	13	79	44	26	10	831	113	9	3
..	61	49	38	388	65	12	149	80	55	33	28	9	1	..
..	63	42	34	165	22	7	375	347	225	61	2,406	1,643	888	543
..	11	9	7	300	38	15	170	84	38	16	472	233	54	3
..	2	1	1	32	6	1	199	130	102	26	972	533	244	147
..	48	42	40	202	47	16	347	179	96	77	2,664	1,168	515	326
..	36	31	26	396	66	17	180	89	57	33	1,374	973	411	244
1,802	69	41	33	353	31	7	386	140	86	85	2,308	1,012	282	147
Not given.	34	24	13	103	21	6	108	67	58	51	34	17	3	2
..	63	54	44	161	26	8	485	251	163	28	1,159	1,141	368	194
..	34	33	32	132	31	12	114	48	37	11	646	193	64	28
..	10	10	8	184	25	8	128	80	60	24	..	..	..	..
..	21	14	12	68	6	1	457	237	169	69	420	127	71	43
..	792	676	607	4,368	833	285	9,383	4,764	3,074	1,162	26,066	15,447	11,901	4,259
..	2,535	2,032	1,775	9,020	1,906	686	21,407	10,879	7,166	3,175	59,452	37,697	17,013	9,820
4,470	..	..	..	488	199	112	..	..	..	377	4,924	3,576	2,099	1,538
628	..	..	..	706	251	126	..	..	..	117	2,531	1,441	508	239
2,885	..	..	..	845	163	87	..	..	..	238	2,628	1,633	1,241	906
Not given.	..	..	..	882	152	86	..	..	..	110	1,293	639	236	146
..	..	..	..	157	96	62	..	..	..	61	975	633	377	244
..	..	..	..	273	91	44	..	..	..	80	839	462	265	171
..	..	..	..	341	77	29	..	..	..	69	882	460	218	118
..	..	..	..	71	25	9	..	..	..	35	329	218	135	93
..	..	..	..	304	24	41	..	..	..	65	1,523	865	411	286
..	..	..	..	229	71	44	..	..	..	167	2,232	1,294	658	430
..	..	..	..	560	113	44	..	..	..	48	1,076	427	190	131
..	5	4	4	164	44	19	..	..	..	127	828	652	478	364
..	8	8	7	4,265	1,363	738	..	..	..	1,544	20,494	12,823	6,814	4,607
..	2,544	2,040	1,782	13,285	3,359	1,389	21,407	10,879	7,166	4,719	79,856	50,630	23,827	14,427

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

APPEN

Conspectus of Statistics in Statements II and III

District.	Page of statement.	TOTAL POPULATION.	MALE POPULATION.						MALE ADULT				
			Hindus.	Musalmans.	Animists.	Christians.	Other creeds.	TOTAL.	PAYING AS MALGUEAR.				
									* Male literate adults.	Rs. 10 or more.	Rs. 20 or more.	Rs. 30 or more.	Rs. 40 or more.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Jubbulpore	2-3	623,997	252,361	7,609	43,911	93	2,281	306,345	18,082	2,715	2,311	1,074	1,706
Damoh	6-7	316,005	146,267	4,228	5,449	23	3,861	159,828	10,418	2,124	1,699	1,356	1,123
Saugor	10-11	482,895	217,915	7,590	12,077	440	7,553	245,584	10,838	3,169	2,480	2,040	1,744
Seoni	14-15	381,042	101,276	6,968	76,989	41	618	185,902	6,786	1,588	1,438	1,278	1,125
Mandla	18-19	395,855	74,163	2,765	118,517	425	872	196,232	5,524	880	684	520	418
TOTAL JUBBULPORE DIVISION		2,300,394	791,972	29,280	256,923	1,031	14,185	1,093,391	51,598	10,471	8,592	7,163	6,116
Balpur	22-23	1,279,061	530,798	5,077	84,604	1,167	332	621,978	14,815	4,101	3,622	3,225	2,805
Bilaspur	26-27	1,126,373	516,613	5,639	25,414	589	234	548,494	18,462	5,238	4,325	3,519	3,021
Drug	30-31	768,640	321,321	3,064	44,084	654	447	369,570	10,278	4,209	3,566	3,066	2,706
TOTAL CHHATTISGARH DIVISION		3,174,074	1,368,737	13,780	154,102	2,410	1,013	1,540,042	38,555	12,548	11,413	9,810	8,622
Hoshangabad	34-35	488,161	184,569	7,704	24,103	572	810	217,778	18,099	1,350	1,282	1,202	1,166
Nimar	38-39	848,690	160,673	11,068	8,429	1,047	813	177,630	11,548	1,949	1,649	1,446	1,251
Narsingpur	42-43	306,823	131,470	4,440	15,572	78	791	162,351	10,851	1,491	1,368	1,227	1,127
Chhindwara	46-47	491,576	144,174	6,598	91,262	176	835	243,145	9,151	2,699	2,124	1,707	1,403
Betul	50-51	382,932	127,066	3,589	58,742	232	695	190,324	7,490	978	837	713	637
TOTAL NER-BUDDA DIVISION		1,961,227	747,972	33,390	193,208	2,705	3,944	981,228	57,049	8,367	7,254	6,295	5,584
Nagpur	54-55	638,732	293,254	7,992	17,025	274	1,074	319,619	17,986	2,103	1,911	1,728	1,754
Wardha	58-59	411,369	176,493	6,387	22,960	15	795	206,650	15,183	2,167	1,800	1,567	1,390
Chanda	62-63	651,504	269,080	4,942	60,876	162	207	324,297	10,048	1,531	1,211	986	819
Bhandara	66-67	751,663	327,574	6,857	34,625	204	307	360,067	15,855	2,426	1,983	1,703	1,484
Balaghat	70-71	381,520	142,670	3,411	40,405	156	262	186,804	7,327	1,799	1,628	1,475	1,333
TOTAL NAGPUR DIVISION		2,334,788	1,197,971	29,089	175,891	811	2,645	1,406,407	65,899	10,026	8,542	7,459	6,600
TOTAL FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINCES		10,170,543	4,106,652	105,548	780,124	6,957	21,787	5,021,068	213,101	48,412	35,801	30,727	26,922
Amraoti	74-75	821,385	356,250	31,176	323	640	2,530	418,708	27,551	77	74	57	64
Akola	78-79	723,638	335,840	27,776	28,103	118	2,106	366,258	22,037	87	80	74	67
Buldana	82-83	630,836	291,077	23,634	201	59	1,973	316,844	19,974	24	24	21	21
Yeotmal	86-87	709,638	302,400	19,813	84,008	96	1,670	353,077	14,208	358	345	333	316
TOTAL BHERAR DIVISION		2,885,597	1,283,576	102,299	62,730	913	8,369	1,459,897	84,068	546	523	495	468
TOTAL FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BHERAR		13,056,140	5,392,228	207,847	842,854	7,870	30,156	6,480,955	297,169	49,958	36,324	31,222	27,390
AVERAGE FOR 22 DISTRICTS		593,461	245,101	9,448	38,311	358	1,371	294,589	13,508	1,953	1,651	1,419	1,245

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

DIX IV.

for Rural areas of Central Provinces and Berar.

AGRICULTURISTS.									MALE ADULT NON-AGRICULTURISTS.			DISTRIBUTION OF MALE HINDUS IN RURAL AND TRILAY AREAS COMBINED.		
PAYING AS TENANT OR PLOT-HOLDER.									HAVING AN ANNUAL INCOME OF			Brahmins.	Impure castes.	Others.
Ra. 50 or more.	Ra. 75 or more.	Ra. 100 or more.	Ra. 10 or more.	Ra. 20 or more.	Ra. 30 or more.	Ra. 40 or more.	Ra. 50 or more.	Ra. 75 or more.	Ra. 100 or more.	Ra. 250 or more.	Ra. 1,000 or more.				27	28	29
1,536	1,210	989	27,582	18,848	8,137	5,476	8,879	1,937	1,130	691	205	32,069	49,168	216,317
961	660	543	18,706	7,576	4,608	2,693	1,908	809	435	334	205	15,527	84,848	102,000
1,864	1,183	948	26,443	14,551	8,448	5,290	3,433	1,464	701	1,652	293	22,167	53,783	164,386
1,043	806	632	18,838	7,773	4,008	2,374	1,460	554	251	601	180	4,210	23,973	77,568
887	248	105	11,679	3,595	1,439	672	323	87	24	...	153	4,506	23,627	42,793
5,400	4,136	3,302	97,738	47,343	26,700	16,780	11,111	4,941	2,544	3,808	1,054	79,399	184,894	611,097
2,590	2,023	1,618	30,376	8,687	3,268	1,471	725	107	36	1,323	556	11,762	164,616	872,070
2,579	1,901	1,499	17,711	8,976	1,261	634	252	63	13	1,636	592	15,711	174,275	834,738
2,343	1,762	1,383	25,975	8,195	3,284	1,539	783	180	69	812	257	6,815	89,008	223,415
7,512	5,676	4,500	74,064	20,958	7,818	3,544	1,760	410	118	3,771	1,488	34,018	428,283	836,129
1,073	903	824	22,611	14,658	9,820	6,064	5,145	2,646	1,610	1,829	277	17,001	39,061	137,633
1,126	869	685	20,657	9,613	5,093	3,085	1,946	722	368	799	316	8,911	24,407	140,793
1,049	880	730	17,946	10,658	6,902	4,738	3,289	1,739	966	852	153	11,860	25,817	160,915
1,221	889	687	15,925	5,501	2,570	1,437	873	315	140	2,444	272	4,789	82,752	116,757
874	440	377	11,156	3,759	1,745	922	560	185	72	667	210	2,725	26,764	101,328
5,042	3,905	3,308	88,195	44,180	26,136	17,091	11,903	6,807	3,155	6,091	1,236	45,378	147,601	597,456
1,459	1,241	1,091	35,223	20,007	12,049	7,697	5,216	2,273	1,210	1,722	316	11,612	67,088	266,425
1,264	1,025	865	20,698	11,231	6,589	4,191	2,830	1,210	611	1,704	382	6,339	48,200	147,384
694	511	423	14,897	4,414	1,785	780	464	106	45	861	284	3,458	53,305	212,702
1,295	953	762	20,040	7,765	3,450	1,828	1,074	364	149	916	460	3,724	79,641	255,070
1,204	924	787	19,415	7,450	3,507	1,846	1,042	294	117	556	200	1,744	25,827	117,948
5,906	4,654	3,930	111,175	50,933	27,360	16,842	10,666	4,247	2,130	5,562	1,632	27,377	289,121	998,520
23,860	18,461	15,935	371,167	168,323	88,009	56,757	35,340	15,205	7,947	19,229	5,399	185,170	1,050,099	3,148,211
80	55	30	34,416	21,751	15,472	11,060	9,234	5,830	4,070	...	1,887	13,915	84,994	278,443
67	62	50	37,587	23,431	15,979	11,166	8,306	4,765	3,096	...	1,352	12,635	85,448	262,561
21	15	10	35,850	19,839	12,550	7,623	5,662	2,975	1,894	...	1,303	10,916	58,851	236,226
306	200	271	18,318	9,205	5,415	3,653	2,562	1,331	854	...	1,241	6,726	62,710	248,071
454	412	370	135,671	74,226	40,116	24,302	25,713	14,901	9,914	...	5,783	44,992	282,163	1,026,201
24,314	18,873	15,405	496,738	237,549	137,125	91,059	61,053	30,106	17,361	10,239	11,148	230,262	1,332,202	4,169,412
1,103	838	700	22,579	10,795	6,232	4,139	2,775	1,368	812	874	506	10,466	60,555	169,519

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

APPENDIX V.

Statement showing the average area in acres on which the minimum rental qualifying for the proposed Franchise is paid.

DISTRICT.	Minimum proposed for cultivator's franchise.	Incidence of tenant's rent per acre.	Average area.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5
	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Acres.	
Jubbulpore	50	1 5 4	37½	
Damoh	50	1 2 3	44	
Saugor	50	1 6 0	36	
Seoni	40	0 10 8	60	
Mandla		No franchise proposed.		
Raipur	30	0 12 5	39	
Bilaspur	30	0 12 9	38	
Drug	30	0 12 9	38	
Hoshangabad	50	1 4 11	38	
Nimar	40	0 13 6	47	
Narsinghpur	50	1 12 5	28	
Chhindwara	40	0 12 5	52	
Betul	30	0 6 10	70	
Nagpur	50	1 6 10	35	
Wardha	50	1 4 3	40	
Chanda	30	0 11 2	43	
Bhandara	40	1 0 0	40	
Balaghat	40	1 2 8	34	
Amraoti	50	1 6 2	36	
Akola	50	1 3 4	42	
Buldana	50	1 0 9	48	
Yeotmal	40	0 10 0	64	

APPENDIX VI.

URBAN AND RURAL CONSTITUENCIES.

Summary of Proposals.

DIVISION.	Constituency.	Population.	Proposed electorate.	Percentage of column 4 on column 3.	Number of members.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Jubbulpore (Population 2,025,309)	General Urban	101,980	2,185	2.1	1
	Jubbulpore Urban	100,651	2,725	2.7	1
	Jubbulpore Rural 1	258,673	2,865	1.1	1
	Jubbulpore Rural 2	370,759	2,289	.6	1
	Damoh Rural	316,005	2,745	.8	1
	Saugor Rural (Plural)	495,502	4,815	.9	2
	Seoni Rural	381,642	3,195	.8	1
Chhattisgarh (Population 2,245,703)	General Urban	72,693	2,157	2.9	1
	Raipur Rural 1	503,706	2,617	.5	1
	Raipur Rural 2	313,846	2,343	.7	1
	Bilaspur Rural	774,067	2,917	.3	1
	Drug Rural	581,301	4,616	.7	1
Nerbudda (Population 2,011,391)	General Urban	108,122	4,499	4.1	1
	Hoshangabad Rural 1	257,110	2,327	1.0	1
	Hoshangabad Rural 2	179,873	3,425	1.9	1
	Nimar Rural	346,690	4,095	1.1	1
	Narsinghpur Rural 1	142,852	2,482	1.0	1
	Narsinghpur Rural 2	167,480	1,867	1.1	1
	Chhindwara Rural	426,332	2,530	.5	1
Betul Rural	382,932	2,341	.6	1	
Nagpur (Population 3,033,319)	General Urban	101,717	3,494	3.4	1
	Nagpur and Kamptee Urban (Plural)	158,000	4,345	2.7	2
	Nagpur Rural (Plural)	673,701	6,979	1.0	3
	Wardha Rural (Plural)	422,410	4,170	.9	2
	Chanda Rural	535,555	2,279	.4	1
	Bhandara Rural (Plural)	760,416	3,059	.4	2
Balaghat Rural	381,520	2,833	.7	1	
Berar (Population 3,012, 987)	General Urban 1	78,570	3,603	4.5	1
	General Urban 2	104,878	4,800	4.3	1
	Amraoti Rural (Plural)	765,327	11,072	1.4	3
	Akola Rural	235,129	3,651	1.1	1
	Akola Rural 2	436,841	3,531	1.4	1
	Akola Rural 3	251,668	2,625	1.0	1
	Buldana Rural 1	362,663	3,679	1.0	1
	Buldana Rural 2	266,023	3,106	1.1	1
	Yavatmal Rural 1	376,233	2,487	.6	1
Yavatmal Rural 2	333,455	2,678	.8	1	
TOTAL FOR 37 CONSTITUENCIES		12,328,609	127,696	1.0	45
TOTAL FOR EXCLUDED AREAS		1,646,670	..	..	2
GRAND TOTAL FOR CENTRAL PROVINCES DISTRICTS AND BERAR		13,975,279	..	..	47

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

URBAN CONSTITUENCIES.

City or Town.	Total population.	Male population.	Income-tax payers.	Landlords paying Rs. 100 or more land revenue.	Tenants and ryots assessed to rent or revenue which qualifies for rural vote.	Persons occupying houses of a rental of Rs. 48 or more per annum.	Total of columns 5, 6 and 7.	No. of members.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Jubbulpore	100,651	56,035	274	109	102	2,424	2,725	1	Jubbulpore Division.
Murwara, Damoh, Saugor, Seoni, and Mandla.	101,980	52,615	648	278	240	1,667	2,185	1	
Raipur, Dhamtari, Bilaspur, and Drug.	72,693	36,780	299	327	49	1,781	2,157	1	Chhattisgarh Division.
Hoshangabad, Harda, Seoni-Malwa, Khandwa, Burhanpur, Narsinghpur, Gadara-wara, Chhindwara and Betul.	108,122	55,858	671	269	676	3,554	4,499	1	Nerbudda Division.
Nagpur and Kamptee	158,000	82,488	527	251	311	3,783	4,345	2	Nagpur Division.
Umrer, Wardha, Hinganghat, Arvi, Chanda, Warora, Bhandara, Gondia and Balaghat.	101,717	51,983	675	591	364	2,539	3,494	1	
Amraoti, Ellichpur and Yeotmal.	78,570	41,100	621	7	511	3,085	3,603	1	Berar Division.
Akola, Akot, Murtizapur, Karanja, Basim, Buidana, Malkapur, Khamgaon and Shegaon.	104,878	55,551	923	..	869	3,731	4,600	1	
TOTAL FOR URBAN AREAS.	826,611	432,410	4,638	1,922	3,132	22,564	27,608	NINE MEMBERS.	

Alternative Scheme.

Jubbulpore	100,651	56,035	274	199	102	2,424	2,725	1
Saugor	45,908	24,330	166	105	169	517	791	1
Raipur	35,335	18,038	137	169	5	1,155	1,329	1
Khandwa and Burhanpur.	52,039	27,067	353	100	231	1,660	2,191	1
Nagpur and Kamptee	158,000	82,488	527	251	311	3,783	4,345	2
Amraoti	40,610	21,481	377	..	199	2,099	2,298	1
Akola	27,183	14,587	238	..	163	1,241	1,404	1
TOTAL FOR URBAN AREAS.	459,726	244,026	2,072	624	1,180	13,079	15,083	EIGHT MEMBERS.

* NOTE.—The population figures for Nagpur, Akola, Burhanpur, Ellichpur and Kamptee are those of the re-census submitted to the ordinary census of 1911.

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

RURAL CONSTITUENCIES.

Jubbulpore Division.

District.	Area.	Total population.	Land-lords paying Rs. 100 or more land revenue.	Tenants and ryots assessed to Rs. 50 or more rent or revenue.	Income-tax payers.	Total of columns 4, 5 and 6.	Total elector. rate for constituency.	Proposed constituencies.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Jubbulpore	Jubbulpore Tahsil	161,206	161	832	40	1,033	2,865	This district can conveniently provide two constituencies, and <i>Two members</i> are proposed; one for the Jubbulpore and Patan Tahsil, the second for the other two-tahals.
	Patan Tahsil	97,467	257	1,526	49	1,832		
	Murwarah Tahsil	165,887	225	325	46	596		
	Sihora Tahsil	199,437	346	1,190	70	1,606		
	Sihora Municipality	5,432	13	28	46	87		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	629,429	1,002	3,901	251	5,154	2,289	
Damoh	Damoh Tahsil	193,856	290	1,134	166	1,590	2,745	A small district. <i>One member</i> is proposed.
	Hatta Tahsil	122,149	253	859	43	1,155		
		DISTRICT TOTAL	316,005	543	1,993	209			2,745
Saugor	Saugor Tahsil	144,782	380	1,451	100	1,931	4,815	It is impossible to arrange compact constituencies in this district. A <i>plural</i> constituency is therefore recommended with <i>Two members</i> .
	Khurai Tahsil	104,202	160	536	63	759		
	Khurai Municipality	6,868	17	24	27	68		
	Rehli Tahsil	162,076	290	1,225	72	1,587		
	Deori Municipality	5,739	24	26	8	58		
	Banda Tahsil	81,835	113	241	58	412		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	495,502	984	3,503	328	4,815		
Seoni	Seoni Tahsil	210,966	401	1,604*	75	2,170	3,195	A small district. <i>One member</i> will be suitable. It is suggested that a payment of Rs. 40 should qualify a tenant or ryot for a vote.
	Lakhnadon Tahsil	170,676	231	680*	114	1,025		
		DISTRICT TOTAL	381,642	632	2,374	189			3,195
DIVISIONAL TOTAL		51,822,578	3,161	11,771	977	15,909		SIX MEMBERS.

* Paying Rs. 40 or more.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

RURAL CONSTITUENCIES—continued.

Chhattisgarh Division.

District.	Area.	Total population.	Land-lords paying Rs. 100 or more land revenue.	Tenants and ryots assessed to Rs. 50 or more rent or revenue.	Income-tax payers.	Total of columns 4, 5 and 6.	Total electorate for constituency.	Proposed constituencies.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Raipur	Raipur Tahsil	217,440	354	893	76	1,313	2,617	This district can conveniently provide two constituencies. The Zamindari areas which are extensive in the Mahesamund Tahsil are excluded. As assessments are low, a payment of Rs. 30 by a tenant or ryot should qualify for the vote. Two members are proposed—one for the Raipur and Baloda Bazar Tahsils, the second for the other two tahsils.
	Baloda Bazar Tahsil	286,266	370	800	134	1,304		
	Dhamtari Tahsil	210,912	217	865	79	1,161		
	Mahasa mund Tahsil	102,934	587	351	244	1,182		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	817,552	1,528	2,899	533	4,960	2,343	
Bilaspur	Bilaspur Tahsil	252,043	438	413	155	1,006	2,917	As in Raipur, Zamindari areas are excluded and a payment of Rs. 30 by a tenant or ryot is taken to qualify for a vote. The district is large but backward. One member will suffice.
	Janjgir Tahsil	376,829	452	183	261	896		
	Mungeli Tahsil	145,195	470	415	130	1,015		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	774,067	1,360	1,011	546	2,917		
Drug	Drug Tahsil	213,675	505	1,222	72	1,709	4,616	Here also Zamindari areas are excluded and a payment of Rs. 30 by a tenant or ryot will qualify him for a vote. One member is proposed.
	Sanjari Balod Tahsil	158,961	313	514	59	886		
	Bemetara Tahsil	208,755	565	1,210	156	1,931		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	581,391	1,383	2,946	287	4,616		
DIVISIONAL TOTAL		2,173,010	4,271	6,856	1,366	12,493	FOUR MEMBERS.	

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

[Continued.]

RURAL CONSTITUENCIES—continued.

Nerbudda Division.

District.	Area.	Total population.	Land-lords paying Rs. 100 or more land revenue.	Tenants and ryots assessed to Rs. 50 or more rent or revenue.	Income-tax payers.	Total of columns 4, 5 and 6.	Total electorates for constituency.	Proposed constituencies.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Hoshangabad	Hoshangabad Tahsil.	122,663.	240	1,072	43	1,355	2,827	This district can be conveniently divided. Two members are proposed, one for the Hoshangabad and Sehagpur tahsils and the second for the other two tahsils.
	Sehagpur Tahsil.	130,625	264	1,081	121	1,466		
	Pachmarhi Municipality and Cantonment.	3,822		3	3	6		
	Harda Tahsil.	121,574	191	2,182	75	2,448		
	Seoni-Malwa Tahsil.	58,299	129	810	38	977	3,425	
	DISTRICT TOTAL	436,985	824	5,148	280	6,252		
Nimar	Khandwa Tahsil.	183,744	462	1,499*	196	2,157	4,035	A good district, but one member will suffice. A payment of Rs. 40 will qualify a tenant or ryot for the vote.
	Burhanpur Tahsil.	84,946	170	815*	87	1,072		
	Harsaud Tahsil.	78,000	53	721*	32	806		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	346,690	685	3,035	315	4,035		
Narsinghpur	Narsinghpur Tahsil.	139,448	370	1,978	57	2,405	2,482	A small district, but the electorate is substantial and two constituencies can be conveniently formed. Two members are proposed—one for each tahsil.
	Chhota Chhindwara Municipality.	3,404	12	44	21	77		
	Gadarwara Tahsil.	167,480	369	1,411	96	1,867		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	310,332	742	3,433	174	4,349		
Chhindwara	Chhindwara Tahsil.	274,845	277	322*	97	696	2,530	A backward district. The Zamindari area will be excluded and a payment of Rs. 40 will qualify a tenant or ryot for the vote. One member is proposed.
	Sausar Tahsil.	138,937	143	686*	96	925		
	Sausar Municipality.	5,442	6	50*	12	67		
	Pandhurna Municipality.	7,058	24	66*	12	102		
	Amarwara Tahsil.		267	394*	79	740		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	426,332	716	1,518	296	2,530		
Betul	Betul Tahsil.	143,039	145	815†	60	1,020	2,341	A small backward district. One member will suffice. A payment of Rs. 30 will qualify a tenant or ryot for the vote.
	Muitai Tahsil.	154,525	157	705†	118	980		
	Bhainsdohi Tahsil.	85,368	75	225†	41	341		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	382,932	377	1,745	219	2,341		
	DIVISIONAL TOTAL	1,903,269	3,344	14,879	1,284	19,507		SEVEN MEMBERS.

* Paying Rs. 40 or more.
† Paying Rs. 50 or more.

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

RURAL CONSTITUENCIES—continued.

Nagpur Division.

District.	Area.	Total population.	Land-lords paying Rs. 100 or more land revenue.	Tenants and ryots assessed to Rs. 50 or more rent or revenue.	Income-tax payers.	Total of columns 4, 5 and 6.	Total electorate for constituency.	Proposed constituencies.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nagpur	Nagpur Tahsil	130,985	143	1,159	40	1,342	6,979	It is impossible to arrange compact constituencies in this district. A plural constituency is therefore recommended with <i>Three members</i> .
	Ramtek Tahsil	135,341	146	1,125	63	1,334		
	Ramtek Municipality.	9,806	25	31	21	77		
	Saoner Tahsil	107,132	293	918	92	1,303		
	Saoner Municipality.	6,036	8	47	16	71		
	Khapra Municipality.	8,233	3	21	37	61		
	Kalmeshwar Municipality.	5,575	12	63	18	93		
	Katol Tahsil	137,994	346	811	81	1,238		
Mowad Municipality.	4,719	8	36	10	54			
Umrer Tahsil	127,300	163	1,203	40	1,406			
DISTRICT TOTAL		673,701	1,147	5,414	418	6,979		
Wardha	Wardha Tahsil	155,952	410	1,189	175	1,774	4,170	Compact constituencies impossible. A plural constituency is therefore recommended with <i>Two members</i> .
	Deoli Municipality	5,575	7	38	16	61		
	Pulgaon Municipality.	5,466	1	6	25	32		
	Hingshat Tahsil	101,147	169	852	79	1,100		
	Arvi Tahsil	154,270	286	789	128	1,203		
DISTRICT TOTAL		422,410	873	2,874	423	4,170		
Chanda	Chanda Tahsil	134,660	68	288*	45	401	2,279	A backward district. The Zamindari areas are recommended for exclusion from the electoral scheme. A franchise is proposed for tenants and ryots paying Rs. 30 or more. <i>One member</i> proposed for the whole district.
	Bramhapuri Tahsil	150,818	118	479*	58	655		
	Garohiroli Tahsil	97,705	74	176*	49	299		
	Warora Tahsil	152,372	153	630*	132	924		
DISTRICT TOTAL		535,555	413	1,582	284	2,279		
Bhandara	Bhandara Tahsil	213,431	253	1,092†	74	1,420	3,069	A well-developed district with a large population. The electorate is small relatively to the importance of the district. Settlement is now in progress which will increase the number of Rs. 40 payers considerably. <i>Two members</i> are therefore proposed. A plural constituency is here also necessary as no convenient sub-division is possible.
	Pauni Municipality.	10,222	28	45†	11	84		
	Tumsar Municipality.	4,378	3	36†	24	63		
	Gondia Tahsil	332,430	325	425†	105	858		
	Sakoli Tahsil	199,955	179	307†	168	644		
DISTRICT TOTAL		760,416	788	1,909	372	3,069		
Balaghat	Balaghat Tahsil	276,231	267	710†	53	1,030	2,833	An average district for which <i>One member</i> will be suitable. As in Bhandara the payment of Rs. 40 by a tenant or ryot will qualify him for the vote. NINE MEMBERS.
	Baihar Tahsil	105,289	41	62†	28	131		
	Warasoni Tahsil	..	479	1,074†	119	1,672		
DISTRICT TOTAL		381,520	787	1,846	200	2,833		
DIVISIONAL TOTAL		2,773,602	4,008	13,625	1,697	19,330		

* Paying Rs. 30 or more.

† Paying Rs. 40 or more.

RURAL CONSTITUENCIES—continued.

Berar Division.

Districts.	Area.	Total population.	Lend-lords paying Rs. 100 or more land revenue.	Holders of survey numbers paying Rs. 50 or more revenue.	Income-tax payers.	Total of columns 4, 5 and 6.	Total electo-rate for constituency.	Proposed constituencies.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Amraoti	Amraoti Taluq	148,562	5	2,049	370	2,424	11,072	It is impossible to arrange compact constituencies in this large district. A plural constituency with <i>Three members</i> is proposed.
	Chandar Taluq	204,133	7	1,686	457	2,150		
	Morsi Taluq	164,144	6	1,736	333	2,075		
	Ellichpur Taluq	128,954	2	1,667	240	1,909		
	Daryapur Taluq	129,534	16	2,079	419	2,514		
	DISTRICT TOTAL	765,327	36	9,217	1,819	11,072		
Akola	Akola Taluq	130,891	9	1,883	192	2,084	3,651	Another large district. It can be conveniently subdivided. <i>Three members</i> are proposed, one for the Akola and Murtizapur taluqs, a second for Balapur and Akot taluqs, and the third for the Mangrul and Basim taluqs.
	Murtizapur Taluq	104,236	1	1,449	117	1,567		
	Balapur Taluq	111,550	6	1,167	189	1,362		
	Akot Taluq	125,291	2	1,955	212	2,169		
	Mangrul Taluq	95,130	23	561	226	810		
	Basim Taluq	156,538	9	1,290	416	1,715		
DISTRICT TOTAL	723,638	50	8,305	1,352	9,707	2,525		
Buldana	Chikhli Taluq	141,813	2	932	321	1,255	3,679	<i>Two members</i> proposed, one for the Chikhli, Mekhar and Khamgaon taluqs, the second for the other two taluqs.
	Mekhar Taluq	142,067	4	1,082	305	1,391		
	Khamgaon Taluq	78,983	..	901	132	1,033		
	Malkapur Taluq	176,651	..	1,570	301	1,871		
	Jalgaon Taluq	91,372	4	1,077	244	1,325		
DISTRICT TOTAL	630,886	10	5,562	1,303	6,875	3,196		
Yeotmal	Yeotmal Taluq	137,366	43	891*	345	1,279	2,487	<i>Two members</i> proposed, one for the Yeotmal, Kelapur and Wun Taluqs, the second for the other two taluqs. A payment of Rs. 40 will qualify a tenant or ryot for a vote.
	Kelapur Taluq	130,797	80	393*	191	664		
	Wun Taluq	108,070	64	390*	90	544		
	Darwaha Taluq	181,281	52	1,196*	384*	1,632		
	Pusad Taluq	152,174	32	783*	231	1,046		
DISTRICT TOTAL	709,688	271	3,653	1,241	5,165	2,678		
DIVISIONAL TOTAL		2,829,539	367	26,737	5,71	32,819		TEN MEMBERS.

* Paying Rs. 40 or more.

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Mr. F. S. A. SLOCOCK.

[Continued.]

At Nagpur, Wednesday, December 11th, 1918.

PRESENT:

SIR FRANK SLY, K.C.S.L., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).Sahibzada AFTAB AHMAD KHAN.
W. M. HALLEY, Esq., C.S.L., C.L.E., I.C.S.The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA
The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

C. U. WILLS, Esq., I.C.S.
SITA CHARAN DUBE, Esq.

The Hon'ble Mr. F. S. A. SLOCOCK, C.I.E., I.C.S., representing the Administration of the Central Provinces, called and examined.

2580. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) The view of the Local Administration with regard to the difficulty of Hindu joint families, which was mentioned in paragraph 10 of their note, was, that ordinarily the manager should be given a vote, but that, if a joint holder wished to claim a vote, it would rest with him to put in a claim before the registering officer to get himself registered as a voter in respect of his own share. They considered that it was incumbent on every person who claimed a vote to satisfy the registering officer that he was entitled to it. No doubt there would be difficulties about this, and he was not prepared to say whether it would be practicable for the registering officers to decide the difficult cases that would occur.

2581. The Local Administration proposed that landholders cultivating their own land should be qualified to vote if their home farm was assessed at Rs. 50 or more in rental value even though they did not satisfy the land revenue qualification. This only applied to landholders actually cultivating their own land.

2582. The Chief Commissioner considered that by his scheme he would give a fairly broad franchise. If experience showed that the franchise could be lowered this might be done later on; on the other hand it would be extremely difficult subsequently to raise the franchise.

2583. Qualified voters should vote in the constituency in which they were registered, that is to say in the constituency in which they resided; but if a voter had two residences he should be allowed to select in which constituency he would be registered; he could not be registered in both. The agriculturist residing in a town would be allowed to vote in the urban constituency, but the man with an urban qualification residing in a rural area would not get a vote because the qualification mentioned in clause (4) of paragraph 14 of the Local Administration's note was intended solely as an urban qualification. A number of small municipalities were included in rural areas, and residents of these municipalities who were only qualified under this urban qualification would not get a vote.

2584. Rural traders not paying income tax had been deliberately excluded. The general franchise was described in clauses (1), (2) and (3) of para. 14 of the note. For the special urban constituencies, where the general level of intelligence was higher, it was proposed also to have a somewhat broader franchise. The result was that a tenant with an income of Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 a year would get the vote, whereas a rural trader with about the same income would not. The rural traders had not been included because there was no satisfactory method of ascertaining what their income was if they did not pay income tax. There was already in existence a franchise for the Local Board elections whereby all rural traders with an income of Rs. 250 got a vote;

but this was very unsatisfactory because the record was entirely inaccurate. The Commissioner of Berar had informed him that, if a qualification of an annual income of Rs. 250 was recognised, nearly every labouring family in Berar would get a vote.

2585. The Local Administration had considered and rejected the proposal to give a vote to *lambardars*; he could not exactly remember the reason.

2586. Under clause (4) of paragraph 14 all persons residing in urban areas and occupying houses of a certain value would get a vote. He was afraid that they had not considered whether owning without occupation would qualify for a vote. He would refer the matter for further consideration.

2587. In certain districts the qualification had been lowered from Rs. 50 to Rs. 40 or Rs. 30. This had really been done because a rent of Rs. 40 or Rs. 30 in those districts was more or less equivalent to a rent of Rs. 50 in the other districts.

2588. The reason for including as a qualification the occupation of a house of a rental value of Rs. 48 or more was that there was no means of arriving at the probable income of a man who did not pay income tax but had an income of between Rs. 600 and Rs. 1,000 a year. There were a good many municipalities in which taxation was not based on income.

2589. The Chief Commissioner was opposed to a separate educational qualification because he considered that the property qualification, which implied a stake in the country, was the only one that should be admitted. He saw no reason for departing from this principle in order to make provision for the younger sons of joint Hindu families, a difficulty which would be met in part by their proposal that joint members should be allowed to establish their claim to a vote.

2590. Some small municipalities had been amalgamated in the rural constituencies. This was a more or less arbitrary division of municipalities which had been arrived at by considering whether each particular town was urban in character or whether it was simply an overgrown village. It was not based on population.

2591. They proposed 9 urban and 36 rural constituencies, thereby deliberately overweighting the vote of the urban population, which was only about 6 per cent. of the whole. After a great deal of discussion the Chief Commissioner had come to the conclusion that this could be done without detriment to the interests of the rural population.

2592. The Chief Commissioner intended that in the plural constituencies each voter should have one vote only, but he had no objection to dividing the districts up into smaller single-member constituencies if that was preferred. The plural constituencies had been recom-

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[Continued.]

mended as a lesser evil than the inequality that would result if the constituencies were based on tabels.

2593. Two seats had been given to Narsinghpur and only one to Drug on a purely arbitrary basis. Narsinghpur contained, however, a considerable number of substantial cultivators of rather higher than normal intelligence. There was no question of weighting one part of the province against another. He believed also that the allocation of seats to Drug had been settled before the results of lowering the franchise had been worked out.

2594. Berar, with a population of 3 millions out of 12 millions, was being given 12 out of 45 elected members, i.e., a fraction more than they were entitled to on a population basis. He did not think the Chief Commissioner would raise any strong objection to increasing the number of Berar seats. So far as the voters were concerned, Berar was underweighted.

2595. The Chief Commissioner's scheme provided only one *ex-officio* member of the Provincial Executive Council. If the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was followed, it would be necessary to have another *ex-officio* member to provide for the second member of Council. The bare minimum of officials necessary for a Grand Committee of 40 per cent. of the Council had been provided because the Chief Commissioner wished to have the smallest possible number of official members. He was satisfied that a margin was unnecessary; if any of the official members suddenly fell ill, substitutes could be appointed, and if there was another member of Council, that would provide a margin of one. In his opinion the number of officials provided would be sufficient for the purposes of Select Committees.

2596. In paragraph 35 it was proposed to nominate a member to represent the zamindars and important landholders with hereditary titles, i.e., important in the sense that they were descendants of old, landed and aristocratic families. It should, however, be stipulated that they should own land. (At present there was a separate landholders' electorate. This would disappear under the Chief Commissioner's proposals in favour of nomination, because the Chief Commissioner preferred territorial electorates to class electorates.) He proposed to give them the same privilege in the new Council in another form. It was not intended that the system of nomination should last for ever. In the course of time these classes would seek their representation in Council in the ordinary way. The scheduled zamindars were certainly a distinct class, but, notwithstanding that fact, the Chief Commissioner was not prepared to give them a separate electorate. The great land-owners themselves would probably prefer nomination. The Chief Commissioner had provided for the constitution of an Upper Chamber in his general scheme which was not before the Committee.

2597. The Muhammadans were only 4 per cent. of the population and the Chief Commissioner proposed to give them 3 nominated members. There was no special ground in the Central Provinces for special representation of the Muhammadans. On the average they were considerably poorer than the rest of the community. (Nomination was proposed instead of election because it would be practically impossible to form an electorate owing, for instance, to the enormous area covered by the constituencies quite apart from the general objection to communal electorates. Not a single Muhammadan had come forward before the Committee to recommend a separate Muhammadan electorate. The Muhammadan gentleman who had been invited to appear on behalf of the Berar Muhammadans himself preferred nomination, although he would inform the Committee that the Muhammadans in Berar would like election. The Lucknow compact which provided 15 per cent. of the Indian elected seats in the Central Provinces for Muhammadans was certainly present in the Chief Commissioner's mind. Mr. Kelkar, the Central Provinces representative at the making of the compact, was against a separate Muhammadan electorate. 15 per cent. was entirely disproportionate. In the Central Provinces there was no such diversity of interest between Hindu and Muhammadan as to necessitate separate representation and even the nomi-

nation which it was proposed to give them was something like double what they ought to get on the basis of population, and treble and quadruple what they should get on the basis of influence. These remarks applied to the Muhammadans in the Central Provinces. At present there was no separate Muhammadan representation on the District or Municipal Boards and no separate Muhammadan electorate for the Council, although there was one nominated Muhammadan member. The acceptance of the proposal, therefore, would mean the introduction of a new principle.

2598. He thought the Chief Commissioner intended that European officials should get a vote. Nomination was proposed for this constituency because it was not worth while having a separate electorate and because the Chief Commissioner was opposed in principle to separate electorates.

2599. The Chief Commissioner thought one seat quite sufficient to represent the mining interests. The Association was too small to be allowed the right of election, quite apart from the Chief Commissioner's objection to separate electorates.

2600. There would be no difficulty in forming an electorate of factory owners, but here again the Chief Commissioner was opposed on principle. He would probably agree to nominate the person whom the Association put forward.

2601. The Local Administration had not considered in detail whether voters should be British subjects. Inhabitants of Berar were not British subjects but rules could be made enabling such persons to be declared to be British Subjects for this purpose. It was not proposed to give votes to subjects of foreign States. The position of subjects of Native States had not been specifically considered and he was not prepared to give a definite answer on the subject without a further reference to the Chief Commissioner.

2602. It was proposed that males of 21 years resident within the territorial limits of the constituency should be allowed to vote. By "residence" it was probably intended that the voter should have resided for a certain period before being registered as a voter. The point would require further consideration.

2603. The same residential qualification was proposed for candidates as for voters. They considered that residence should be within the constituency so that the voters could learn what their votes meant. The object was to stop "carpet bagging." This imposed restrictions on the choice of the electors, but they must be taught in the first instance.

2604. The minimum age of 21 years was proposed for voters and candidates on the ground that if a man was fit to vote he was also fit to be a candidate.

2605. (Mr. Hailey.) Berar was leased from the Nizam's Government but was subject to the suzerainty of the Nizam. No laws which were in force in the Central Provinces applied to Berar unless they were extended by a notification under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act. For the purpose of extradition Berar was regarded by the Nizam's Government as British territory. For the purposes of the Local Administration Berar was in some ways foreign territory, for instance a previous conviction of theft in Berar did not operate for the purpose of punishment in the Central Provinces and *vice versa*. It was difficult to say exactly what the position of Berar was, but for all practical purposes Berar might be regarded as British territory.

2606. Paragraph 19 of the note might have explained that practically every man who paid income-tax or who paid Rs. 100 land revenue would probably occupy a house valued at Rs. 48 a year.

2607. (Mr. Sastri.) Their practice in recording members of joint families in the record-of-rights varied. They would not give a vote to a member of such a family unless he was recorded as a joint holder in the records. The decision would rest not with the registering officer but with the officer in charge of the record-of-rights. Many difficulties would no doubt arise, but it would rest with the claimant of the vote to prove his qualification. The

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[Continued.]

case of the family which would be qualified to vote if united but the members of which were not separately entitled to votes was a difficult matter which the Local Administration had not fully considered.

2608. In the urban electorates the Local Administration preferred a minimum rental value of Rs. 48 to one of Rs. 36. They assumed that a man paid as house rent about 1/4th of his income so that a rent payment of Rs. 48 gave roughly Rs. 600 a year. Very few clerks would be affected by the decision not to franchise matriculates. The lowest pay of a clerk in Government service was Rs. 20, and many clerks had to pay one-fifth of their salary in house-rent. A payment of Rs. 4 a month would qualify them under this head.

2609. The intention in proposing a University representative was to give representation to the University as such, it being assumed that individual graduates would get a vote in the ordinary way.

2610. A constituency for Europeans and Anglo-Indians would be very scattered. The European population was floating; the Anglo-Indian was the permanent population.

2611. It was true that a large number of members would be nominated by the Chief Commissioner, but they considered this better than the creation of special electorates which it would be difficult to abolish hereafter.

2612. The inclusion of towns like Drug in the urban constituencies meant that persons resident in them, even though they might own land in the rural areas and be in permanent touch with the rural people, would not be allowed to stand as candidates for the rural constituencies. This was no doubt a hardship but he did not think it would be a serious one. The Local Administration preferred to adhere to their rule that persons should only stand as candidates for the constituency in which they were registered as voters.

2613. (Mr. Hogg.) In order to prevent persons from being registered as voters in more than one constituency it would be necessary to rely on candidates' agents. No special penalty would in his opinion be necessary, because to cause a public servant to record one's name in one roll when it had already been recorded in another would be cheating. Only persons who applied would be registered.

2614. Qualification (1) in paragraph 14 was necessary as well as qualification (2) because a man might be a landlord without having any land in his own possession.

2615. (Mr. Banerjee.) The Chief Commissioner had considered the possibility of a larger Council. Originally he had contemplated the possibility of a Council of as many as 70 or 75, but on working out details he had come to the conclusion that 66 would be sufficient. He thought some of the figures of voters were probably under-estimates. The scheme had been shown to various gentlemen of the province and he believed that they had considered it to be satisfactory.

2616. They were not prepared to treat education *per se* as a qualification. In their opinion the payment of land revenue or rent or income tax, which connoted some stake in the country, was of more importance than mere education.

2617. So far as he knew there were no cities except Jubbulpore and Nagpur which contained a population of over 50,000. An alternative scheme for urban representation, which he personally preferred, would be found in paragraph 23 of the note. Incidentally this alternative would meet the criticism that had just been made with regard to the disqualification of persons resident in towns like Drug from contesting rural seats.

2618. He saw no strong objection to the employment of non-officials at elections and he thought the Chief Commissioner contemplated utilising their services to a certain extent.

2619. He was certainly opposed to allowing election in the case of the depressed classes; the practical difficulties would be insuperable and there was no member of those classes who could represent their class interests. The Local Administration would also object on principle.

2620. If a system of direct election was introduced for the Legislative Assembly there would be the same

voters as for the Council elections and all voters in each division would have to be formed into one constituency. The Chief Commissioner saw no reason for raising the franchise and therefore proposed to get over the difficulty in another way, *i.e.*, by indirect election. There was not the same objection to indirect election in this case, because the candidates at the Council elections would be elected on political grounds and charged with a mandate to elect a particular representative to the Assembly.

2621. In his opinion the Muhammadans were perfectly content to accept nomination. He did not think that a sufficient number of Muhammadans would be forthcoming to elect to 15 per cent. of the seats and he thought that proposal out of the question. There had been no demand for the election of a Muhammadan member to the existing Council.

2622. (Mr. Aftab.) The Local Administration were bound by whatever the Government of India had accepted. He could not say off-hand whether, when the Government of India said in paragraph 30 of their reforms despatch of 1908 that all Local Governments approved of the special representation of the Muhammadans, they referred also to the Central Provinces Administration. In any case they had accepted the principle of separate Muhammadan representation. The Muhammadans were not given special representation with special electorates in 1909 in the Central Provinces because there was then no Council, and the Government of India had themselves in 1914, since writing the despatch of 1908, approved of the formation of a Council in the Central Provinces in which the Muhammadans were represented by nomination. It was proposed to maintain that system.

2623. He did not think it was the business of the Local Administration to make a proposal which it considered to be wrong merely because the Congress and the Moslem League, without reference to the conditions of the Central Provinces, had made a compact which appeared to him obviously unsuitable for the Central Provinces. He would not say that the Muhammadans had absolutely no chance of being elected in the general way, but none had ever been elected hitherto. Excluding the population of the areas which were to be excluded from the scheme, there would be a residual population of nearly 12 millions. The percentage of Muhammadans on this figure would be between 4½ and 5. In a Council of 85 at 5 per cent. they would get a little less than 3 seats.

2624. Theoretically the elected member was more representative than the nominated member, but, in his opinion, the most suitable representatives in the Central Provinces would vastly prefer being nominated to being elected. It was not absolutely impossible to form Muhammadan electorates in the Central Provinces. Supposing 3 constituencies were formed, the probable arrangement would be—

Berar	1
Nagpur and Chhattisgarh	1
Jubbulpore and Nerbudda	1

It would be very difficult to make it clear to the Muhammadan voters in those large constituencies for whom they were voting. He thought the arrangement would be no less unsatisfactory than it had been, he understood, elsewhere.

2625. It had not occurred to him that by giving nomination to the Muhammadans he was debarring them from becoming Ministers, because it was only from the elected members of the Council that the Ministers would be appointed. But it would be necessary for Ministers to have behind them a following of at least half the members of the Council, and even supposing that the Muhammadan representatives were elected, he personally could not see that they had any chance of being chosen as Ministers.

2626. They had not touched on the question of the representation of Muhammadans in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. If no seat was reserved for them

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The Hon'ble Mr. F. S. A. SLOOOCK.

[Continued.]

they would have no chance of being represented in that body. The matter might be referred to the Chief Commissioner.

2627. (Mr. Dube.) The reservation of seats for Muhammadans would, in his opinion, be introducing an element

of discord, for many Muhammadans were, he believed, converted Muhammadans and the population was more of less homogeneous with the Hindus.

2628. A candidate should not be disqualified because he did not know English.

Khan Sahib Maulvi ABDUL KADIR, called and examined.

2629. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a pleader of Berar. He had submitted no written statement but represented the case for the Muhammadans who in Berar numbered between 7 and 8 per cent. of the total population.

2630. From informal discussion with Muhammadan gentlemen he had formed the opinion that they were in favour of separate communal representation, although they had sent no representation to the Committee. There was in Berar a branch of the Muslim League to which he belonged and a Muhammadan educational conference of which he was the secretary. Personally he was against separate communal representation, but the other Muhammadans wanted a separate Muhammadan electorate and 15 per cent. of the seats for the Central Provinces and Berar as provided in the Congress Muslim League compact.

2631. If Muhammadan constituencies were formed, one might comprise the districts of East Berar and the other the districts of West Berar.

2632. The qualifications adopted for voters in the general constituencies would be suitable for the Muhammadans, but they would like to include also Muhammadans in rural areas with a yearly income of between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 earned by means other than landed property. In Berar the patels and patwaris would be able to supply information about incomes.

2633. Personally he would like it arranged that, if the Muhammadans took part in the general electorates

and got inadequate representation, the Government should make up the deficiency.

2634. (Mr. Atab.) The Muhammadans would be very disappointed if the right of election was not given to them. If communal representation was to be given at all, he personally would prefer election to nomination.

2635. (Mr. Banerjee.) The information supplied by the patwaris and patels with regard to income would be sufficiently accurate for the preparation of the electoral roll.

2636. (Mr. Hailey.) There were 54 members of the Muslim League in Berar. It was not a very active body and no formal resolution had been passed since the Lucknow compact had been made. His opinion with regard to the Muhammadans was based on casual conversations. If they wanted confirmation of his evidence they might consult the President of the League.

2637. The evidence with regard to income collected by the patels and patwaris was collected for the purpose of levying income tax. It was not likely therefore to be complete or sufficient for the purposes of preparing a roll of persons with incomes below that level.

2638. (Mr. Willa.) The number of persons in rural tracts who were drawing an income of less than Rs. 1,000 and did not come in under the proposed land revenue qualification would be comparatively small. There would be a tendency for false claims to be made to the income qualification because no liability was attached to it.

GANESH AKAJI GAVAI, Esq., representing the Depressed India Association.

Written Statement.

2639. I beg to submit, on behalf of the Depressed India Association the following memorandum in connection with the Indian Constitutional Reforms for favourable consideration by the Franchise Committee.

2640. The distinguished authors of the Report do not seem to have taken sufficient heed of the social cleavages in Hindu Society while dealing with the problem of communal representation. It has been laid down as an unimpeachable truth that the communal system stereotypes existing relations between different classes. It is difficult to see how this holds true at least in the case of depressed classes. Bringing together all communities at one polling booth does not mean smoothing, but on the contrary embittering their relations towards each other by enabling the strong to beat the rest, which is sure to produce ill-feeling in the minds of both, especially the vanquished. The only way to avoid this is to make special separate provision for the representation of the untouchable classes instead of forcing them to participate in an unequal and unfair competition which is sure to drive them to the wall.

2641. The contention that the system of responsible Government has developed only in those countries where "the territorial principle had vanquished the tribal principle" is beside the point. This may be urged against the grant of responsible Government to India where tribal feeling is notoriously rampant, but not against the recognition of the existing feeling by the concession of separate electorates. The right remedy to lessen and eventually to remove it is to improve the status of the lower communities and thus enable them to merge successfully in the higher castes. The necessary stimulus will be forthcoming only under a system which ensures genuine and adequate representation of all classes and creeds. The argument in the Report would apply only if the several communities in India occupied approximately the same level educationally and socially.

As it is, the wide gulf that separates the depressed from the rest of the population renders extremely undesirable any such arbitrary and compulsory placing of all in one and the same category.

2643. It cannot be said that the depressed classes do not stand in need of communal representation inasmuch as their interests will be adequately cared for by the enlightened members of the advanced classes. For though we very much appreciate the value of the advice tendered by the authors of the scheme in paragraph 151 that, if caste exclusiveness takes even harsher shape towards the outcastes it is the business of the enlightened leaders of the community to explain to them that they are only retarding a cause that ought to be dearer to them than their own sectional interest. But the opposition made by the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the resolution which was brought by Mr. Dadabhai for the amelioration of the depressed classes, their support to the Kulkarni Vatan system in the Deccan in their political meetings and in the Legislative Council notwithstanding that the masses were in great disfavour of the Kulkarni Vatan, the resolution brought in the Central Provinces Legislative Council against the Vatan of Mahara in Berars, and the movement of the Izardars against the Anti-Izardar tenants for the ejection of the latter by the former, all these and such other precedents cannot allow the depressed classes to rest satisfied with such an advice which has hitherto produced very little response. It would be more prudent to secure to these unfortunate people a position in the Councils from where they can successfully urge their own claims and also induce in their high-born fellow countrymen a state of mind better calculated to receive the above advice.

2644. The suggestion involved in the sentence "communal representation has been actually proposed for the benefit of a majority community in Madras" seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the

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Mr. G. A. Gaval.

[Continued.]

real state of things. The fact is that, so far as the several castes of Hindu society are concerned minorities are generally far better off than the majorities. For example, the Brahmins though forming less than four or five per cent. of the total Hindu population are a hundred times better off than the Marathas who form the bulk of Hindu society in the Marathi speaking provinces and infinitely better placed than the untouchables who, comprise about one-fourth of the total Hindu population!! When voters' lists come to be prepared it will be found that the untouchables' votes did not form even an infinitesimal fraction of the total number. I am therefore unable to understand how, in the absence of separate electorates for the depressed classes, the authors of the Report propose "to make the best arrangements that we can for their representation." (Paragraph 155.)

2645. Perhaps it is intended to secure representation of these classes by means of Government nomination. I beg to suggest that this mode of representation is very unsatisfactory, to be resorted to only under exceptional circumstances. I believe that a suitable electoral machinery could be devised for the representation of the depressed classes. In spite of their general ignorance and helplessness it should not be difficult to find a sufficiently large number of persons among them fit to exercise the franchise.

Mr. G. A. Gaval, called and examined.

2648. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a Mahar by caste and a resident of Amraoti. He had read up to but had not passed the matriculation examination. He was the Secretary of the Depressed India Association which had been started to safeguard the interests of the depressed classes with headquarters at Amraoti. It contained 500 members from Berar, the Central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency. There was a member's subscription of 8 rs. a year and there were branches in Bombay and Poona. By "depressed classes" was meant classes who were not touched by the Hindu community.

2649. If a scheme of franchise was introduced they wanted separate representation for the depressed classes whose interests otherwise would not be safeguarded. Their interests differed from those of the higher castes particularly because of social difficulties. For instance they were refused admission to public schools; even in some Government and municipal schools they were refused admission.

2650. (Mr. Dube.) In the Bombay Presidency they were not admitted to Government service and in Berar they were not allowed to use public wells. If they had a representative of their own they could urge their claims in the Council.

2651. The qualifications of the depressed classes electorate must be lower than in other cases. He would prefer election to nomination. Many Mahars were sufficiently educated and a few would stand for election. In the Bombay Presidency there was one graduate. In the Central Provinces and Berar there were 4 matriculates. They asked for three members because the Muhammadans were to get three seats and their community was six times as large as the Muhammadan community. They numbered more than 30 lakhs in the

2646. Reserving of seats in "plural constituencies but with a general electoral roll," has been suggested in the concluding portion of paragraph 232; but I strongly object to it as the so-called representatives thus returned will be pure nominees of those classes who have a majority of voters in the constituencies. Nor can I comprehend the wisdom of the curious proposal of the Depressed Classes Mission, that representatives of the untouchables should be "returned to the several councils by co-option by the elected members of the councils concerned, and not by nomination nor by election by any communal separate electorates." The proposal is absurd in view of the fact that there will in all probability be a serious conflict of interests between the caste Hindus and the outcastes in several important matters. To say that the depressed classes can be best represented by men nominated by the representatives of the touchable classes is to abjure the very fundamental principle of representative government.

2647. The classes of people whom this association claims to represent feel very strongly on the question of separate electorates. I therefore earnestly pray for due recognition by the committee of this widespread desire for separate electorates on the part of the depressed classes.

Central Provinces. They had assisted the British Government in the time of the Peishwas and in the present war had supplied as many as 2,000 recruits.

2652. (Mr. Hailey.) His Association represented all depressed classes except Gonds and Bhils, i.e., about 1/4th of the population of the province.

2653. By lowering the qualification so as to include sub-tenants more than a thousand voters would be obtained in Berar on a Rs. 50 rent standard.

2654. (Mr. Sastri.) They were refused admission to schools by the head masters.

2655. If the depressed classes were given an electorate of their own they would elect members of their own class and not missionaries or persons of higher classes who had taken interest in them.

2656. (Mr. Banerjee.) There might not at present be members of the depressed classes fully qualified to stand for the Council but their view was that they might elect somebody in the hope that he would become qualified by experience. In Nagpur there was not a single clerk in Government service who belonged to the depressed classes. The Brahmin head clerks had all the power and applications for appointment from candidates of the depressed classes were refused because the applicants had not passed the matriculation examination, although Brahmins who had not passed the examination were accepted.

2657. (Mr. Hogg.) He thought that a representative in the Council would bring their grievances to notice with more effect than the publication of articles in newspapers or the passing of resolutions.

2658. (Mr. Wills.) Some of the depressed classes were higher and some lower, but their interests were the same and the three representatives should represent them jointly.

K. S. JATAR, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Registration, called and examined.

2659. (Sir Frank Sly.) The greater part of his service had been spent in Berar.

2660. In his opinion the proportion of seats which it was proposed to give to Berar was fair and suitable. He was not in favour of giving votes to patels as such, but he thought at least half the men elected would be patels. Most of them would have the property qualification and those who had not would not have any separate interests. Not was he in favour of giving votes to lambardars.

2661. The scheme allowed only one Muhammadan representative from Berar. He would give at least 2 or 3.

They were an important class and many of them enjoyed a good status. They had been employed under the Nizam and a number of families were supposed to have belonged to the old aristocracy. In his opinion their representatives should be nominated. The Muhammadans were behind the Hindus in education but they would have to be allowed election in the near future and personally he would not object to this right being given to them at once. The Muhammadans living in rural areas had no views on the subject; those living in town areas would prefer election.

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Mr. K. S. JATAB.

[Continued.]

2662. He was in favour of the first alternative scheme of urban constituencies mentioned in paragraph 22 of the Local Administration's note, because the interests of persons living in small towns were widely different from those of persons living in the rural tracts and because Akola and Amraoti were too small for separate representation.

2663. (*Mr. Aftab.*) In Berar there were two Muslim societies, viz., a branch of the All-India Muslim League and an Anjuman. He believed that the latter was older and more important than the former but recently he had not been serving in Berar.

2664. Some of the Hindu rural voters would be as ignorant as many of the Muhammadans. He had no serious objection to election in the case of the Muhammadans, though he proposed nomination; there was this difference that the Muhammadans were more isolated than the general electors and it would be more difficult for them to gain political experience. In the towns the Muhammadans represented nearly 20 per cent. of population.

2665. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) Akola was a trade centre and Amraoti was the capital of Berar, but he did not consider that they should form separate constituencies by themselves. If this was done the Council would be too large, because, if the urban representation was increased, the representation of the other interests would have to be increased also in proportion. In Akola with a population of 27,000 there would be about 1,640 voters. In Khamgaon with a population of 15,000 there would be roughly 900 or 1,000 voters.

2666. (*Mr. Sastri.*) The agricultural classes would best be represented by men drawn from their own ranks, preferably men with education. Some men with these qualifications lived in the towns. He objected to persons

resident in the town who had no interests in the villages standing for rural constituencies, but personally he would not debar men who resided in urban areas but possessed estates which they visited in rural areas from standing for election in those rural areas. His desire was to exclude the absentee land-lord. He would not give the rural electorates a free choice because they were not able to take care of themselves and undue influence would be exercised over them; the agriculturists should be represented by persons who had real interests in the country side.

2667. (*Mr. Hailey.*) He would give two if not three Muhammadan representatives to Berar. If there were two he would give one to East Berar, i.e., Amraoti and Yeotmal, and one to West Berar, i.e., Buldana and Akola. This would produce only about 500 voters in each constituency, which was a further reason in favour of nomination. If nomination was adopted Government should nominate one man from West Berar and the other from East Berar.

2668. (*Mr. Dube.*) Akola was an important town both on account of its factories and in other respects, so that, if the factory interest was given separate representation, not all the interests of Akola would be represented.

2669. If the alternative scheme of urban representation was accepted, viz., separate representation for 9 large towns and the amalgamation of all other towns with the rural areas, the candidates in the rural areas would as a rule be of the rural and not of the urban type with the result that the malguzars would be overrepresented.

2670. (*Mr. Willis.*) In Berar there was a good deal of jealousy about the patels' position. If patels were given a vote the Berar politicians would object on the ground that Government were trying to secure a certain number of votes for themselves.

Rao Bahadur E. N. MUDEHOLKAR, C.I.E.

Written Statement.

GENERAL.

2671. The matters referred to the two Committees and especially those referred to the Franchise Committee cannot, so far as Berar and the Central Provinces are concerned, be discussed or decided without reference to the even more important question which claims priority and requires to be solved first, viz., what is to be the position of Berar under the proposed reforms, is it to be accorded the same treatment as the British Indian Districts, are its people to be accorded the same consideration that might be settled to be given to the residents of British India? Reposing their trust in the desire of the Government to do justice to them, Beraris expect that the Government will adopt the only course by which this justice can be done, viz., by treating Berar as a Sub-Province, and establishing for it a separate Provincial Legislative Council. For facility of reference I beg to submit in an Appendix† the considerations which go to show why and how the only way out of the difficulty is the creation of a special council for Berar.

2672. In brief the position is that as Berar is held not to be British India and that it being not within the competence of the Legislative Council of the Governor General or the Central Provinces Legislative Council to enact legislation for Berar, to propose or levy taxes or discuss or sanction its budget, the only way in which it can be accorded the treatment proposed to be given to the British Indian territories is to provide a separate legislature for it, subject of course to the provisions of the Order in Council II (India) of 1902 under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act.

2673. But as it is not known what course His Majesty's Government propose to follow in this matter it is necessary to deal with the questions under two hypotheses, one that there would be such a council created, the other that representatives of Berar would continue to be members of the Central Provinces Legislative Council as at present. It would be necessary to adopt this procedure also in regard to the form and composition

† Not printed.

of the Provincial Executive Government as the subject of division of functions is closely entwined with them.

FRANCHISE.

2674. As in the form of Government the ideal is the eventual establishment of complete responsible Government, so in the matter of the franchise adult suffrage must, it has to be recognised, come eventually. But as in the one case it would not be safe to have sweeping changes made all at one stroke, so would it be unsafe in the other to try to bring about manhood suffrage, or any revolutionary change of that character, at the start. In both cases, however, a distinct and substantial advance has to be made and a definitive stage of progress reached in the immediate present. The considerations which counsel cautious procedure in one case are equally operative in the other.

2675. The guiding principles must be that election in every case is to be direct and the franchise as broad based as the present circumstances admit. Bearing these guiding principles in mind the following formulae should be laid down.

2676. I. That not only should the existing method of election by delegates of Municipalities, District Boards and land-holders be abolished, but the method existing in certain tracts of election by members of Municipal Committees or District Boards or by committees of associations should also be done away with. Election ought to be directly by the tax payers, rate payers or the individual members of the class to be represented.

2677. II. That no class, section or interest which enjoys the right of election, though it might be in an indirect manner, should be deprived of that right or privileges.

2678. III. That as under the Scheme set out in the Report there is to be a unicameral legislature, the electorates should not only be territorial, but that there should be scope therein for the representation of important minorities like Mahomedans and Sikhs and important interest like those of the large land owners, of commerce, of industries, of education and of the untouchable classes. The ordinary rule should be that half the number of elected seats should be assigned to the territorial

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[Continued.]

electorates, but that in special cases the limit might be 60 per cent.

2679. IV. That while the rule of one man one vote has to be eventually brought into operation when the advance of a province justifies the grant of complete responsible provincial government it should be waived in the case of persons belonging to interests, classes or sections which are not in the aggregate entitled to more than one-tenth of the total number of elected seats.

Electoralates should be divided into three classes.

- A. Territorial;
- B. Communal for Mahomedans or Sikhs;
- C. Special interests
 - (a) large landholders;
 - (b) commerce and trade;
 - (c) industry;
 - (d) science and learning (graduates).

A person entitled to be registered as a voter in the electoralates which come under A or B class should be allowed to vote only once, as an elector of one of those electoralates. A person coming under the electoralates in class C may vote in one of the electoralates coming under classes A or B and also in one of the electoralates comprised in class C, but not more.

2680. V. That the principle of communal representation which has to be admitted *ex necessitate* on account of the commitments of Government should not be extended to communities other than Mahomedans and Sikhs and to Provinces or tracts in which it does not exist at present.

2681. VI. That the qualification for being elected a member for one of the constituencies coming under classes A and B should be higher than that for being a voter.

2682. VII. That a candidate who possesses the qualification of standing as a candidate for more than one constituency should not be debarred from standing as candidate for more than one constituency, but he cannot give his vote as a voter in more than one or two constituencies as laid down in formula No. 4.

BERAR.

2683. Applying these principles to the case of Berar, I would suggest that the franchise to vote for the election of a member of the Berar Provincial Legislative Council be conferred on

- (a) the Municipal electors in Municipalities where the right to elect Municipal members exists;
- (b) persons who would have been Municipal electors had the Municipal Committee been a partially elected one;
- (c) land-holders who are Taluq Board electors;
- (d) All persons assessed to the income tax;
- (e) All non-agriculturists who though not assessed to the income tax would under the new rules be assessed to the District Education cess;
- (f) All land-holders who though not registered as electors of Taluq Boards pay Rs. 50 and above as land revenue to Government, or hold in proprietary right land wholly or partially exempted from land revenue, which if assessed to full land revenue would have been assessed at Rs. 50 and above.
- (g) All tenants in Jagir, Palampat or Ijara villages, who cultivate land which if fully assessed to land revenue would have been assessed at Rs. 50 or above and who are (1) Ante Jagir, Ante Palampat or Ante Ijara tenants or cultivators, (2) permanent tenants, (3) privileged tenants, (4) tenants for a fixed period of 5 years and upwards, (5) tenants who have been cultivating for 12 years and upwards.
- (h) Tenants of Khalsa land who hold under a lease for 5 years and upwards land which is assessed at Rs. 100 and above to Government land revenue.

2684. Under the above mentioned qualifications the total number of persons in Berar in enjoyment of the franchise would probably be not less than 75,000.

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2685. The number of electors in the Municipalities returning elected members is about 13,500, that is, between 8 and 9 per cent. of the total population of these towns. Taking the same percentage for the Amraoti Camp, Ellichpur Civil Station, Ellichpur City and Buldana Municipalities and making allowance for the large number of poor people in Ellichpur City, 3,500 might well be taken as the total number of electors in these latter Municipalities, and the total number of Municipal electors about 19,000. The number of Municipalities in Berar is very small as compared to what it is in the Central Provinces District. I expect that under the extension of Local Self-Government which must take place, more Municipal Committees will be established and the total number of these new electors can safely be put down at 8,000. But for the purpose of the present calculation I would proceed upon existing facts. The present number of Local Board electors is according to the statement laid before the Central Provinces Legislative Council on the 7th March 1918 about 26,000. According to the figures given in Appendix K of the proceedings of the Central Provinces Legislative Council held on 29th July 1918. The number of tenants and ryots paying Rs. 50 and above is about 30,400. The figures given in columns 2, 3 and 4 of the aforesaid Appendix cannot possibly be correct. Excluding Melghat there are in Berar 394 Ijara villages, 188 Jagir villages, and 16 Palampat villages. In every one of these there are co-sharers who hold or own land which if assessed to full land revenue would pay Rs. 50 and above. At the same time there are cases in which one family or set of families own more than one Jagir or Ijara village; making allowance for this fact the number of persons having proprietary rights in Jagir and Ijara villages can well be taken to be at least 3,000.

2686. The number of tenants in Jagir and Ijara villages who would come in under the Scheme would I think be about 8,000. In one of the representations which the Ijaradars made in 1917 to the Committee appointed to consider tenancy legislation it was admitted that 40 per cent. of the existing tenants were of more than 10 years standing. Tenants of Khalsa land coming under clause (h) would be at least 2,000.

2687. Income-tax payers are about 8,000. Of these nearly 60 per cent. might be taken as land holders also coming under clauses (c) and (f). So between 3,000 and 3,500 will probably be the number of income-tax payers who are not land holders also. The number of non-agriculturists assessable to the education cess whose income is not assessed to the income-tax cannot be less than 3 times that of the non-agricultural income-tax payers, i.e., would be about 10,000.

2688. The total population of Berar is about 30,00,000 out of which adult males number between 700,000 and 800,000. The franchise in the manner suggested would bring in not less than 10 per cent. This is not an unsatisfactory beginning. As to the representative character of such a Chamber there can be no question.

2689. It is often said that the interest evinced in Municipal and Local Boards election is exceedingly meagre. This assertion is not quite correct in regard to Municipalities where instances can be given of as many as 50 per cent. of electors going to the polls. In regard to Local Boards it might be asked how could general interest be evoked for bodies which have no powers, no initiative, but are merely the agents of District Boards to spend money. The long distances to be travelled have also to be considered. There are instances even herein of 25 per cent. going to the polls at times. When the prize of an election is entry in an assembly vested with important functions and substantial rights, the ambition to get in will be manifested by several persons and vigorous canvassing and keen competition may be counted upon. I expect this in the greater part of Berar and in Nagpur and Wardha Districts and in parts at least of Chanda and Bhandara Districts. It must not be forgotten that in various parts of these tracts were held not long ago meetings and political demonstrations which were attended by thousands and thousands.

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Rao Bahadur R. N. MODHOLKAR.

[Continued.]

Means for direct election.

2690. In view of the long distances to be travelled there should be three to five centres in a Taluq. The Berar Taluqs (excluding Melghat) contain on an average 320 villages and to secure adequate facilities for recording votes such centres should be provided. To prevent peroration, the attendance of the village officers, Patels and Patwaris would be necessary for identification.

Communal representation.

2691. Communal representation is not laid down or prescribed for any community in the Central Provinces and Berar in regard to either the Council of the Governor-General or the Provincial. The only community in regard to which the question can arise is the Mahomedan community and for it also no special representation is prescribed or was ever asked for. In the Central Provinces the Mahomedans are few and scattered over long areas. In Berar they constitute between 7 and 8 per cent. of the population; and the question of their separate representation has never arisen. The relations between Hindus and Mahomedans have been fairly smooth all along. And it is a fact worthy of notice that in municipal and local bodies Mahomedans have been elected by electorates the majority of which consisted of Hindus; and both in Amraoti and Akola as also in other places the number of Mahomedan members has generally been in excess of their proportion of the general population. I am in entire agreement with the position advanced by the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State and H. E. the Viceroy in regard to communal representation. Far-seeing statesmanship and genuine patriotism on the part of administrators and the people alike demand that as little scope as possible should be given to clannishness, cliquism and fissiparous tendencies. Because the Government is committed in other provinces to separate Mahomedan representation can be no ground for extending that questionable principle to these provinces. At the same time I fully recognize the justice and propriety of assuring an adequate representation to that important community. (In all probability a fairly proper number would be returned in the elections by the general constituencies. In case there is not adequate representation, the deficiency should be made good by nomination. If however it is held that due representation of Mahomedans can be secured only by the creation of a distinct Mahomedan constituency constituted on the lines on which the general urban and rural constituencies are proposed should be, I for one would not oppose it. If special representation is provided, Mahomedans should not be allowed to vote as electors in the general constituencies.)

Depressed classes.

2692. I take these to mean the classes which are regarded as untouchables by the generality of orthodox Hindus—Mahars, Chamars, Dhors, Mangs, Khatiks, Sweepers, etc. Though a considerable section of the educated community is working for the amelioration of the condition of these classes and though the members of these classes, who do not follow dirty occupations are allowed to enter their houses, it must in fairness be admitted that the disabilities to be removed are so many that there should be a member to represent their views, wants, and aspirations. The only feasible method appears to me for the Government to nominate one.

Representation of special interests.

2693. The representation of Ijardars and Jagirdars is necessary as their interests are distinct from and opposed to those of the tenants who outnumber them manifold. The large landholders of khalsa villages would, when properly educated serve to counteract the influence of impatient theorists on the ordinary peasants. The representation of commerce, industry and of science and superior learning is only the application of accepted principles.

Number of nominated official members.

2694. The general rule should be that four-fifths of the Council should consist of elected members and one-fifth nominated. Of the nominated, one-third should be non-official and the rest officials, including members of the Executive Council who should be *ex-officio*. The Governor should be a member in addition and entitled to preside whenever he chooses to attend.

Scheme for the size and composition of the Berar Council.

2695. The Berar Council should consist of 40 members of whom 32 should be elected and 8 nominated, not less than 3 of the nominated to be non-officials and not more than 5 officials, including the 2 members of the Executive Council, who should be members *ex-officio*. The 32 elected members should be elected by the following constituencies if no separate communal representation is to be given to the Mahomedans.

A.—Territorial.

1. Urban Areas	8
The electors of the Amraoti Town Municipal Committee	1
Akola Municipal Committee	1
Other Municipal Committees in the four districts—	
2 for Akola	} 6
2 for Amraoti	
1 for Buldana	
1 for Yeotmal	
(It is expected that all towns with a population of 5,000 and above will be constituted Municipalities as they ought to be.)	
2. Rural Areas	17
Amraoti District	5
Akola District	5
Buldana District	4
Yeotmal District	3

Special Interests.

Jagirdars and Palanpatdars including in the terms all the members of the proprietary bodies who have the qualifications above mentioned	1
Ijardars including co-sharers who are qualified	1
Large landholders who pay rupees 1,000 as land revenue of khalsa land	1
Commerce and trade	2
Industries	1
Graduates having two degrees or graduates of 10 years standing of recognised Indian, British, Irish or Colonial Universities	1

2696. If separate communal representation is to be given to Mahomedans then they should be allowed to elect 3, these 3 seats being obtained by reducing the rural representation of Amraoti, Akola and Buldana to 4, 4 and 3 respectively.

2697. If Berar is formed into a separate "Sub-Province" or "associated province" the form of Government should be:—

One Governor for the Central Provinces and Berar to be styled the Governor of C. P. and Berar. Salary, allowance and expenses chargeable 60 per cent. to C. P. and 40 per cent. to Berar.

An Executive Council consisting of two members—one European official and one Indian non-official.

One minister chosen by the Governor from among the elected members of the Council.

The post of Commissioner should be done away with. 2698. There are no Commissioners in Madras. The members of the Executive Council can exercise the supervision, control and guidance and secure the

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necessary uniformity in the administration of the Districts which are done by the Commissioner.

2699. For the sake of economy many heads of Departments might well be common to the Central Provinces and Berar the charges being shared equitably.

2700. If Berar is not formed into a separate sub-province or an associated province, with a separate Legislative Council, exercising the same powers and discharging the same functions as other provincial councils, a course which it is thought will remove her chief grievance, is suggested by some high placed sympathetic officers. It is admitted by them that for the purposes of special legislation for Berar needed by its circumstances—e.g., in regard to the land revenue system, land tenures, tenancy, laws relating to hereditary and other village officers, village servants, Local Self-Government, etc., and also for taxation and for the discussion and passing of the budget a special council should be established; but that for the discussion of questions of general importance and for the framing and moulding of laws, the main provisions of which would be with slight variations applicable to both areas, there should be one Council. I do not know what good will be served by such a mixed Council in which the most important things relating to Berar cannot be discussed, which cannot vote one pie of Berar money and in which the discussion of matters relating to Berar cannot legally be carried on. I do not know that the Central Provinces people would like that, while they have no power to deal with Berar laws, Berar taxation and Berar Budget, the members from Berar should be able to influence the disposal of their finances and the framing of their laws.

2701. Assuming that the course now mentioned will meet with the approbation of Government and the Parliament, it will, I fervently trust, be ever kept in view that the composition of this mixed Council must be based on just, equitable and intelligible principles. The present representation of Berar is quite inadequate. The numbers of elected and nominated non-officials from the two areas ought to be proportionate to their respective revenues or if the franchise is the same, then proportionate to the numbers of electors. According to revenue the members from the Central Provinces and Berar should be in the proportion of 60 Central Provinces and 40 Berar. No member of the Berar Council can be excluded from the joint Council, the size of which will in that case have to be of 100.

2702. As to the form of the Executive Government in this case, there will have to be four Executive Councillors, i.e., two European officials and two Indian non-officials, one of each for the Central Provinces and one of each for Berar and one minister for each. Whether there are two completely separate Legislative Councils and Executive Councils the expenditure will practically be the same.

The Indian Legislative Assembly.

2703. I think that the number of members should be at least 125 in view of the areas to be represented. Areas

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, called and examined.

2708. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was prepared to accept communal representation for Muhammadans and the Sikhs but no other community. The Congress of which he was a member was committed to it; so far as Berar was concerned he desired that effect should be given to the Lucknow compact, even though on the population basis the Muhammadans would only be entitled to 4 per cent. of the seats, because it was desirable to secure the co-operation of all communities. He had been present himself at the Lucknow conference.

2709. He was afraid that the depressed classes were too backward to elect their representative; not all of them were so intelligent as the Mahars. For this reason he preferred nomination in their case, which could be changed to election later than if the community progressed.

2710. According to the Government scheme Berar was given 12 seats out of 47, i.e., 45 plus 2 seats for the ex-

cluded areas. Berar contained 4 districts and contributed 1 crore 76 lacs to the general revenue whereas the Central Provinces contained 18 districts and contributed 2 crores and 62 lacs to the revenue, that is to say, the Central Provinces contributed 60 per cent of the revenues as compared with Berar's contribution of 40 per cent. He would take that as a guide. Government proposed that there should be 127,000 electors; of these 41,000 came from Berar and 86,000 from the Central Provinces or nearly 2 to 1 from the Central Provinces. There were more municipalities in the Central Provinces than in Berar, but when the number of municipalities in Berar was increased, as he thought it would be shortly, the number of voters in Berar would be substantially increased. He based his case for extra representation for Berar on proportion of voters.

2704. The present representation given to the existing Legislative Councils, the large land holders, the Chambers of Commerce, etc., should be continued. In addition to them there should be further representation by election as follows:—

Berar Legislative Council	1
Legislative Councils for the provinces when these are created, one for each Province	9
Indian Universities, one each	10

The remaining seats should be allotted to territorial representatives to be elected by the members of the Municipal Committees and Local Boards for each Division of a province, Madras Presidency to be treated as having four Divisions for this purpose.

(The representation of Ajmer, Merwara, Coorg, the North-West Frontier Province and the territorial representation of Berar, would come under this.)

2705. Direct representation to the Indian Legislative Assembly by the electors of the Provincial Councils does not seem to be feasible just now, as the size of the constituencies will be too large to permit of the candidates getting into touch with the electors. The whole Scheme being tentative and experimental, the suggested procedure is worth trying.

The Council of State.

2706. Half the number of members, i.e. 25, should be elected, four should be nominated non-officials and 21 officials.

2707. Of the elected members 15 should be allotted to the existing Provincial Councils as proposed in paragraph 277 of the Report, one to the Legislative Council of Berar or to the body to which might be assigned the function of legislation, taxation and the application of revenues in Berar, two to Mahomedans, two to the landed interests, two to commerce, one to industries, one to the members of the Senates of Indian Universities, one to the territories of British India like Ajmere-Merwara, Coorg and the North-West Frontier Province which have no Legislative Councils of their own.

2711. Up to 1004 persons who paid the Pandari tax, i.e., town fund assessment, were entitled to elect

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members to the local boards. This tax was paid by persons with a net income of Rs. 200 and more. He proposed that persons who paid a cess on incomes of Rs. 500 should get a vote.

2712. There was very little variation in the existing municipal franchises in Berar, the general standard being the tax of Rs. 2 or a land revenue of Rs. 25, qualifications which connoted about the same income.

2713. He included tenants of khalsa land because this class was coming into prominence. They were not recorded in the patwaris' papers but it would be for them in applying for a vote to make out their case.

2714. 21 years should be the minimum age for voters.

2715. He saw no necessity for the voter to reside in the constituency. He would give votes to men who owned land even if they did not reside in the province at all and even if they lived in a native state. He would give votes to aliens unless they were enemies. He would in no event allow any person to have more than 2 votes, one being in a special constituency.

2716. The qualifications for candidates should be higher than in the case of voters so as to secure a more responsible type of candidate. This was necessitated by the fact that the proposed arrangements were transitional and that it was necessary to proceed cautiously.

2717. He would allow the land-owners separate representation partly because they would exercise a sobering influence and partly because, if they were deprived of this representation, they would have a grievance and the success of the scheme might be jeopardised.

2718. Berar should be separately represented both on the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State because its interests were separate. He feared that direct election to the Assembly must be deferred for some time to come, because at present the constituencies would be too large. He suggested indirect election, by the district and local boards because this would give a larger constituency than election by members of the Provincial Council.

2719. (Mr. Hailey.) The qualifications for members of the municipal boards were already higher than those of voters. For voters at the Assembly elections he proposed a qualification of an income of not less than Rs. 1,000 a year for non-agriculturists. For agriculturists in Berar he would suggest an income assessed at Rs. 200 or the possession of a proprietary interest in land and a payment of Rs. 200.

2719A. A candidate should be resident in the province. He must be a voter but need not reside in his constituency. Candidates for election to municipal boards need only have a residence or a place of business.

2720. For a number of years there had been friction between landlords and tenants in Berar. Under the Government scheme the tenants would outnumber the

land-holders and he only desired to give the land-holders bare representation.

2721. (Mr. Sastri.) In his opinion the record-of-rights would prevent much trouble in making up the voting register. It would be feasible to let the registering officer split up the shares of members of joint families for the purpose of allotting votes.

2722. He proposed to give a seat to the Nagpur university and another seat to the graduates. If the graduates were allowed to vote for the university member that would suffice.

2723. If any one who resided in the province might stand as a candidate, for the first two Councils carpenters might capture the rural seats but afterwards local influence would correct this. At times the residents of urban and rural areas had different views and interests.

2724. If the depressed classes were to be represented by nomination and their views could be ascertained in an informal way, then but not otherwise would he waive the condition that their representative should belong to their class.

2725. In his opinion the Indian universities should be represented on the Assembly as much as on the local Councils, because the Indian Universities Act was an Act of the Indian legislature and applied to the whole of India.

2726. (Mr. Hogg.) Commerce and trade should have two representatives and industry one. For the purpose of electing these representatives registers would have to be prepared. The qualification for voting for the commerce and trade representatives should be the payment of income tax of Rs. 500 or Rs. 600. In the industries electorate one vote would be given to each factory which came under the Factories Act.

2727. (Mr. Banerjee.) There was not conflict but divergence of interest between town and country. Whether the townspeople would make good representatives of the rural constituencies would depend on whether they had interests in the rural areas. He would be satisfied if the candidate from the town had a house in those areas, and he disagreed with the Government scheme in this respect. He believed there were many politicians with interests in the rural areas.

2728. The Council should contain not more than 100 and not less than 80 members because the different interests involved could not be represented by less.

2729. (Mr. Aftab.) He had been at the Lucknow Conference together with several others from the Central Provinces, all of whom accepted the compact. Two memorials had been submitted to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State from the Central Provinces in both of which the compact was adopted.

2730. (Mr. Wills.) The land-holders in Berar constituted a separate class in so far as they had separate interests. They held land directly from Government and had a hereditary right subject to the payment of Government revenue.

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At Nagpur, Thursday, December 12th, 1918.

PRESENT:

SIR FRANK SLY, K.O.S.L., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Shahbazada AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.L.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr.-M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

C. U. WILLS, Esq., I.C.S.

SITA CHARAN DUBE, Esq.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur N. K. KELKAR.

Written Statement:

2731. I practised as a pleader in the Central Provinces for about 25 years. In June, 1916, I joined the Servants of India Society founded by the late Mr. Gokhale. While I was practising I served on the District Council, Balasghat, as a member for about 10 years, and on the Municipal Committee of that town for about 24 years, in different capacities. I have been an elected member of the Central Provinces Legislative Council ever since its existence. I have been connected with the co-operative movement in the Central Provinces since 1905, and at present I am working as Governor of the Federation of Co-operative Banks in the Central Provinces and Berar.

2732. (2)-*Reference I.*—(i) For the purposes of this reference I take the figures from the Census Report of 1911. I take the total figures of the Central Provinces and Berar as, in my opinion, there must be but one Legislative Assembly for these two parts. I shall state briefly my reasons why I consider that for administrative purposes the Central Provinces and Berar should be amalgamated. In round numbers the total population of the two Provinces is 14,000,000 approximately, made up as follows:—

(a) Hindoos (Brahmanic)	12,800,000
(b) Animists	2,500,000
(c) Mohamedans	585,000
(d) Christians	73,500
(e) Jains	71,500
(f) Sikhs	2,400
(g) Zoroastrians	1,800
(h) Aryas	1,000
(i) Jews	125
(j) Brahmoes	35
(k) Buddhists	10

Numerically classes (f) to (k), both inclusive, appear to be negligible. To the best of my information Sikhs have not got permanent interest in these parts. The small community of Sikhs appears to have migrated into these parts either for Government or Railway service or for undertaking some contract works. It is only a very small number of them that seems to have settled here permanently. In my opinion they do not deserve special representation on the local Legislative Assembly.

2733. (3) The case of Zoroastrians is somewhat different. They have got commercial interests in the land. The community itself is averse to separate or communal representation. Whatever interest they have acquired in the land can be adequately protected by bracketing them in the group of general tax-payers. The last four communities need no comment, and I believe I am right in saying that they do not need or deserve separate representation.

2734. (4) The Animists are a very backward community in every respect such as education, public spirit, political aspirations, etc. Their interests are in many respects identical with those of the principal major communities in whose hands their interests will be safe. I am not inclined to give them separate representation. Indeed I think it will be a mockery of representative institutions to give this class in these Provinces a separate representation. The Christians and the Jains are comparatively advanced communities who contribute substantially to the State revenue. But their political and social interests are so closely identical with those of the principal communities that I do not think that they need or deserve any special or separate representation. The representation of the Mohamedans is not hedged round with the difficulties we meet with in other parts of the country. In spite of the religious disturbances that took place about two years ago in Burhanpur and Jabalpur, I maintain that the relations between the Hindoos and the Mohamedans in these parts are generally friendly or cordial. The disturbances above referred to were, in my opinion, due not to any deep-rooted jealousy or animosity, but were caused by circumstances brought about by some mischief-mongers from the neighbouring Provinces. The desire that is at times expressed by some Mohamedans for a separate representation on the local bodies or elsewhere is in my opinion a half-hearted imitation of what is taking place elsewhere. In my opinion it is not genuine, and to my knowledge demand for separate representation was never pressed seriously. Our Municipal or Local Board Laws, or the rules made thereunder, do not recognize the claims of the Mohamedans for a separate representation. To my knowledge this absence of recognition was never made a grievance of by the community. The Provinces send two representatives to the Imperial Legislative Council, but no separate seat either on that Council or on the local Council was ever claimed by the Muslims. To my mind the silence of the Mohamedans to assert their rights for a separate recognition is not due to their ignorance or conviction that they would not be able to compete successfully with the other communities, especially Hindoos. In my opinion it is largely due to mutual confidence of trust and good will.

2735. (5) The so far harmonious relations between the Hindoos and Mohamedans in these Provinces are likely to be disturbed if separate representation is allowed to the Mohamedans. From my personal experience I can say that the Mohamedans or persons professing the Moslem faith have so much identified themselves with the Hindoos that even in social matters they are accustomed to look upon many things with the eyes of the Hindoos. There are judicial decisions to the effect that Mohamedans in the Satpura Districts (not merely converts but persons treated as pure

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mohamedans) are, in matters of inheritance, governed by the Hindoo Law.

2736. (6) The Mohamedan population in the Central Provinces and Berar is very small. Taken as a whole they comprise about 4 per cent. of the total population. Taken separately they comprise about 3 and 8 per cent. respectively in the Central Provinces and Berar. Educationally, commercially or otherwise they are not so advanced as to merit a number of seats proportionately larger or far in excess of their population. All they can claim or ought to get is a small number of seats in proportion to their population. The assignment or allotment of a small number of seats won't place them in a better or more advantageous position. I have stated before that separate representation to the Mohamedans would tend to disturb their harmonious relations with the Hindoos. In addition I may urge that its direct consequence would be to upset the time-honoured practice which has acquired the force of customary law in these Provinces, and which, for political purposes, has scrupulously refused to recognize caste or communal distinctions.

2737. (7) If we allow separate representation to the Mohamedans in the Legislative Assembly of these Provinces we cannot logically resist their claim which they will be encouraged to put forward for separate representation on the Local Bodies. Such a contingency was, I believe, not within the contemplation of the illustrious authors of the Scheme under discussion. The object of the Scheme is to improve upon the existing practice and to build a solid structure thereon. The object is not to introduce new elements, the likely consequences of which will be to bring about disruption or disunion or foster a spirit of jealousy and distrust. The system of responsible Government can be rooted in the development of representation on a national basis. It is recognized that communal representation is fatal to such development. Responsible Government is the goal aimed at by both the communities. In a Province like the Central Provinces it would be most undesirable to introduce new and unknown or not seriously claimed concessions which are sure to delay almost indefinitely the achievement of the ultimate object in view. I would, therefore, respectfully urge that in these Provinces the scheme may be tried without a separate representation to the Mohamedans. I make this appeal in the interest of all concerned, and not with any selfish motives in favour of any one community or in a spirit of hostility against another.

2738. (8) I may be permitted to say a few words by way of reply to the only two grounds on which the claim for separate representation can, with some show of reason, be sought for. In the first place it is said that Government has given a solemn pledge to the Mohamedans for a separate communal representation and that the recognized political leaders in the country have acquiesced in this pledge.

2739. (9) We all know that the alleged pledge was given at a time when responsible Government was not only not promised but it was denied. The alleged pledge was meant to be applicable to those provinces only where there were Council Governments and not to provinces like the Central Provinces where there was no council, and the idea of giving a council to the Central Provinces was not even conceived. This is amply borne out by the fact that even under the Morley-Minto Scheme the Central Provinces Mohamedans' right to a separate seat in the local or the Imperial Council was not recognized. Having regard to the very small population of the Mohamedans such a reservation would be unjustifiable.

2740. (10) The Congress leaders have, no doubt, decided to allot 15 per cent. of the seats on the local Council to the Mohamedans. No reasons have been assigned or can be ascertained in support of this concession. It would perhaps be too bold on my part to call into question the propriety of the decision arrived at by our recognized leaders. In this particular case, however, I do not think that it would be so, inasmuch

as I am convinced that the decision must have been arrived at without much thought and consideration or, at any rate, without an adequate knowledge or proper study of local conditions.

2741. (11) It is only on grounds of sentiment imitated but not inherent that communal representation can be granted or conceded to the Mohamedans in these Provinces. There are, moreover, practical difficulties in forming separate communal electorates for the Mohamedans who, both in the Central Provinces as well as in Berar, are scattered all over the Provinces. As the electorates will have to be formed from different and distant parts it would hardly be possible for the candidates to be in close touch with the voters or for the latter to have any effective control over the former. On these grounds, amongst others, I maintain that separate or communal representation for the Mohamedans in our Provinces is neither desirable nor necessary. In case, however, it is considered that such a representation is a settled fact, not liable to question or open to modification I shall specify later on the maximum of seats that can be allotted to the Mohamedans.

2742. (12) The question as to the advisability or otherwise of treating Berar as a part or as one of the divisions of the Central Provinces is closely connected with the size and composition of our prospective Council under the Reform Scheme. I have already stated before that these must be treated as part and parcel of the same Administration. Both on grounds of efficiency and economy the combination of the two parts into one administrative unit would be desirable. I have not been able to follow the grounds on which separate administration with a separate Legislative Council is claimed for Berar. The argument that the revenues derived within the Provinces ought to be spent on local improvements merits no consideration.

2743. (13) If this principle is once accepted we cannot logically resist the claim of a district or sub-division of a district or even perhaps of a village for similar treatment. Berar forms part of the territory belonging to His Exalted Highness the Nizam. If it were retransferred to him, no reasonable objection can be raised to His Exalted Highness pooling the Berar revenues with others and spending the whole on all parts of his territories according to their respective needs. For administrative purposes the British Government is now practically clothed with all the powers of His Exalted Highness, and they cannot therefore be stopped from pooling the Berar revenues with those derived in British India proper.

2744. (14) Their complaint that Berar needs do not receive sufficient attention from the Central Provinces Administration or that the Berar representatives on the Provincial Council have little or no voice in controlling the administrative and legislative acts of the Local Administration is void of foundation. It is only with regard to purely local laws that they seem to have some reasonable grievance. These, at present, are passed by the Executive Government in British India. I do not know the inclinations of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government regarding representative institutions like those under contemplation. If it is possible, Berar may be treated as a sub-province of the Central Provinces only for the purposes of special legislation like the Izardars and the tenants law affecting only Berar or part thereof. In every other respect Berar must be a part of the Central Provinces Administration. Suffice it to say that in consequence of the permanent transfer of Berar to the British Government and also on account of the establishment of a Council in the Central Provinces with a certain proportion of Berar representatives therein the Berar people are in a much better position than before, and it is probably on that ground that they do not desire a retransfer of the territory to His Exalted Highness the Nizam. A separate administration with a separate legislative council for a small territory consisting of four revenue districts with a population of about three millions is, to say the least,

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a costly luxury which cannot be justified on any reasonable grounds.

2745. (15) I now proceed with the discussion of other questions on the assumption that for the purpose of carrying into effect the reforms under discussion the Central Provinces and Berar will together be treated as an administrative unit. For the purposes of franchises, direct elections and other matters referred to in the subsequent sub-clauses of the major head, the Central Provinces and Berar may be treated alike.

2746. (16) My views with regard to class or interest electorates are the same as those relating to communal electorates. Nearly eighty per cent. of the population are agriculturists or depend upon agriculture, for their livelihood. The remaining twenty per cent. represent labour, commerce, mining and other industries. I cannot say what percentage of the population is absorbed by each one of these classes. Labour and artisan classes are not yet formed into organized associations. We have not got any Chamber of Commerce. Mining is a rising and prosperous industry, but only a small percentage of the local population has so far taken to it.

2747. (17) Either from the point of view of the population or from the total amount contributed to the State revenue or otherwise it is difficult to fix, especially with due regard to efficiency, the proportion of the representations of the various interests. Any attempt to fix the proportions by any one of the standards above indicated might lead to an inefficient council as the landholders, who are generally a backward and less public spirited class of people, will absorb considerably the major portion of the total number of seats on the council. I do not consider this to be desirable. Besides, we have to bear in mind the fact that, as between themselves, the interests of the landholders are either conflicting or are not quite identical. To give separate representations for these conflicting interests might lead to anomalies. I would, therefore, not have separate constituencies to represent different interests. In the case of the landholders, I think, the conflicting interests would be safeguarded or the domination of the one over the other would be considerably minimised if we have an approximately equal number of voters representing these conflicting interests. I shall explain later on how this can be done.

2748. (18) I shall now proceed to express my views regarding the franchises. I shall still stick to the view which I have pronounced on other occasions that, speaking generally, the people in these Provinces have not yet realized fully the importance and consequences of elections, and naturally they are yet innocent of what representation means and how it leads to responsible government. That is, however, no reason for not opening new opportunities to enable people to learn by experience the value of representative institutions.

2749. (19) The system of indirect elections is rightly condemned; elections should be through as large a number of people representing different interests as possible. Therefore in the case of landholders, I would extend the franchise from the malguzars or the zamindars to the ryots, tenants and plot-proprietors. I would extend it to income-tax payers and persons paying taxes to the Local Bodies and to others who do not fall within any of the aforesaid categories, provided they possess certain property qualifications such as an annual income of Rs. 300 or so derived from other than agricultural sources.

2750. (20) In the case of the two classes of landholders it would not serve the purpose to have one uniform standard of minimum amount of revenue or rent payable by a proprietor or a tenant. This must differ from district to district. The minimum in each case may be so fixed that in every district the number of voters of each class, viz., the malguzars and the tenants, may be approximately equal. The reason for this difference I have explained before. This will avoid the necessity of having separate constituencies for the malguzar and the tenants. The equalization of votes will have a sufficient check by one party over the other. I would include all the zamindars, irrespective of the amount of the land revenue

they are liable to pay, in the list of voters. In any case I would not allow the minimum of land revenue or rent payable by a malguzar and a tenant to be reduced below Rs. 75 and Rs. 25, respectively. I need not attempt to discuss in this note the various details. If the main principles above indicated are accepted it will give us a reasonably decent number of voters to start with. Speaking roughly, the total number of voters, would be about 2 to 3 per cent. in the Central Provinces and about 4 per cent. in Berar. This is all that we can aim at at present. The beginning, though slow, is decent. Having regard to the proverbial illiteracy of the people this would certainly be a distinct advance over the existing system obtaining in a province where illiteracy is a rule and literacy an exception. I would not make illiteracy a disqualification for voting. However, I consider it worth consideration that literacy coupled with certain property qualifications, even below the ordinary prescribed minimum limits, should be regarded as a qualification for voting.

2751. (21) I (2) It is by adopting the means above indicated that the system of direct elections can be mitigated and gradually extended or made wider.

2752. (22) I (3) As I am not in favour of class interest or communal elections, territorial electorates would be the best system suited to the conditions of these Provinces. Barring the conflicting interests as between the landholders, other interests are not conflicting with each other. Many malguzars or zamindars pay income-tax on incomes derived from trade, commerce, industries and even mining. In recommending territorial electorates I have not overlooked the importance of that class of landholders called zamindars or jahagirdars who hold considerable landed property called zamindaris or jahagirs in Chhattisgarh and other districts in the Central Provinces. Their general interests as affecting the land is not opposed to that of the ordinary malguzars. Besides, educationally or politically they, as a class, are either backward or are not so advanced as to deserve a special constituency.

2753. (23) The conditions of the Central Provinces, and even perhaps of Berar to a large extent, are such that the representation of the various classes, interests or communities will, for some time to come, have to rest in the hands of the educated classes generally belonging to the Bar or to the medical profession. Only a small proportion of members, I expect, will be recruited from outside these professions. Under these circumstances, I think I am justified in saying that territorial electorates would suit these Provinces best.

2754. (24) For the purposes of territorial electorates I would, to begin with, fix the revenue district in the Central Provinces and Berar as a unit. Although educationally or politically some of the districts in the Central Provinces are backward or less advanced, I would constitute each revenue district as a separate electorate. In districts in which only one interest predominates, such as agriculture, I think it would be enough to assign one or two seats according to the size and importance of the district. In districts where other interests of sufficient importance and magnitude co-exist along with agriculture, it would be appropriate to assign to that district as many more seats so that people possessing different interests will have a wider field for competition. My main object in assigning plural seats to some districts is to minimise the hardships arising out of keen competition which, partly if not wholly, may be due to adversity of interests. Whatever profession the candidate may belong to, whatever immediate interest he may have at heart, he must seek election at the hands of the entire body of voters whose names are entered in the electoral roll maintained for the whole district. It is thus that the candidates will care to be in touch with the people and will feel their responsibility to the general body of taxpayers. In this view I am opposed to the idea of reserving any seats for any towns in the Central Provinces or Berar, however important they may be otherwise. The reservation of seats for some towns may have some advantages, but the corresponding disadvantages are

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equally if not more important. In the first place such a reservation lacks the essential element of reciprocity or responsibility to the general body of tax-payers. The townspeople may serve special urban interests. What, however, is more especially needed is the protection or advancement of the rural interests. We have to educate properly the electorates and enlarge them. This is possible only if capable educated men in the towns mix with the people in the interior.

2755. (25) I (4) and (5) These two sub-clauses of the major head may be dealt with together. The answer to part (4) depends upon the solution of the question involved in part (5).

2756. (26) As the proper constitution of the electorate depends upon the material available for it so also the composition of the Council depends upon the material available for the same. Any defects or short-comings existing in any component part of the former may not be as injurious as those existing in the latter. The composition—by which I mean the strength of the council—must be determined not only with reference to the general advance of education, public spirit, patriotism or any amount of genuine desire to render service to the country or, for the matter of that, by the amount of interest at stake, but if must be determined with due regard to the ability and willingness of the people to translate their public spirit, patriotism or desire into concrete actions. I do not mean any slur on my countrymen. I fully appreciate their zeal and enthusiasm. As against this we have to bear in mind that their activities are hedged round with innumerable difficulties, mostly due to private circumstances or limited means. Those who have got any means to fall back upon have not yet begun to appreciate fully the benefits of political rights. Those who believe in it have not got enough time to devote to political work. Council work hereafter will consist of responsible and constructive criticism, initiation of policies and control of the administration. All this will require close study. Superficial study won't do. We shall require men for the various standing committees. All this means an amount of self-sacrifice on the part of individuals.

2757. (27) In suggesting the size and the composition of the council we must bear in mind these difficulties, no doubt beyond the control of the educated people. It is no use to ignore these facts. We must face the hard facts. Theoretically a large-sized council appears to be an excellent thing, because it opens opportunities to so many men to get an insight into the different problems connected with the administration. The question, however, is how many people will be in a position to avail themselves of these opportunities. A large sized council means large expenditure which, if we really mean to be responsible to the tax-payer, must be justified by events. Personally I would be content with a council of a reasonable size with a large number of working members rather than to have a large-sized council with a number of ornamental members. Bearing in mind the above difficulties I am not inclined to subscribe to the suggestion made from certain quarters that the local legislative assembly should consist of as many as 80 or 100 members. The maximum strength of the local assembly may, by statute, be fixed at 75 or even 100. To begin with the council may consist of 50 members, of whom not less than 40 should be elected and not more than 10 nominated officials as well as non-officials. Out of the 40 elected members I would assign 12 to the 4 Berar districts and 28 to the 18 districts in the Central Provinces. In case it is decided that the Mohamedans in these Provinces should have a separate communal representation, I would assign them four seats, two in Berar (one for Eastern and for Western Berar) and two for the Central Provinces (one for the Jubbulpore and the Nerbudda Divisions and one for the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions). The remaining 36 seats I would distribute as follows amongst the various districts:—

Nagpur	5
Wardha	2

Bhandara	1
Balaghat	1
Chanda	1
Raipur	2
Bilaspur	1
Drug	1
Jubbulpore	3
Seoni	1
Mandla	1
Damoh	1
Saugor	1
Hoshangabad	1
Narsinghpur	1
Nimar	1
Botul	1
Chhindwara	1
Amraoti	4
Akola	3
Yeotmal	2
Buldana	1

Out of the nominated seats I would reserve four for non-officials to represent minorities such as mining or factory interests, European or Anglo-Indian communities, and University and one expert. The remaining six may be officials.

If no seats are reserved for Mohamedana, the aforesaid four seats may be allotted to such districts in the Central Provinces and Berar as have got the largest Mohamedan population to open a wider field to the Mohamedans for competition. With slight modifications here or there the aforesaid distribution ought to satisfy the present political as well as industrial activities of the different districts concerned.

2758. (28) II (i)—*Indian Legislative Assembly*.—The representatives from the Central Provinces and Berar on this Assembly may be six. I fix this number on the supposition that one of these seats will be claimed by the Mohamedans. For the reasons which I already have given in another part of the note I think that separate representation for the Mohamedans is not needed. In case one seat is reserved for the Mohamedans, it will have to be enjoyed alternately by the Mohamedans in the Central Provinces and Berar, that is, the Berar or the Central Provinces Mohamedans, possessing prescribed property qualifications and not disqualified on any personal grounds, will form Mohamedan electorates.

As regards the other five seats I think that each one of the four revenue divisions in the Central Provinces and Berar should constitute separate territorial electorates. I am not in favour of any method of indirect election or election through the non-official members of the provincial legislative assembly. We have had bitter experience of both these systems in these Provinces, and I shall be the last person to recommend their continuance. I am afraid even with modifications, which I am unable to conceive, the present system of indirect elections is not capable of improvement. For election to the Indian Legislative Assembly I do not think that a revenue division is too large an electoral area as to constitute a serious impediment to a candidate coming into touch with the voters.

2759. (29) As in the case of the provincial legislative assembly too, the franchise should include landholders and income-tax-payers. To these may be added graduates, members of the provincial legislative assembly and non-officials elected members of the local bodies including sanitation committees in case they do not fall under any one of the above categories. In any case I would include the directors of the Co-operative Central Banks.

2760. (30) In determining the franchise for the Provincial Legislative Assembly I have not specially mentioned the graduates and members of the local bodies as the property qualifications suggested by me are so low that presumably all these classes would come under one or the other category. In the case of the Indian Legislative Assembly I propose to suggest a much higher property qualification. If the suggestion is accepted, it might possibly deprive a large number of educated men and

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public workers of the right of vote which they are accustomed or trained to exercise in an intelligent manner. In support of the inclusion of the directors of the Co-operative Banks I may assign an additional reason. For direct elections and board franchises it is essential that the actual tillers of the soil should have some voice in controlling the elections. This argument may apply to labour and artisans also. Unfortunately, however, they are not yet organized into associations. Tenants are in some places organized into societies. Wherever such associations exist, they may be availed of for the purpose of broadening the franchise.

2761. (31) At the same time I think it advisable to limit for the present the field for the franchise to make it easily accessible to the candidate. It is therefore that I have suggested the directors of the Banks only. The franchise in the case of tenants is very limited and narrow. I think we ought to be content with it for the present.

2762. (32) In the absence of actual or approximate figures, which I have not been able to obtain it is difficult to fix the minimum limits of property qualifications. In any case I think that they should not be less than double the limits prescribed for the local legislative assemblies.

2763. (33) Before leaving this subject I should like to answer one objection that is urged against territorial electorates. It is apprehended in some quarters that name or honour seeking persons who happen to have considerable influence in rural areas where the number of voters is bound to be large would swamp really qualified persons whose services on the assembly would be most useful. Such a contingency would be minimised by prescribing different qualifications for voters and candidates. The candidates, to be able to follow the proceedings intelligently, must possess adequate knowledge of the language in which the proceedings of the assembly would ordinarily be conducted. Until the Provinces are reconstituted on a linguistic basis English must be the language of the councils.

2764. (34) *III.—The Council of State.*—The scheme laid down in paragraph 277 does not appear to be consistent with the principles enunciated by the Congress or any other political bodies in the country. The Council of State was not within the contemplation of the Congress. From the tenor of paragraph 277 it appears that the idea is to have at least 6 Mohamedans in this Council either by election or by nomination. For the present we are concerned with elections and their methods. If communal representation for the Mohamedans is a settled fact and a policy of wisdom which must be adhered to at any cost, it would be well to reserve a certain number of seats not exceeding 1/3rd the total number of the elected members of the Council. In case seats are reserved in this manner the Mohamedans should have no right to seek elections otherwise. The elections to these reserved seats should be either direct or indirect. About 1/3rd of these seats may be elected by means of indirect election, that is, elections through the non-official Mohamedan members of the various provincial legislative councils and the Indian Legislative Assembly. The remaining 2/3rds seats may be by direct election. Barring the differences between the Shia and the Sunni, the interests of the Mohamedans throughout the country are very nearly identical. Therefore I think that the direct elections need not every time be through separate electorates maintained in each province. These electorates may be formed in provinces where from the point of view of population, education, wealth, etc., the Mohamedan interest predominates, or the provinces may be grouped together and may be given this right by turns.

2765. (35) It is curious that as in the case of the Mohamedans so in the case of the landed classes the paragraph in question gives no indication as to the number of members of the landed classes the council should consist of. If the landed classes regard separate representation as necessary to safeguard their interests, two would certainly be an insufficient number of seats.

Besides I have not been able to understand why a separate representation to the landed classes is considered

absolutely necessary in an Imperial Assembly like the State Council. Most of the important legislative measures relating to land will hereafter be undertaken by the provincial councils.

2766. (36) Apart from this consideration there is still a serious objection to a certain number of seats being reserved for the landed classes. It is not easy to understand how a small number of so-called representatives will adequately represent and properly safeguard the interests of the landed classes throughout the country. We have to bear in mind the different land revenue system or land tenures in vogue in different parts of the country. In some parts we have got the ryotwari system under which the actual tiller of the soil pays land revenue direct to government. In some parts we have got permanent settlements. In other parts we have the zamindari or the malguzari system. A general tax payer considers the two latter systems as disadvantageous to him or prejudicial to his interest. The class in which I perceive the serious difficulty is the last one. If on the one hand it is necessary to devise measures calculated to protect the interests owned by the proprietors known as zamindars, jaghirdars or malguzars it is still more important to do so in the case of tenants on whose exertions, labour, etc., the agricultural prosperity of the country depends. Speaking from my experience of the Central Provinces, I say that the interests of the tenants will not always be safe in the hands of the malguzars, zamindars or jaghirdars. Nevertheless I apprehend that separate representation of the tenants is bound to excite an amount of resentment and opposition on the part of the proprietary classes. In an important assembly like the State Council with a limited number of elected seats it is next to impossible to secure adequate representation of the different landed interests varying in nature from province to province. In view of these difficulties which appear to me to be insurmountable and likely to frustrate the main object in view, I am not in a position to suggest any suitable electorate to secure an adequate representation of the interests of all the landed classes throughout the country.

2767. (37) The abovementioned argument of mine is partly based on the assumption that with regard to the maximum strength and the component parts of the Council of State the suggestions contained in paragraph 277, though ostensibly recommendatory, are more or less of a mandatory character. On this assumption we shall have 19 elected seats, excluding the two proposed to be reserved for the Chambers of Commerce. It is exceedingly probable that not less than two out of these 19 seats will be secured by *bona fide* landholders. In this view special seats for the landed classes do not appear to be called for. The same may be said about the Mohamedans, but their case has to be dealt with on entirely different grounds.

2768. (38) There are no Chambers of Commerce in these Provinces. I would allocate the 21 elected seats as follows:—

- 5 for Mohamedans to be elected in the manner aforesaid.
- 2 for Chambers of Commerce by those bodies wherever they exist.

I am unable to agree with the suggestion contained in paragraph 277 that the unallotted or unreserved seats, 14 or 15, should be distributed amongst the various provinces in certain proportions, and the legislative councils of the particular Province concerned should elect the prescribed number of members. It is strange, that the illustrious authors of the scheme who have themselves condemned this indirect method of election even in the case of provincial councils should have recommended its adoption in the case of an Imperial Assembly of the highest importance in the country. We have had bitter experience of this system in the past which led to barter or bargains almost amounting to frauds. I shall be sorry if the system is continued especially in the case of the Council of the State. Members of this assembly must be returned by fair means and that can be achieved

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by widening the size of the electorate. It would perhaps not be possible in this case to have direct election in the strict sense of the term. The electorate should, in my opinion, consist of non-official members of all the provincial councils and the Indian legislative assembly. The wider the electorate the less the possibilities of barter, bargains or frauds. I do not think, under this scheme, the candidates will be put to undue inconvenience or disadvantages. Men known all over the country will generally think of contesting seats on the State Council and they will not have to encounter insurmountable difficulties. It is in the fitness of things that elections to these councils should be by selected men from all over the country.

2768A. If this scheme is considered impracticable or beyond the pale of practical politics, I would suggest another one in the alternative. In each province there should be maintained an electoral roll consisting of per-

sons representing different interests, but possessing property, educational and other qualifications much higher than those prescribed either for the provincial council or the Indian legislative assembly, and the seats assigned to each province should be elected by persons so enrolled.

2769. (39) I do not understand why the Burma Legislative Council should have a right to elect a member to the Council of State. Burma is proposed to be excluded from the operation of this Reform Scheme (vide paragraph 198 of the Report). It is in my opinion illogical that the council of a province which is considered to be unfit for the Reform Scheme should have a right to elect a member to the Council of State. Unless the Burma Council is reformed or reconstituted in accordance with the principles underlying the scheme under consideration, I think it would not be sound to vest in the council of that province the power to elect a member to this Council of State.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar, called and examined.

2770. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a pleader and a member of the local Legislative Council, at present representing the landholders of the Chhattisgarh and Nagpur divisions. He was himself qualified for a vote in the landholders' electorate.

2771. He was opposed to any form of communal representation in the Central Provinces on the ground that the interests of Animists, Christians and Muhammadans were identical with the interests of other classes of the population. If, however, it was decided to give separate representation to the Muhammadans it should not exceed what they were entitled to on the basis of population. In his opinion, and having regard to the Central Provinces only, the Lucknow compact should be disregarded, but if anything done in the Central Provinces was likely to affect arrangements effected in other parts of the country he did not wish to press this opinion. He was a member of the Congress but was not present in December 1916 when the compact was reached. He admitted that there had never been any protest against it since then. Several members from the Central Provinces were on the Committee that accepted this scheme. His objection to the compact, whereby 15 per cent. of the seats were given to the Muhammadans, was that it would cause hardship to other communities. If all communities were to get communal representation, the Muhammadans would perhaps be entitled to not more than 5 per cent. He did not however consider that because communal representation was given to the Muhammadans it must also be granted to other communities.

2772. He was similarly opposed to separate representation for classes as distinct from communities. He recognised that there was a divergence of interests between malguzars and tenants, but those separate interests should be recognised by the formation of an electorate containing approximately an equal number of each. To arrive at this result it would be necessary to fix a separate qualification for the malguzar and a separate qualification for the tenant in almost every district. This might lead to objections in some cases, but in any case there would have to be some difference of qualification from district to district and any arrangement must be artificial.

2773. He proposed to give votes to lambardars as such because they had a certain social position and some of them might not be qualified on a property qualification by reason of their being members of a joint family. Lambardars were only appointed by Government in some cases; the wishes of the co-shapers were always ascertained before the lambardar was appointed, so that generally they were not selected by Government, and his proposal was therefore not open to objection on the ground that the lambardar was a Government nominee.

2774. In some parts there were villages in which a conservancy cess was levied. He referred to them when he spoke in paragraph (19) of his memorandum of taxes paid to local bodies. He would impose the same standard of tax as in the case of voters at municipal elections.

2775. It was true that the municipal franchise varied from place to place but he would not like to substitute for it a uniform house-rent franchise as proposed by the Local Administration. As however there were some towns in the Central Provinces with very little direct taxation, he would like both qualifications and allow a vote to any one who satisfied either of them.

2776. He was prepared to drop his suggestion of a combined literacy and property qualification because it would be complicated. In its place he would propose a purely literary qualification, viz., the Upper Primary School examination. There would be no difficulty in finding out who had passed this examination; if the Inspectors or Deputy Inspectors of schools had not got a list, at least the person who had passed the examination possessed a certificate. This difficulty would, of course, be considerably less in the case of matriculates, but in any case the duty of preparing the electoral roll would present difficulties. Both in the towns and in the rural areas nearly every one who had passed the Upper Primary examination would possess the property qualification.

2777. He objected to separate representation for landlords. It was true that this proposal deprived the landlords of separate representation, but the Morley-Minto Councils were quite different from what the new Councils would be. He held the view that the tenants were a more important body than the malguzars.

2778. Where he assigned two or more seats to one district he intended that the district should form one constituency with plural seats. Judging from the experience he had had of municipal elections he did not think this arrangement would cause any trouble. Each voter would have as many votes as there were seats. Generally speaking the districts in the Central Provinces were small and there would be no difficulty in canvassing the electors. He preferred this to dividing the district up into several constituencies.

2779. He did not wish to have any urban constituencies at all. If the towns were amalgamated with the rural constituencies, for the first two or three elections it would be the towns that would have most influence; if the townspeople could not contest seats successfully, then they did not deserve to be members of the Council. Many of the towns subsisted on doles from the general revenues, which was a reason for subordinating the townspeople to the rural interests; the District Councils also subsisted on grants from Government.

2780. He suggested a Council of 50 members. He was not in favour of a Grand Committee and therefore had not adjusted the figures to suit it.

2781. He suggested 6 members for the Central Provinces and Berar on the Indian Legislative Assembly although the Report only provided 5, in order to make provision for a separate Muhammadan seat over and above the seat which he wished to give to each division. If increasing the representation of the Central Provinces meant that some other province would be deprived of

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a sent in the Assembly, he would suggest that the Nerbudda and Jubbulpore divisions and the Chhattisgarh division should get a seat alternately.

2782. He was in favour of direct election to the Assembly because the effect of indirect election was that the members of the Local Council were elected not on their merits but in order to vote for a particular candidate for the Imperial Council. He had noticed the same thing going on in elections to the local bodies in some cases. The advantages of direct election outweighed the disadvantages of having three separate elections to the Local Council, the Assembly and the Council of State. (To make the electorates manageable it would be necessary to raise the qualifications for voters at elections to the Assembly but that again was preferable to indirect election.)

2783. The Directors of Co-operative Central Banks should vote at elections to the Assembly. He did not propose that Co-operative Societies should have votes for the Provincial Council through their President or Secretary because these people would already be qualified to vote either as tenants or proprietors. It was impossible to keep Co-operative Societies aloof from politics; the number of Directors would be very small and they could not control the elections.

2784. (Mr. Hailey.) If the leaders of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities expressed the opinion that a departure from the Lucknow compact would result in disturbances, i.e., political discontent, then the Committee should adhere to the compact. He believed that there had been no real discussion in Lucknow about the Central Provinces and that if the case of the Central Provinces was treated on its merits the country at large would not regard it as important.

2785. The mining interest, the factory interest, the University, Europeans and Anglo-Indians should be provided for by nomination. Elections would be preferable in some ways but he only wanted territorial constituencies.

2786. The zamindars should not be recognised as a separate class. They enjoyed certain concessions in regard to land revenue and to that extent they could be distinguished from malguzars, but they were very few in number.

2787. He recognised no distinction between urban and rural requirements. There was no doubt objection to an urban candidate interested in some urban legislation appealing to rural candidates for their votes, but this did not give the urban population the right of separate representation.

2788. The claim of such interests as factory owners to separate representation on the Local Council must depend on what subjects came within the purview of the local Council. Factory owners and persons representing factory or mining interests would get votes as income-tax payers.

2789. At present there was no material for compiling a list of persons with an annual income of Rs. 300. The same procedure would have to be followed as in preparing the electoral rolls for Local Boards in the Central Provinces where the qualification was Rs. 250. The roll might be unsatisfactory but some standard had to be taken. He could suggest no better method.

2790. As regards the joint family he personally would like to give only one vote so as to avoid complications. There was always a manager and there would be no diffi-

culty in selecting the person who should have the single vote. The difficulty about giving more than one vote lay in ascertaining the exact shares. In the case of malguzars shares were recorded, in the case of tenants shares were not recorded. Where the family consisted of a father and sons, the son's names would not be recorded.

2791. He would allow women to vote, but he would exclude minors and criminals and persons disqualified in the usual ways.

2792. A place of residence within the constituency need not be insisted on either for voters or candidates, but they must be resident within the province. Persons qualified by property who were not resident in the province would be very rare, possibly a few Marwaris. He would exclude residents of Native States unless they had a property qualification in the Central Provinces. Berar men might vote in the Central Provinces.

2793. (Mr. Sastri.) He was opposed to communal representation on principle and he also thought 15 per cent. seats for the Muhammadans too much. There would be plenty of Muhammadans to fill these seats but it would be difficult to create constituencies. Moreover the Muhammadans in the Central Provinces and Berar were not homogeneous. As a matter of expediency however he was prepared to abide by the Lucknow compact.

2794. There was no objection on political grounds to giving votes to lambardars.

2795. He proposed only 50 members in the Provincial Council, but his scheme was really more liberal than that of the Local Administration because 80 per cent. of the total would be elected as against 70 per cent. under the scheme proposed by Government. He thought one-fifth of the seats quite sufficient in a Council of 50 to provide for nomination of the officials required for the Grand Committee.

2796. (Mr. Hogg.) Berar should get 30 per cent. of the elected seats.

2797. His only objection to election in the case of separate interests was on grounds of general principle.

2798. (Mr. Banerjee.) He only gave separate electorates to the Muhammadans because it would be more dangerous to refuse it to them than to the others. He withdrew his objections in their case on the ground of expediency.

2799. He considered 40 to 50 a suitable size for the Council. He was more concerned about the proportionate number of elected members than about the size of the Council.

2800. In his opinion the interests of the depressed classes would not suffer even if they had no separate representation.

2801. The interests of malguzars and of tenants were different, if not hostile, partly because the tenants had no transferable interest in the land. They could be represented by lawyers because he proposed that candidates should reside in any part of the province, and his view was that for some time to come most of the seats in the Council would be occupied by lawyers to the exclusion even of landlords.

2802. (Mr. Ajab.) The Muhammadans of the Central Provinces and Berar would prefer election to nomination.

2803. (Mr. Willa.) The electorate which elected him to the Council consisted of 376 members spread over 8 districts. Most of these were qualified by the Rs. 3,000 land revenue standard, and rather over 70 were qualified as Darbaris and Honorary Magistrates.

Rao Bahadur D. N. CHAUDHURI.

Written Statement.

2804. I. Provincial Legislative Council for Central Provinces and Berar.

(a) The present strength of the Council is as follows:—

1. Elected members for Central Provinces	8
2. Election-cum-nomination for Berar	3
3. Nominated members	5
4. Official members including the President	10
TOTAL	26

2805. II. I would propose that the total strength of the Council under the Reforms Scheme should be as follows:—

1. Elected including Berar	32
2. Nominated	8
3. Official members	10
TOTAL	50

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(1) I would allot the elected members as follows:—

Nagpur Division	7
Jubbulpore Division	6
Nerbudda Division	6
Chhattisgarh Division	5
Berar	6
Muhammadan Special Electorate members	2
TOTAL	32

(2) I would allot the members for the Division to the respective districts as follows:—

1. Nagpur Division (7)	1. Nagpur	3
	2. Wardha	1
	3. Bhandara	1
	4. Chanda	1
	5. Balaghat	1
2. Jubbulpore Division (6)	1. Jubbulpore	2
	2. Saugor	1
	3. Damoh	1
	4. Seoni	1
	5. Mandla	1
3. Nerbudda Division (6)	1. Hoshangabad	2
	2. Chhindwara	1
	3. Khandwa	1
	4. Betul	1
	5. Narsinghpur	1
4. Chhattisgarh Division (5)	1. Raipur	3
	2. Bilaspur	1
	3. Drug	1
	4. Amraoti	1
5. Berar (6)	1. Akola	2
	2. Buldana	1
	3. Yavatmal	1
	4. Yeotmal	1

(3) I have allotted eight members to the list of nomination and I am sure that it will meet all needs of representation of minorities, classes, interests and communities. As a matter of fact there are no important minorities to be specially represented. The Muhammadans form such a small community in these Provinces that I do not think it will be necessary to give them more than two members to be returned by their special electorate. I would not give any special representation to landlords because their interest will be well represented and championed by many of the elected and nominated members. Nagpur University has not yet come into being but when it does, one of the seats for the Nagpur District may very well be allotted to it.

(4) I do not think there is any necessity for more official members than ten. At present they

fully represent all the departments of Government and they will continue to do so in future. Moreover, two members of the Executive Council will be *ex-officio* members of the Legislative Council also.

2806. III. As regards franchises and constituencies, I would make the following observations:—

(1) The chief merit of the Reforms Scheme is that it seeks to do away with indirect representation and to make the franchise as broad as possible. But at the end of paragraph 226, the authors of the report have conveyed a warning "against any such inordinate and sudden extension of the franchise as might lead to a breakdown of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers."

2807. These Provinces are still much backward in point of education and public spirit. But as the authors of the report say in the same paragraph, "the limitations of the franchise should be determined rather with reference to practical difficulties than to any *a priori* considerations as to the degree of education or amount of income," it will be necessary, in my opinion, to include illiterate persons also who may not be disqualified by character or conduct or physical defect of a serious nature.

2808. I would therefore, propose the following minimum qualifications for the new franchise:—

1. For the rural area, rent or revenue of Rs. 50 per year.
2. For the urban area, a tax in some shape of Rs. 2 per annum.

2809. In the Raipur District, of which I have some knowledge, my proposed qualification under head (1) above, would give about 3,500 voters, out of whom only about 65 will be Muhammadans. I am not acquainted with the conditions of other districts, but I believe the number will nowhere exceed 6 or 8 thousand.

2810. As regards the urban area the tax-paying qualification of Rs. 2 will result in the enlistment of about 2,500 voters in place of about 1,100 in the Raipur Town, and proportionately to population the number will increase in the same ratio in other urban areas in this district.

2811. (2) As regards the means for direct election I would propose that lists of voters possessing the above qualifications should be prepared separately for each tahsil and municipal area, and polls should be held in each tahsil head-quarters and municipal town before a responsible high official of the Government. The polls should be held all on the same date and no proxy votes should be allowed. Appropriate regulations should be made stopping malpractices by or on behalf of candidates, and personal canvassing, so far as possible, should be done away with.

Rai Bahadur D. N. Chaudhuri, called and examined.

2812. (*Six Frank Sly.*) He was a domiciled Bengali pleader, resident in Raipur. He was president of the local municipality and a member of the district council.

2813. Out of a Council of 50 he proposed 32 elected and 18 nominated members. The nominated element was large in order to avoid separate electorates. He had allotted seats on the basis of the importance of each division and, if necessary, he was prepared to raise the number of members in the Council. Landlords should not have a separate electorate because they would be sufficiently represented either by election or by nomination.

2814. He proposed a standard of Rs. 50 rent or land revenue payment because he thought a tenant paying Rs. 50 in rent was almost as respectable a person as a malguzar paying Rs. 50 in revenue. He had tried to get some common measure of intelligence rather than of property. He considered also that a man who paid a tax of Rs. 2 in a town was on about the same level of

intelligence as a man who paid Rs. 50 land revenue. In his own municipality a vote was given to persons who paid Rs. 4 in taxes but he thought that that was too high.

2815. (*Mr. Astab.*) The Province was a backward one, so he thought there should be a large proportion of nomination, but he was prepared to modify that and reduce the number of nominated members to one-third.

2816. He thought that a Council of 65 members as proposed by Government was quite fair.

2817. He proposed to give two seats out of 32 to Muhammadan special electorates. Muhammadans were not entitled in the Central Provinces to have any direct representation at all because they formed such a small minority and their interests were so small, but he desired to give them some encouragement. He would not allow them to stand in the general electorates as well. He was now prepared to accept the Local Government's proposal that they should have three seats, but no more.

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Rai Bahadur D. N. CHAUDHURI.

[Continued.]

He was aware of the Lucknow compact, but in recommending two seats for the Muhammadans he had been taking local conditions into consideration. He would agree to accept the compact.

2818. He agreed with the Government scheme that there should be urban constituencies, but he thought that the nine seats might be raised to 16 without necessarily

reducing the rural seats. The towns represented the intelligence and culture of the province.

2819. He would not object to giving votes to registered graduates until the provincial University came into existence. He would like to stop canvassing if possible, but he would not make it a penal offence.

RAGHUBIR PRASAD, Esq.

Written Statement.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

2820. To make the franchise as broad as possible I would propose to limit the qualifications of a voter as given below, but as for constituencies I wish I could propose a tahsil to be a single constituency but this will very much increase the numerical strength of the Council, and therefore I propose that big districts be divided into tahsils or parganas to form separate constituencies, while small districts should each form a single constituency. In forming these constituencies, regard will be had to population, education and revenue of the district.

2821. Qualifications of a voter—

Every person who—

- (i) holds land and pays at least Rs. 25 as rent or Rs. 15 as land revenue;
- (ii) has property worth at least Rs. 150;

Provided that he has resided in the village for which he is to be recorded as a voter for a period of at least 12 months immediately preceding the date of election;

- (iii) is not a female, minor, or lunatic;
- (iv) has not been convicted of a heinous offence.

Qualifications of a representative—

- (i) should be literate;
- (ii) should hold land and pay Rs. 1,000 as rent or Rs. 600 as land revenue; or
- (iii) should have property worth Rs. 2,000;
- (iv) should reside in the unit which he represents for a period of at least three years immediately preceding the date of election;
- (v) should not be a female, minor or lunatic;
- (vi) should not be convicted of a heinous offence.

2822. (2) For municipal areas every municipal town should be the polling centre and for rural areas every Revenue Inspector's circle. The polling officer in the case of Government servants should not be below the grade of an Extra-Assistant Commissioner and in other cases such gentlemen of position as the Deputy Commissioner of the district may appoint. As the majority of voters will be illiterate, I would recommend that they

Mr. Raghurir Prasad, called and examined.

2828. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a malguzar of the Narsinghpur district paying a revenue of Rs. 1,600.

2829. The main principle of his scheme was that the constituency should be so small that the member should be in direct touch with the voters. The tahsils should be the constituencies if possible, but if that was not possible, the district should be subdivided in some other way. Each constituency should return one member.

2830. The qualification for voters should be a payment of Rs. 25 rent or Rs. 15 revenue in order to make the franchise as broad as possible. The status of a malguzar who paid Rs. 15 land revenue would be the same as that of a tenant paying Rs. 25 rent.

2831. The second qualification proposed for voters was that they should have property, that need not necessarily be immovable property, worth at least Rs. 150. Patwaris could estimate the value of a man's property.

Written Statement.

2835. The Berar Provincial Congress Committee and the people of Berar had asked for a separate legislative

be provided with tickets representing each candidate by a distinct colour and they be recorded by ballot.

2823. (3) The Central Provinces is almost entirely an agricultural country, and as such is not divided into communities so far as their interests in the rural areas are concerned. In rural areas every person without any distinction of caste and creed should have a right to vote and select his best candidate to represent him. To create any communal representation in such a province will be to create friction, and therefore any communal representation in rural areas is not desirable. The case may be different in urban areas for which a few seats may be reserved and may be filled up by direct election by the communities entitled to communal representation.

2824. (4) Nominated official members should be 10 per cent. of the total strength of the Council.

2825. (5) The total strength of the Provincial Council should be 80 as follows:—

48 rural population.	
8 Municipalities	5 for 5 Divisions.
	3 for Jubbulpore, Nagpur, and Amraoti.

4 Commerce and Industries.

4 Minorities.

*16 Nominated, half officials and half non-officials.

TOTAL 80

II.—LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

2826. (6) When the Provincial Council is fully representative of the province, indirect election of the representatives for the Legislative Assembly, by the non-official members of the Provincial Council would be more suitable. The strength of the Legislative Assembly should not be less than 150 members, of which the Central Provinces should contribute at least 10.

III.—COUNCIL OF STATE.

2827. (7) As far as this body is concerned, I am not prepared to recommend its formation. But if it is absolutely necessary to form one, as a matter of policy, I would propose that at least half the number of the members in this body should be elected.

2832. Higher qualifications were proposed for candidates in order to secure responsible men thoroughly conversant with local affairs. Candidates should reside for at least three years in their constituencies. He did not want residents in the towns to come and stand for election in the rural constituencies. If the districts were subdivided into constituencies, he would allow any man to stand provided he did not come from outside the district.

2833. He proposed that the special landholders, representation should be abolished because for the present at all events there would not be many cultivators coming forward for election.

2834. (Mr. Ahab.) The Muhammadan element in the Central Provinces was so small that he did not think it desirable to have a separate electorate for them. They could be represented by nomination.

J. B. DESHMUKH, Esq.

council for their Province in the address they had presented to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State. What we Berar people

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[Continued.]

want is a separate legislative council and separate finance. The distinguished authors of the Reforms proposals remark at the end of paragraph 246 of the Reforms Report: "In Orissa and Berar at all events it seems to us that the possibility of instituting sub-provinces need not be excluded from consideration at a very early date." If the request of Berar to make it a separate province be at once granted, I propose the following constitution.

2836. (2) Constitution of the Berar Council if a separate council for it is established.

Besides the head of the Province total numbers of members to be 50 as follows:—

(1) Nominated officials and non-officials	10
(2) Elected by municipal voters of Municipalities of the districts of Amraoti and Yeotmal	3
(3) Elected by municipal voters of the municipalities of the districts of Akola and Buldana	3
(4) Elected by Muhammadans alone being 21 years of age and above and having an annual income of Rs. 100 and upwards. Muhammadans of the Amraoti and Akola districts to elect two members each and Muhammadans of Yeotmal and Buldana to elect one member each	6
(5) Elected by registered Watandars and Jagirdars of the whole of Berar	2
(6) Elected by graduates of any University recognised in India and Great Britain residing in Berar	2
(7) Elected by persons paying land revenue to Government of Rs. 500 and above and by income-tax payers residing in places outside municipal areas. Three members to be elected by voters residing in the Amraoti district and three in the Akola district and two members to be elected by persons residing in the Yeotmal district and two in the Buldana district	10
(8) Elected by persons residing in places outside municipal areas paying land revenue to Government of Rs. 15 and upwards up to Rs. 500, or having an annual total income of Rs. 300 and upwards up to Rs. 1,000. Three members to be elected by the Amraoti and Akola districts each and two members to be elected by the districts of Yeotmal and Buldana each	10
(9) Elected by persons residing in places outside municipal areas whose annual income is Rs. 100 and upwards up to Rs. 300 (one member to be elected by voters of each district)	4
TOTAL	50

2837. (3) If a separate council and a separate finance are not to be granted to Berar, I propose the following constitution.

Constitution of the Central Provinces Legislative Council if Berar is to be a part of the Central Provinces. Total number of members to be 100 as follows:—

(1) Nominated officials	10
(2) Nominated non-officials	5
(3) Elected members for the Central Provinces	55
(4) Elected members for Berar	30
TOTAL	100

2838 (4) The number of members for Berar proposed by me may appear disproportionate, but taking into

consideration the facts that (i) the revenue of the whole of the Central Provinces was Rs. 2,61,98,213 only for the year 1916-17, while that of Berar was Rs. 1,75,88,072; (ii) the proportion of the revenue from income-tax between the Central Provinces and Berar was 5 to 4 according to the report of 1917; (iii) the average land revenue of one district in Berar is more than the average land revenue of three districts in the Central Provinces; and (vi) the average number of literates for one district in Berar exceeds largely that of the Central Provinces districts according to the census of 1911, my proposal will appear just and equitable. This claim of Berar is almost already admitted as Berar at present elects three out of ten elected members for the present council of the Central Provinces.

2839. (5) The thirty members proposed for Berar to be elected as under:—

(1) Elected by municipal voters of the municipalities of the districts of Amraoti and Yeotmal	2
(2) Elected by municipal voters of the districts of Akola and Buldana	2
(3) Elected by Muhammadans over twenty-one years of age and having an annual income of Rs. 100 and upwards, one by the Muhammadans of each district. Four for four districts	4
(4) Elected by registered Watandars and Jagirdars of the whole Berar	1
(5) Elected by graduates of any University recognised in India and Great Britain residing in Berar	1
(6) Elected by persons residing outside municipal areas and paying land revenue to Government of Rs. 500 and upwards or paying income-tax to Government. Two members to be elected by the voters in each district	8
(7) Elected by persons residing outside municipal areas and paying annually land revenue to Government from Rs. 15 to Rs. 500 or having an annual income of Rs. 300 and upwards up to Rs. 1,000. Two members to be elected by each district	8
(8) Elected by persons residing outside municipal areas having an annual income from Rs. 100 up to Rs. 300. One member to be elected by each district	4
TOTAL	30

2840. (6) The above will show that I am not in favour of communal representation. Such a representation in my opinion is neither practicable or conducive to the better interests of the country. Muhammadans are given communal representation because Government is pledged to that again and again and people cannot see their way to avoid it except by creating commotion amongst the community which is at no time desirable much less at the present time. I hope that the Muhammadans themselves in the near future will ask for its cancellation. I have suggested the distribution on territorial basis and financial status. The competition in Berar is not between community and community but it is gradually growing to be between rich and poor, capital and labour. I have therefore suggested separate representation to voters of all grades—rich, middle and poor. The right of a voter is extended to persons drawing an annual income of Rs. 100. So no separate representation is necessary for the depressed classes. All persons over 21 are voters except those that have an annual income below Rs. 100, that is those that cannot earn even a bare maintenance.

2840A. Muhammadans are given separate reserved seats more than their population requires. I propose that

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[Continued.]

they are not to vote or stand as candidates for other elections.

2840B. Separate members are given to education and Watandars. As for education no explanation is necessary, but favour to Watandars requires some explanation. Watandars are a distinct influential class in Berar. Their forefathers were pergunah officers and village headmen and their offices are hereditary since centuries past. Their eminence is still acknowledged there through all phases of political changes in Berar. Some of them, such as Deshmukhs and Deshpandias, are given fixed amounts without service and some, such as Patels and Patwaris, do get fixed amounts with service. Their interest is a distinct interest and requires in my opinion separate representation to safeguard it.

2841. (7) Disqualifications for a voter. The following persons shall not be entitled to vote:—

- (1) Persons not competent to contract, minors, and persons of unsound mind.
- (2) Persons below the age of 21.
- (3) Declared habitual criminals.
- (4) Females, except for election for urban area.

Females have in India already got equal rights in

popular assemblies such as the National Congress and Provincial Conference, and they can vote according to present law at municipal elections in Berar. I am in favour of female franchise, but I am of opinion that the time has not come to extend the right to rural areas as most of the respectable ladies there still do not like to appear in public.

2842. (8) Qualifications of candidates—

- (i) He must be above 25 years of age.
- (ii) He must be qualified to vote.
- (iii) He must be a resident in Berar.
- (iv) He must not be an undischarged insolvent.
- (v) He must be able to read and write the language in which the business of the council is ordinarily transacted.

2843. (9) *Indian Legislative Assembly*.—I have only to suggest that whether a separate council be given to the province of Berar or not, provision be made to have an adequate elected representation from Berar.

2844. (10) *Council of State*.—The Council of State is to be practically the final legislative authority, and it is essential that Berar should have distinct representation to that Council.

Mr. J. B. Deshmukh, called and examined.

2845. (*Sir Frank Sly*.) He belonged to one of the hereditary Pargana families in Berar. He was not a Jagirdar.

2846. He wished to modify his scheme and increase the number of nominated members from 15 to 20.

2847. He proposed to give 33 seats to Berar and 55 to the Central Provinces on the basis of the land revenue paid. He did not think the population should be taken into account at all.

2848. The Muhammadans should have a separate electorate. In Berar they should get 4 out of 30 seats. He knew nothing about the Lucknow compact.

2849. The landholders also should have a separate electorate because they already had that privilege, and would be much disappointed if they were deprived of it.

2850. Votes should be given to jagirdars and to patels and patwaris, who constituted the watandar class, and were the representatives of the old village officers because their interests would not be safe-guarded by the ordinary members. Only registered watandars should get votes. In Berar there were 632 desmukhs and deshpandias, who were the pargana officers. The watandars and jagirdars should also form a separate electorate. His system was to establish separate class electorates.

2851. He also proposed that an income of Rs. 300 should entitle a man to vote. The patwaris kept regis-

ters which could be used to ascertain incomes for this purpose.

2852. (*Mr. Aftab*.) The representation which he proposed to give to Muhammadans was in accordance with the Congress-League compact, which he accepted. The Muhammadans of the province would dislike nomination and would like election.

2853. (*Mr. Banerjee*.) Watandars were Government pensioners who formed a distinct and ancient class, with special interests of their own. They were more than 7,000 in number. 600 were desmukhs and deshpandias, 6,000 were patels and 400 were patwaris.

2854. Candidates should be able to read and write the language in which the business of the Council was conducted. He would like the business of the Council in future to be conducted in the language of the province.

2855. He would give votes to women. They already had the right to vote in municipalities in Berar, though parda women did not vote.

2856. (*Mr. Hogg*.) As a result of increasing the nominated members from 15 to 20, the number of elected members under his scheme must be reduced from 85 to 80. He would deduct these five seats from the Central Provinces and allow 50 members to the Central Provinces and 30 to Berar.

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THE BERAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

[Continued.]

At Nagpur, Friday, December 13th, 1918.

PRESENT:

Sir F. G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (Deputy Chairman).

Shahbazada AFTAB AHMED KHAN

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HAILEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.L.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

C. U. WILLS, Esq., I.C.S.

SITA CHARAN DUBE, Esq.

THE BERAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

SCHEDULE I (A)

2857. Constitution of the C. P. Legislative Council if Berar is to be part of C. P.—

100... Total No. of Members.	
Nominated officials.	10
" non officials	5
Elected members for C. P.	54
" " Berar	30
University of Nagpur or, till it is constituted, graduates of C. P. and Berar.	1
TOTAL	100

2858. The Berar Members to be elected as under:—

(i) Taluqs of Berar, excluding Melghat, one each	21
(ii) Municipal areas of Amraoti Town and Amraoti Camp	1
(iii) Municipality of Akola	1
(iv) Municipal areas in East Berar excluding Amraoti Town and Camp	1
(v) Municipal areas in Akola District excluding Akola Municipality	1
(vi) Municipal areas in Buldana District	1
(vii) Mohamedans, one each district	4
TOTAL	30

FRANCHISE.

2859. Disqualifications:—

The following persons shall not be entitled to vote:—

- (i) Persons not competent to contract, e.g., minors, lunatics.
- (ii) Persons below the age of 21.
- (iii) Persons belonging to criminal tribes.
- (iv) Persons in government service.
- (v) Foreigners.
- (vi) Habitual criminals.
- (vii) Females.

2860. Qualifications:—

The following persons shall be entitled to vote at the Taluq elections:—

- (i) Persons paying land revenue to the extent of Rs. 20 and more.
- (ii) Holders of alienated land, holding lands which if assessed would have to pay Rs. 20 or more.
- (iii) Tenants of alienated or unalienated lands assessed or liable to be assessed to Rs. 40 or more.
- (iv) Literates having an income of Rs. 200 a year.
- (v) Persons having an annual income of Rs. 300.
- (vi) Incorporated bodies (by their secretaries).

2861. (2) In the case of Muhammadan voters the qualifications to be the same. Muhammadans are not to vote at general elections as separate seats are reserved for them.

2862. (3) In the case of seats reserved for municipal areas, the qualifications for voters should be the same as are necessary in municipal elections.

2863. Qualification of Candidates:—

- (1) He must be over 25 years of age.
- (2) He must be qualified to vote.
- (3) He must be a resident of the district.
- (4) He must not be an undischarged insolvent.
- (5) He must be able to read and write the language in which the business of the Council is ordinarily transacted.

Indian Legislative Assembly.

2864. Constitution of the Assembly, if the proportion of nominated to elected members is to be 1 to 4:—

150 Total number of members.	
Officials nominated	20
Non-officials nominated	10
Muhammadans elected for the whole of India	20
Elected by Bombay Presidency	15
" Madras "	15
" Bengal "	15
" United Provinces	13
" Behar and Orissa	11
" Punjab	11
" Central Provinces	7
" Berar	4
" Assam	4
" Burmah	3
" Delhi Province	1
" The Hindu University of Benares	1
TOTAL	150

2865. Constitution, if proportion is to be 1 to 2:—

150 Total number of members.	
Nominated officials	33
Nominated non-officials	17
Elected by the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal, 12 each	36
Elected by the United Provinces	11
" Punjab and Behar and Orissa	9
" each	19
Elected by Central Provinces	6
" Berar	3
" Assam and Burmah, 2 each	4
" Delhi Provinces and the Hindu University of Benares, 1 each	2
TOTAL	150

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THE BERAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

[Continued.]

2866. No seats for Chambers of Commerce should be reserved in the Indian Legislative Assembly as there are several provinces in which Chambers of Commerce do not exist, such as the Central Provinces. One seat however, if necessary two even, should be reserved out of the seats allotted to the Provinces having such Chambers for them.

2867. *Electorate for the Legislative Assembly of Berar.*

- (i) All elected Members of the Municipal Committees.
- (ii) All elected members of the Taluq or Local Boards.
- (iii) Holders of land, assessed to land revenue, or if assessed liable to pay land revenue, amounting to Rs. 500 or more, or persons paying Rs. 500 as land revenue.

2868. The constituency is to be a plural constituency for the province.

N.B.—The general disqualifications set out above to be disqualifications in the case of voters of the third class.

Council of State.

2869. There should be one Member in the Council of State on behalf of Berar. He should be elected by the elected Members of Berar of the Central Provinces' Council, or if a separate Legislative Council for Berar is constituted by the elected members of that Council. Either the number of the nominated members should be reduced by one, or the special seats should be reduced to five, to secure this seat for a Berar representative. The Council of State is to be practically the final legislative authority and it is essential that Berar should be represented in that Council.

Mr. Madhocrao Shrihari Anay, representing the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, called and examined.

2872. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He represented the Berar Provincial Congress Committee. The scheme in Schedule A I had been prepared at a meeting of the Committee held at Amraoti on the 9th December at which 9 or 10 members, that is half the Committee, had been present.

2873. In their opinion, if Berar was to be treated as a part of the Central Provinces, the Council should consist of 100 members, of whom only 15 should be nominated in order that the elected element might predominate, because otherwise it was impossible to secure adequate representation for the different parts of the Province. The Committee did not approve of the idea of a Grand Committee and accordingly had not considered it in framing their scheme for the Council. Of the elected members 54 should go to the Central Provinces and 30 to Berar. The high percentage of seats for Berar was proposed, firstly, because of the large contribution of Berar to provincial revenues, which was nearly 80 per cent. of the whole; secondly, the advanced condition of Berar as compared with the Central Provinces, and, thirdly, because out of a possible 120,000 voters about one-third would come from Berar. Unless Berar was adequately represented on the Council it was probable that the expenditure on Berar would not be in proportion to its contribution.

2874. It was proposed to weight the urban representation in Berar by providing 5 urban and 21 rural seats, because election was being introduced into rural areas for the first time, and because urban voters were already more or less accustomed to the vote.

2875. His Committee had accepted the Lucknow compact and proposed to assign 4 elected seats to Muhammadans, which was almost 15 per cent.

2876. Tenants in Berar had been included as well as registered occupants, because some of them had got a permanent interest in unalienated lands and were recognised as "antique tenants." But such tenants must hold land assessed by Government at Rs. 40.

2877. Literate persons with an income of Rs. 200 and illiterate persons with an income of Rs. 300 would get

SCHEDULE I (B).

2870. *Constitution of the Berar Council, if a separate Council for it is established.*

50 Total number of Members.	
Nominated officials and non-officials	11
Elected by the Taluqs except Melghat, one for each Taluk	21
Municipal areas of Amraoti Town and Camp jointly	2
Municipal areas of Ellichpur City and Civil Station jointly	1
Towns having a population over 3,000 of Amraoti and Chandur Taluqs	1
..... do of Ellichpur, Daryapur and Morzi Taluqs	1
Municipal area of Akola	1
Towns in Akola, Akot and Balapur Taluqs having a population over 3,000	1
Towns in Murtizapur, Mungrul and Basim Taluqs having a population over 3,000	1
Towns in Yeotmal, Wun and Kelapur Taluqs having population over 3,000	1
Towns in Darwha and Pusad Taluqs having population over 3,000	1
Towns in Khamgaon, Chikhli and Mehkar Taluqs having population over 3,000	1
Towns in Malkapur and Jalgaon Taluqs having population over 3,000	1
Mohamedans of Berar (Amraoti 2, Akola 2, Buldana 1 and Yeotmal 1)	6
TOTAL	50

2871. Qualifications for voters and candidates to be the same as in the case of voters and candidates respectively, for the joint Council.

the vote. If it was possible to distinguish literates from illiterates for the Census it would also be possible in preparing the electoral roll. In order to ascertain who had an income of Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 the present income-tax machinery would have to be used and arrangements made for an enquiry in every village, like the enquiry made for the purpose of the sanitation cess.

2878. He was not sure what was meant by the expression "incorporated body" but he thought that the reference was to Municipalities and District Boards.

2879. Candidates should be resident in the district, i.e., the revenue district.

2880. For the purposes of election to the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Committee would accept election by the Berar elected members of the local Council.

2881. (*Mr. Hailey.*) There were about 25 members of his Committee. The scheme had been prepared by the Secretary and brought before the Committee. Personally, he was neither Secretary nor President of the Committee nor had he been present at the meeting at which the scheme was discussed.

2882. He thought that a hundred qualified members would be forthcoming.

2883. Government servants should not be allowed to vote. This was to ensure that the voting would be free from the influence of any superior Government officer.

2884. Habitual criminals should be excluded; the police registers would show who they were.

2885. If contribution to the revenues of the country was taken as the basis of representation in the Assembly, their claims would have to be reduced.

2886. (*Mr. Sastri.*) He had had no real opportunity of a full discussion with his colleagues as to the recommendations in their memorandum but he shared their views as regards the relative position of Berar and the rest of the Province. During the last 12 years the expenditure in Berar had not been in proportion to the revenues contributed by it; if this was to be prevented Berar should not be in a hopeless minority on the Council.

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THE BERAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

[Continued.]

2887. He would disfranchise all Government servants, however humble, because it was impossible to draw the line.

2888. His Committee thought that Indian women felt that they were incapable of forming an independent opinion for themselves: this was also his personal view.

2889. When the Committee recommended that candidates should be able to read and write the language in which the business of the Council was ordinarily transacted they did not intend that this should afford a loophole for replacing English by some other language.

2890. His Committee's proposal that there should be 20 elected Muhammadan members on the Legislative Assembly was not in accordance with the Lucknow compact. This might have been a mistake, but he thought it was probably deliberate.

2891. The constituency for election to the Legislative Assembly would be a plural constituency for the whole of Berar. All the electors would vote for all the candidates. He did not think that this would mean a very unwieldy electorate.

2892. (Mr. Hogg.) His Committee's view was that the provincial Councils should be wholly elected. They had included some nominated members in order to be in accordance with the Congress proposals and they thought that 15 nominated members would be sufficient to meet the requirements of Government.

2893. Personally, he would not disfranchise a member of a criminal tribe who satisfied one of the qualifications for voters.

2894. His Committee proposed that one seat, or if necessary two, should be reserved for Chambers of Commerce, out of those allotted to the different Provinces.

It would be impossible to give as many as 5 seats for these Chambers, so, if necessary, the Chambers would have to be grouped together for the purposes of election and attached to a particular province.

2895. (Mr. Banerjee.) It was the deliberate opinion of his Committee, which he shared, that nothing less than a hundred seats would allow of all the interests in the province being adequately represented.

2896. He could give no definite instances of Government servants using their influence at elections.

2897. He would not regard subjects of Native States like Marwaris as foreigners. By "foreigners" was meant persons living outside India. He would give votes to subjects of Native States and would allow them to stand as candidates provided they were qualified to vote and satisfied certain conditions.

2898. The pardah system was not usual in Berar. His objection to giving votes to women was that they would not be independent. Even if they were allowed to vote he did not think many of them would do so. He was not in a position to say whether women had exercised their votes properly or improperly at municipal elections.

2899. Candidates should be resident in the district because the voters would take more interest if the candidate was known to them.

2900. His Committee had been in existence for many years.

2901. He was prepared to modify his views with regard to Government servants so far as to admit soldiers to vote.

2902. He would modify his proposal with regard to criminals so as to disqualify only persons who had been convicted.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. G. DESHPAN E.

Written statement.

2903. The authors of the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, in pursuance of which the Franchise Committee is holding its sittings, have been good enough to lay down that the scope of the franchise should be as broad and the council as representative as the circumstances in each province permit. Before fixing the limits of the franchise and the strength of the Provincial Council, it is advisable to study the circumstances that obtain in these Provinces. Nobody can gainsay that they are special and require careful and cautious handling. Of all the provinces that have got Legislative Councils, the Central Provinces is the youngest and is still in its infant stage, having completed barely five years of its legislative existence. No doubt the members that are returned elected are the best of the lot and have shown considerable aptitude for gaining experience and for co-operating with the Government in the work of administration. But the number of such members is necessarily limited, and therefore the point whether intelligent and broad-minded candidates would be forthcoming for seeking election must be given due consideration.

2904. (2) Then again, the Central Provinces are admittedly backward in education in general, and in political education in particular. The spirit of subordinating one's individual views and interest to those of the general public to achieve some public good—this public-spiritedness, that forms one of the prominent characteristics in the more advanced provinces—has not sufficiently developed here. The limits of franchise will, therefore, depend upon the extent of political education that the people in these Provinces have. Voters must be intelligent; they must appreciate the value of their votes. They must consider their votes as trusts in their hands and instruments for ultimately moulding the administrative machinery of the government under which they live and upon the good form of which their well-being so largely depends. The proportion of such voters is extremely limited, and in devising electoral schemes this is the second point that claims special attention. Otherwise, sudden and inordinate expansion will only lead to a breakdown of the machinery which must be studiously avoided.

STRENGTH OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

2905. (3) With these preliminary observations, it is proposed to constitute the Provincial Council as follows:—
The total normal strength should be sixty, of whom forty-six should be elected and fourteen nominated, of whom not more than seven should be officials. The remaining seven non-official members are intended to enable the Local Government to nominate representatives of those classes and communities that are too small, too backward or too widely scattered to form a workable electorate. The forty-six seats of elected members should be distributed as follows:—

	Members.
(1) Malguzars and proprietors	10
(2) Tenants from the Central Provinces paying hundred rupees and above	4
(3) Tenants and Izardars from Berar	3
(4) Income-tax payers—four from the Central Provinces and two from Berar	6
(5) Municipalities of the Central Provinces and Berar	7
(6) District Councils from the Central Provinces and Berar	6
(7) Graduates from the Central Provinces and Berar	2
(8) Co-operative Credit Societies	1
(9) Factories and Industries	1
(10) Muhammadans	6
TOTAL	46
Non-official nominated	7
Official nominated	7
TOTAL	60

SCOPE AND DETAILS OF FRANCHISE.

2906. (4) The landholders of the Central Provinces it will be seen, have been allotted the largest number of

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seats (10) as they form the very backbone of the whole Province. Agriculture is the main industry of India and of the Central Provinces in a truer sense and no class of people have contributed more to the development of it and the consequent raising of the Province than they; and to allot ten members out of the total strength of sixty is doing nothing more than bare justice to the class. For electing these ten members the Province should be divided into ten circles generally corresponding to civil divisions as given below, and each circle should return one member—(1) Nagpur, (2) Wardha and Chanda, (3) Bhandara and Balaghat, (4) Jubbulpore, (5) Saugar and Damoh, (6) Seoni and Mandla, (7) Hoshangabad and Narsinghpur, (8) Nimar, Betul and Chhindwara, (9) Raipur, (10) Bilaspur and Drug.

2907. (5) Those who are assessed to land revenue of three hundred rupees or above, whether they pay direct or through superior proprietors, should be registered as voters if they satisfy all other necessary conditions as to age, sex, etc. This will give roughly one thousand voters for each circle of electorate. But to be eligible for standing as candidate care should be taken that he is a *boni fide* malguzar and pays a larger sum of revenue, say, five thousand rupees, than a mere voter. It must be here stated that criticism is passed in many quarters that the landholders' representatives in the present Council, being not *boni fide* and born landholders, are not able to protect the interests of the class which they profess to represent. There is much force in this criticism. Fears are therefore expressed that in the enlarged Council, unless some special care be taken to see that the *boni fide* landholders stand for candidature, they would be generally swept away in the elections.

2908. (6) The next class that requires representation is that of tenants. Seven seats are allotted to them—four to the tenants of the Central Provinces and three to the tenants and izardars of Berar. Those who pay a hundred rupees or above should be registered as voters, and each division of the Central Provinces proper will return one member and Berar will return three.

2909. (7) Income-tax payers come next. Out of the six members that are to be returned by them four will be returned by four divisions of the Central Provinces and the remaining two by East and West Berar.

2910. (8) Sayer members are to be returned by the municipalities, of whom six will be elected by the municipal members of six divisions (making two divisions of Berar) at the rate of one each and the seventh member will represent the Nagpur and the Jubbulpore Municipalities in alternate sessions according to the present arrangement.

2911. (9) *District Councils*.—The same method as is suggested above should be followed in the case of District Councils, except that there will be no seventh member for them.

2912. (10) *Graduates*.—Two members are to be returned by the graduates and, as their number is small and as men of provincial reputation are sure to stand on their behalf, the whole Province should form one electorate, and the elections may be held at tahsil towns or at district towns.

2913. (11) Co-operative credit societies are to be represented by one member who should be elected by the directors of the Provincial and the District banks in the Central Provinces and Berar.

2914. (12) One member is to be elected to represent factories and industrial concerns, and managers of factories and industries will be voters for that purpose.

2915. (13) In the above elections, it will be seen that all members are to be elected by primary voters, except in the case of Municipalities and District Councils in whose cases indirect elections are recommended.

2916. (14) *Special Electorates and Muhammadans*.—Among the communities about whom the question of

special electorates arises, the Muhammadans rank first. The authors of the Report have conceded, though with great reluctance, that the Muhammadans should continue to enjoy the privilege of communal representation. Their political status and their special position do admittedly demand special consideration, and in some provinces to deny them the privilege would result in a piece of great injustice. The case of this Province is, however, different. First, they are in great minority and the relations between the two communities are cordial; and the rancorous feelings and communal patriotism that are so much in vogue in other provinces are here conspicuous by their absence. It is perhaps therefore that when the present Council of the Central Provinces was constituted no special electorates were formed for them. In the above scheme six seats are allotted to them—one for each division of the Central Provinces and two for Berar, but it is a question how far these electorates will be workable from a practical point of view. If the Committee from the materials before them come to the conclusion that no workable constituencies can be formed for them, it is suggested that these six seats of election should be converted into nomination, in which case the total strength of the nominated members will be twenty, i.e., one-third of the whole Council. If the above suggestion be adopted the Muhammadans should be allowed to take part in general elections, and if from the results of the general elections, it is seen that the Muhammadan members are less than six, the deficit should be made good by nomination. The remaining seats should be filled up by the Government to secure complete representation on the Council of various interests, classes and other communities such as Christians, Parsis and Feudatory States. Thus the power of nomination in the hands of the Local Government will be a sort of reserve to be drawn upon wherever exigency arises.

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

2917. (15) According to the scheme chalked out by the authors of the Report these Provinces are to elect five members for the Assembly—

	Members.
2 members to be elected by the malguzars and proprietors paying three thousand rupees and above and tenants paying five hundred rupees and above	2
1 member to be elected by the members of the Municipalities of the Central Provinces and Berar	1
1 member to be elected by the members of the District Councils of the Central Provinces and Berar.	1
1 member to be elected by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council	1
—	
5 members.	

COUNCIL OF STATE.

2918. (16) Six members are to be elected by all the provinces to supplement the representation of landholders, Muhammadans and Chambers of Commerce. These will be all-India elections, and the members of the Provincial Councils representing those interests will be the best voters for that purpose. This will be an indirect election, but there seems to be no other alternative.

2919. (17) In fine, it may be admitted that statistics and information on many important points not being available the above scheme may be imperfect and open to some objection. It can be said in its defence that no scheme will reach the pink of perfection, and to evolve a scheme to satisfy all interests and views is a difficult task. Time and experience alone will show in which respects modifications and alterations are needed.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. G. Deshpande, called and examined.

2920. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was a nominated member of the Local Legislative Council and a member of the

landlords' electorate paying a land revenue of more than Rs. 10,000.

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2921. He proposed a Council of 60 members, the whole being elected on a communal and class basis with separate seats for landholders, tenants, income tax payers, graduates, etc.

2922. The landholders in the province were an important class. Any proposal to deprive them of their special representation would be very unpopular, but he would reduce the qualification from a land revenue payment of Rs. 3,000 to one of Rs. 300 because very few landholders paid more than Rs. 3,000 and he wished to broaden the franchise.

2923. But candidates should be required to pay Rs. 5,000 in land revenue. This would ensure that only a *bona fide* malguzar was elected and would be in accordance with the wishes of the electorate.

2924. He was not prepared to give an opinion as to whether it was undesirable that Co-operative Societies and Central Banks should be mixed up with politics.

2925. He had not carefully considered what would constitute a factory and what would constitute an industry. For the purposes of the factories and industries constituency he would give a vote to the manager rather

than to the owner because this was the existing practice at municipal elections.

2926. (*Mr. Aftab.*) The malguzars were the most prominent class of the Province and agriculture was the main industry. The tenant class came second only; for this reason he proposed 10 members for the malguzars. He was inclined to think that the malguzars of the Province would be able to control the elections and induce the voters to vote as they wished.

2927. He was prepared to accept the Government proposals for the tenants' franchise.

2928. He did not wish to press his proposals that a special seat should be given to the District Councils.

2929. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) He would not like the size of the Council to be increased to 100 because it would be difficult to find sufficient suitable men, but he was prepared to accept the Government figure of 66.

2930. There would be no difficulty in finding suitable men to fill the 7 seats proposed for the tenants. He himself was a tenant as well as a malguzar and there were many others in the same position.

2931. He would have a graduate constituency without any property qualification.

H. D. COGGAN, Esq., representing the Central Provinces and Berar Mining Association.

Written Statement.

2932. (1) The Association feels that adequate representation of its interests can only be obtained by giving the Mining Association a direct right of electing its own representatives to the Provincial Legislative Council.

2933. (2) In view of the important mining interests that it represents and the part mining is bound to take in the future mineral and industrial development of these Provinces, the Association feels itself justified in soliciting that provision may be made for its representation on the Provincial Legislative Council.

2934. (3) The Association requests that it may be granted the right to elect members to the Council in preference to a system of nomination by Government.

2935. (4) The Association suggests that it may be granted a direct franchise to elect representatives, each member of the Association to exercise a vote.

2936. (5) The Association requests that it may be granted the right to elect two members to the Council,

one to represent the interests of metalliferous mining and the other to represent those of coal mining. The Association feels justified in asking for separate representation for the two above mentioned branches of the mining industry in view of the fact that each is in itself sufficiently important and distinct to justify such representation, and that each requires a specialised knowledge of its requirements and conditions to adequately represent its interests, and to be of assistance to Government in dealing with questions concerning it.

2937. (6) The Association submits in support of its requests for direct representation on the Council that the Central Provinces trade represents practically the whole of the manganese trade of India, the production of these Provinces being about 90 per cent. of the total output of the country, while the recent rapid expansion of the coal trade of these Provinces and the prospects of still greater expansion in the future, by reason of its important geographical position in relation to the markets of Central and Western India and of Mesopotamia, call for special consideration.

Mr. H. D. Coggan, called and examined.

2938. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was President of the Central Provinces and Berar Mining Association which consisted of 16 members, some of whom represented both coal and manganese mines while 4 represented coal alone. The Association was fully representative of the large mine owners in the province, but the owners of certain small mines, which were really quarries, were not included. Members were required to pay a subscription and were appointed by being proposed, seconded and elected. All applicants for admission must possess a certain recognised mining qualification. About half the members were European and half Indian. They could only be expelled for failure to pay a subscription.

2939. The Association considered that two representatives were necessary, one for coal and one for manganese, because the regulations for coal and manganese mines were different and coal mines were affected by questions regarding communications which did not affect manganese; also the coal industry was expanding rapidly. The coal owners should elect their representative and the manganese members should elect their's. The electorates would be small but they represented very important interests.

2940. His Association would be opposed to direct election by all registered mine owners because this

would give a vote to men owning small pits. Personally, however, he would have no objection to direct election by the owners of mines which came under the Mines Act. There would then be very few voters who were not members of the Association.

2941. The Association proposed that each member should have one vote.

2942. (*Mr. Hailey.*) He would supply a statement showing the capital represented by the Association.

2943. Only a small proportion of the coal concerns were in the hands of the railways.

2944. (*Mr. Hogg.*) He could only supply figures of capital for joint stock companies, but they represented the majority of the interests.

2945. (The Association would be in no sense representative of the European community and there was a very strong desire on the part of Europeans and Anglo-Indians for a separate electorate. It would be difficult to say whether there would be material for this, and he personally would prefer nomination for Europeans to a joint European and Anglo-Indian electorate.) He would supply a list of members showing for each member the class of mining that he carried on and, where information was available, the output of each.

EVIDENCE.

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THE CENTRAL PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

[Continued.]

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Written Statement.

2946. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR COUNCIL TO CONSIST OF 100 MEMBERS AS FOLLOWS.

Nominated members 20—	
Nominated Officials	10
Nominated non-Officials	10
Special Electorates 5—	
Graduates of Central Provinces	1
" of Berar	1
Textile Industry	1
Mining Industry	1
Factories	1
General Electorates 64—	
Nagpur District	7
(One of these will be returned by the rate-payers of Nagpur City.)	
Wardha do.	3
(Nagpur Division 14)—	
Chanda do.	1
Bhandara do.	2
Balaghat do.	1
(Jubbulpore Division 12)—	
Jubbulpore do.	4
(One of these will be returned by the rate-payers of Jubbulpore City.)	
Sangor do.	4
Damoh do.	2
Seoni do.	1
Mandla do.	1
(Nerbudda Division 12)—	
Hoshangabad do.	4
Betul do.	1
Chhindwara do.	1
Narsinghpur do.	2
Nimar do.	4
(Chhattisgarh division 6)—	
Raipur do.	2
Bilaspur do.	2
Drug do.	2
(Berar 20)—	
Amraoti do.	7
(One of these will be returned by the rate-payers of Amraoti town.)	
Akola do.	7
(One of these will be returned by the rate-payers of Akola town.)	
Yeotmal do.	2
Buldana do.	4
Communal electorates 11—	
Mahomedan (Central Provinces)	7
Mahomedans (Berar)	4
TOTAL	100

FRANCHISE.

2947. For Special electorates :—
- Ownership or Management of Mines.
 - Do. do. of Textile Industry.
 - Factories employing not fewer than 50 hands.
 - Graduates of any of the recognised Universities in British India and United Kingdom.
2948. For General electorates :—
- Malguzars and Proprietors paying an annual revenue of Rs. 100 and over.
 - Tenants paying an annual rent of Rs. 50 and over.
 - Persons paying an income-tax of Rs. 20 and over.
 - Any person residing within municipal limits and occupying a house of the annual letting value of Rs. 50 and over.

2949. Disqualifications :—

- Age below 21 years (excepting graduates)
- Unsoundness of mind.
- Alienage.
- Government service.
- Conviction implying serious moral turpitude.
- Bankruptcy.

2950. Qualifications of candidate :—

- He must have completed his 24th year.
- He must be eligible to vote.
- He must be able to read and write the language in which the proceedings of the Council are generally conducted.

2951. Women will not be disqualified for voting but only for membership.

2952. Mode of election.

In constituencies returning more than one member the election of members should be on the system of the single transferable vote.

II.—INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

2953. The Indian Legislative Assembly should consist of 150 members as follows :—

Nominated Officials	33
do. Non-Officials	17
Elected members for the Presidency of—	
Bombay	16 { Mahomedan 5 others 11
Bengal	16 { Mahomedan 7 others 9
Madras	16 { Mahomedan 4 others 12
United Provinces	15 { Mahomedan 4 others 11
Bihar and Orissa	11 { Mahomedan 3 others 8
C. P. and Berar	9 { Mahomedan 1 others 8
Punjab	12 { Mahomedan 6 others 6
Assam	2
Burma	2
Delhi	1
TOTAL	150

9 Members from the Central Provinces and Berar should be elected as follows :—

- For Central Provinces and Berar—
- 1 Mahomedan member for the whole of Central Provinces and Berar.
 - 1 member for Commerce and Industry for whole Central Provinces and Berar.
- For Central Provinces (5) —
- 1 Landlord.
 - 4 One member from each of the four Divisions of Central Provinces by the electorates consisting of :
 - Residents within municipal areas occupying houses of the annual letting value of Rs. 72 and over.
 - Income-tax payers paying Rs. 20 and above.
 - Tenants paying 100 and over yearly.
2. Members from Berar as do.

III.—COUNCIL OF STATE.

2954. In order to ensure that the Mahomedan and landed members should as far as possible be representatives of the whole of India, they should be elected on the following plan :—

Large landlords, and Mahomedans of stated qualifications should be formed into electorates in several Provinces, and they should elect members varying in number not exceeding 3, according to the peculiarities of the

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various Provinces, to a panel out of which the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Assembly will elect the two Mahomedan and landed members for the Council of State. The aforesaid Provincial

landed and Mahomedan electorates will not restrict their choice to their own Province, e.g., the Central Provinces electorate may elect a candidate from another Province as its representative on the aforesaid panel.

Mr. B. S. Niyogi, representing the Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, called and examined.

2955. (Sir Frank Sly.) He appeared as a representative of the Central Provinces Congress Committee, of which there were 110 members. Their scheme had been prepared by a small Sub-Committee of which he had been one, and the draft had then been placed before a few selected members who had approved of it. It had not been considered by the Committee as such, but all members had been invited to attend the meeting at which it was considered. At this meeting the principles were settled and the details were left to be worked out by the Sub-Committee.

2956. The Committee proposed to give 11 seats out of 80 to Muhammadans. They did not want to go back on the Lucknow compact. They considered that the figure 11 correctly represented the proportion of 15 per cent. It had been calculated on 75 after excluding the special electorates.

2957. His Committee proposed that there should be a special electorate for graduates. This really meant graduates of Universities in India and the United Kingdom, as graduates of foreign Universities, for instance, American or Colonial, in the Province would be very few.

2957A. They proposed also a separate electorate for the textile industry, for example cotton mills, ginning, pressing and cleaning factories.

2958. In the next proposed special electorate, i.e., factories employing not less than 50 hands, there would be 99 factories including factories where work was done by hand. By "factories" he meant all those places where goods were produced economically, in buildings connected with productive industries.

2959. In the proposed mining constituency votes would be given to owners and, if they were absentees, the managers would vote for them.

2960. Government service should be a disqualification. His experience was that Government servants did take part in elections and canvassed in spite of the rules. By depriving them of votes the chances of their canvassing would be minimised.

2961. In the printed scheme 25 seats were proposed for Berar. The Committee had never considered this exact figure.

2962. Since the written statement had been prepared he had had the opportunity of seeing the Government figures of malguzars, etc., and he now proposed to allocate 3 more seats to the Chhattisgarh Division, taking away one from each of the other Divisions, so that Nagpur Division would have 13 seats, Jabulpore 11, Nerbudda 11 and Chhattisgarh 9. In the plural constituencies he contemplated the use of a single transferable vote.

2963. Urban constituencies were proposed for 4 towns selected for their importance, their industries and their culture. In these 4 towns also more interest was taken in politics. The others would be included in the general constituencies.

2964. His Committee favoured a system of direct election on a higher franchise to the Legislative Assembly.

2965. (Mr. Aftab.) The General Committee decided that they should abide by the Lucknow compact and left the calculation of the number of seats to the Sub-Committee.

2965A. The graduates should be represented in the interests of higher education. When the University came into existence the 2 seats proposed for the graduates' electorate would pass to it.

2966. Soldiers stood aloof from civil affairs that he would not give them a vote.

2967. (Mr. Banerjee.) His Committee thought that the Provincial Council should consist of 100 members. Public opinion would not be satisfied with less.

2968. The large cities should have separate representatives, and other urban areas should be included in the rural constituencies. He would be prepared to extend the number of large cities from 4 to 7 or 8. Voters in these constituencies should have a double vote, both in the city constituency and in the general electorate. Provided however that the urban population had proper representation he would prefer some system whereby this double vote was avoided.

2968A. He would allow Marwaris to vote and also to stand as candidates.

2969. For the present candidates should be able to read and write the language in which the proceedings of the Council were carried out, otherwise they would be useless. Later on discretion in this matter might be left to the electors.

2970. (Mr. Hogg.) In the special electorate for the textile industry he would give one vote for each factory and he would treat mills like the Empress Mills as a single unit. In the special electorates proposed for owners or managers of mines and mills the owner would have to declare, when the electoral roll was being prepared, whether he would exercise the vote himself or nominate the manager.

2971. The test of public spirit was the interest taken in the National Congress.

2972. (Mr. Sastri.) He had a clear recollection that the 11 seats proposed for the Muhammadans had been calculated on the number of 75, excluding the special seats.

2973. In the course of time Hindi might replace the English language in the Councils. It was for this reason that he proposed that candidates should be able to read and write not English but the language in which the proceedings were conducted.

2974. It was proposed that there should be 10 nominated officials, because this was the present number.

2975. His Committee had not exactly considered the double vote in the large cities.

2976. (Mr. Hailey.) There had been some discussion in his Committee regarding proportionate representation and when they had come to understand it they approved of it.

2977. (Mr. Dube.) The agrarian interest of the Province was one and the same and malguzars, although they had the right of preventing their tenants from transferring their lands, could safely represent them.

C. B. PARAKH, Esq., representing the Graduates' Association of the Central Provinces and Berar.

Written Statement.

BASIS FOR FRANCHISE.

2978. (1) In preparing a scheme for franchises in the Central Provinces and Berar the first principle I have observed is to extend the franchise only to those (except the labourers) who contribute a determined share to the revenues of the State or the Municipality. It is however not possible to fix a similar standard of revenue within all territorial limits, and the principle will have to be relaxed in backward Districts where an urban vote may be extended to a man who pays an insignificant revenue.

Territorial constituencies.

2979. (2) In the scheme for Constituencies the principle observed is to confine the franchise strictly within defined territorial limits. The object of the aim is manifest. In view of the fact that in my scheme franchise has been extended even to illiterate persons, the surest method of making it popular is to localise it as far as possible, and for this reason the 'District' is the best unit. It therefore does happen that the backward Districts like Mandla and Betul get on an average a larger representa-

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tion than other Districts. I am however of opinion that no such mathematical calculation should be allowed to outweigh what is a logical necessity to induce the ignorant and simple village, and in some cases town people to take an active interest in the development of their own District, to which, and which alone, they remain attached.

Disadvantages of the alternative method.

2980. (3) The only other alternative is to group different interests under several heads, prepare electorates representing each interest, allocate the elective seats to each electorate in accordance with its strength and importance, and then proceed to combine the Districts in such a manner as to distribute the seats, allocated to each electorate, over the whole Province. This method is bound to lead to unsuitable and out of the way combinations, but the greatest defect in this system is to presuppose the existence of a sharp cleavage between landlords and tenants, or even between the rural and the urban population. To this I emphatically demur. The object of the Reforms is to secure a popular representation in the Council, and this is just what is likely to be frustrated by this method.

Illiteracy not a bar.

2981. (4) Having determined the standard which should qualify a man to be a voter, I do not propose to make illiteracy a bar. It will however not be open to a voter to be a candidate for the Council unless he is literate—which again does not necessarily imply knowledge of the English language. For I do not think that in our Provinces and Berar it is possible to elect a popular Council in any sense of the term without admitting a large number of representatives whose only medium of communication is the vernacular.

166 members in the Council.

2982. (5) The question of the number of members in the Legislative Council will always be a thorny one, though I am of opinion that in order to make the Council fully representative the tendency should be to err on the side of larger numbers. I have therefore proceeded on the basis of a minimum of one vote for the smallest District, and proportionate number of votes for bigger Districts, confining the number of elected members to 70, so that with 10 seats for the Mohammads, which gives them more than an adequate representation,—and 20 elected members,—the ratio of elected to nominated members being four to one,—there would be 100 members in the Legislative Council, which to my mind is a very fair number.

BASES FOR FRANCHISES.

Landlords and Tenants.

2983. (6) In enfranchising the landlords and tenants I have adopted a fixed standard of revenue or rent in all the Districts. Every landlord who pays a revenue of Rs. 100 and over, and every tenant who pays a rent of Rs. 75 or more, is given a vote.

Income-tax assesses.

2984. (7) In giving a vote to all the income-tax assesses I may appear to be more liberal. This is however not so and for a very obvious reason. The conditions of town life fit them better for exercising the franchise than the simple village cultivators or even landlords, who are in a comparatively ignorant and backward state. I feel sure that a wise exercise of discretion in eliminating a certain number of landlords and cultivators would be necessary to avoid that 'breakdown of the machinery' which the framers of the Report have apprehended, should the franchise be extended indiscriminately to backward classes.

Rate-payers.

2985. (8) The standard of rate-payers, unlike that of other electors, varies in different districts. For example

in Nagpur and Jubbulpore a man is not eligible for a vote in the municipality unless he is assessed annually to a sum of Rs. 5 in taxes other than octroi, whereas in other Districts a man who is assessed to an annual sum of Rs. 2 in similar taxes, and in some others a man whose gross annual income is Rs. 120 and upwards, is entitled to a vote. This apparent anomaly ought to be removed. Although there is authority in the Report for differentiating "the qualifications for a vote....." between different parts of the same Province, the great inconsistencies ought to be removed by a careful reconsideration of the status and conditions of all the Municipal Towns and Tahsils, of the whole Province.

Commerce and Industry.

2986. (9) The owner of a Factory, Gin, or Press, to which the Epiler Act or the Factory Act applies, and his manager or managers should be entitled to a vote each. If a man has six factories and they are managed by six *boni fide* managers, he, and his six managers should all be entitled to a vote. As regards the mining industry I would propose that every mine-owner, who employs 50 or more labourers, and his manager or managers, as defined above, should be given a vote each. In respect of other industries—which are most of them minor industries—I propose to give a vote to every owner who employs more than 15 men to carry on his business.

Labour.

2987. (10) As regards the labourers I propose that every man who has worked in a factory, gin, press, mine, or any other minor industry, that is entitled to a vote, and received a fixed salary of more than Rs. 15 per mensem, for six months prior to the preparation of the electoral roll, should be entitled to a vote. I have no statistics at hand, but I believe that the standard of Rs. 15 would keep out such men as are entirely unfit to exercise the right of franchise. The standard therefore is liable to alteration if the statistics show a different result.

CONSTITUENCIES.

Six heads of interests.

2988. (11) I now proceed to explain how the constituencies are formed. I have divided the electors under six heads of interests as follows:—

- (i) Landlords,
- (ii) Tenants,
- (iii) Income-tax assesses,
- (iv) Rate-payers,
- (v) Commerce and Industry, and
- (vi) Labour.

As far as it was possible I have given a separate seat to each of these interests. But it is obvious that this standard could not be uniformly adopted. I must note that the income-tax assessee and the tax-payer do not represent separate interests. The difference between them is one of degree, and in all the Districts, except Nagpur, Amraoti and Akola, I have added the rate-payers to the income-tax assesses simply with a view to extend the urban vote to almost every man who has some status, and is capable of exercising the franchise with some intelligence.

2989. (12) As a major portion of commerce and industry, and consequently of skilled labour, of the Central Provinces and Berar, is confined to Nagpur I have suggested that they should be given separate seats in Nagpur, in addition to their Provincial seats (*vide* Appendix C, paras. 2 and 3).

Special Electorates.

2990. (13) A word about the special electorates (*vide* Appendix C, paras. 4-8) is necessary. Some men contribute heavily to the State, and their share of burden is out of all proportion to the right they would get should they be put in the same category as other voters under the same heads. It would also indirectly be an

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encouragement to greater application and industry, and more faithful returns.

Four special seats.

2991. (14) I have reserved 4 seats to be filled by election by the 96 members of the Council. Out of these only one seat is open to any permanent resident of the Central Provinces and Berar, whereas the three others are confined to the minorities stated in Appendix C, para. 10. Even in England it frequently happens that a great man is kept out of the House of Commons by the vagaries of election. This danger will be the greater still in India, and it is in order to admit such a man in the Council that I have kept one seat open to all. The election for the remaining three seats for the minorities would tend to maintain a healthy relation between them and the majorities. There would then be the tendency to co-operate with one another and not to disintegrate, which is bound to result if each community is allowed to eke out its progress and development in its own way, without being at all dependent upon, and in some cases in conflict with, and at the cost of others.

Alternate and Plural vote.

2992. (15) Every elector will have a right to an alternate and, whenever possible, plural vote. For example if there are five candidates, it should be open to an elector to vote for his best man, and in the event of his failure, the next best man, and so on. If he is entitled to vote for two or three candidates, he should be at liberty to give the two or three votes to one candidate only, and also alternately to another candidate as suggested above.

AS REGARDS THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Indirect election recommended.

2993. (16) It will be seen from Appendices A and B that there are 126,618 voters in the 22 Districts of the Central Provinces and Berar, and an election of five (or even more) members by nearly a quarter million people, spread out in the length and breadth of the Provinces would inevitably result in an inadequate and unequal representation. To advocate direct election for the Indian Legislative Assembly would be diametrically opposite to the principle of confining the elections for the Council strictly within territorial limits, which is based upon the assumption that the majority of voters will not take an active and healthy interest in elections unless they are confined within limits to which the electors remain attached either by ties of personal interest or long residence. Nor could I see any objection to the election of members for the Indian Legislative Assembly by the elected and non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council, when the latter body would be representative of all classes and interests, and direct election would mean no more than a repetition of the elections for the Council under more difficult circumstances.

Number of Provincial representatives.

2994. (17) The question of the number of members for the Legislative Assembly is again one of an arbitrary nature. The General Principle however for guidance would be to maintain an adequate proportion between the electors and the elected, and I think that the number—viz., five—laid down in the Report is manifestly insufficient, and is certainly not based on the assumption of 100 members in the Legislative Council. I would therefore propose that the number be increased to 7. Of course this could not be done for the Central Provinces and Berar only, and the representatives of the Presidencies and other Provinces would also have to be proportionately increased.

How the 7 seats will be distributed.

2995. (18) The representation should be divided under the following four heads, viz. :—

- (i) Rural,
- (ii) Urban,

- (iii) Commerce and Industry, and
- (iv) Graduates of the University.

The division between these heads of interest would be as follows :—

- (i) *Rural*.—2 from the Central Provinces, and 1 from Berar (landlords and tenants).
- (ii) *Urban*.—1 from the Central Provinces, and 1 from Berar (Income-tax assesses and rate-payers).
- (iii) *Commerce and Industry*.—1 from the Central Provinces and Berar by direct election.
- (iv) *Graduates*.—1 from the Central Provinces and Berar also by direct election.

Suggestion for some direct elections explained. Eligibility for the Legislative Assembly.

2996. The suggestion for direct election by the representatives of Commerce and Industry and the Graduates is apparent. They will constitute very intelligent electorates and the danger of weight of numbers will be wholly absent in these constituencies. I however make this as a suggestion only, for under any circumstances the argument of repetition will remain, more so as one of the bases of the campaign for election in the Local Council will always be the candidate, or the principles enunciated by the candidate, for the Legislative Assembly. It should however not be necessary that a candidate for the Indian Legislative Assembly should necessarily be a member of the Local Council.

Explanatory.

2997. (19) It may appear that the Commerce and Industry and the Graduates are over-represented in the Legislative Assembly. This is however not so. For Commerce and Industry hold interests which are out of all proportion to their numbers, and the graduates represent progressive Indian political thought, and deserve each a separate seat.

AS REGARDS THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

2998. (20) The Central Provinces and Berar will elect only one member to the Council of State, and to my mind there is no other feasible scheme except for the elected and non-official members of the Council to elect one. It should not be necessary for a candidate for the Council of State to be a member of the Assembly or the Council.

Explanation of Appendices.

2999. (21) Appendix A gives a list, in each District, of the persons to whom franchise has been extended. They consist of—

- (1) Landlords paying Rs. 100 and over as revenue (para. 5);
- (2) Tenants paying Rs. 75 and over as rent (para. 5);
- (3) All income-tax assesses (para. 6);
- (4) All rate-payers (para. 7); and
- (5) The total.

Appendix B shows in a tabulated form, in each District,—

- (1) The six different heads of interest (para. 10);
- (2) The constituencies;
- (3) The number of seats to which one or more constituencies are entitled; and
- (4) The total number of seats.

Appendix C gives a list of 10 Provincial Constituencies, and the distribution of 17 seats amongst them.

Result.

3000. (22) The result after the distribution of 70 seats in accordance with Appendices A and B is as follows :—

	Seats.
Rural constituencies get	30
Urban constituencies get	30
Mixed Rural and Urban Constituencies get	10
TOTAL	70

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[Continued]

APPENDIX "A."		12. Narsinghpur.	
1. Nagpur.		Landlords	820
Landlords	2,103	Tenants	1,974
Tenants	3,700	Income-tax assesses	247
Income-tax assesses	1,574	Rate-payers	701
Rate-payers	7,019		3,742
	14,396	13. Nimar.	
Landlords	1,112	Landlords	1,194
Tenants	1,023	Tenants	1,203
Income-tax assesses	466	Income-tax assesses	639
Rate-payers	2,007	Rate-payers	7,969
	4,608		11,005
3. Wardha.		14. Betul.	
Landlords	1,408	Landlords	452
Tenants	2,016	Tenants	218
Income-tax assesses	656	Income-tax assesses	293
Rate-payers	3,687	Rate-payers	618
	7,767		1,581
4. Chanda.		15. Chhindwara.	
Landlords	708	Landlords	991
Tenants	157	Tenants	333
Income-tax assesses	495	Income-tax assesses	341
Rate-payers	1,052	Rate-payers	2,037
	2,410		3,702
5. Balaghat.		16. Raipur.	
Landlords	616	Landlords	1,631
Tenants	448	Tenants	195
Income-tax assesses	235	Income-tax assesses	845
Rate-payers	568	Rate-payers	1,176
	1,867		3,851
6. Jabulpore.		17. Bilaspur.	
Landlords	1,359	Landlords	1,525
Tenants	2,655	Tenants	101
Income-tax assesses	783	Income-tax assesses	608
Rate-payers	2,156	Rate-payers	1,977
	6,933		4,211
7. Saugor.		18. Drug.	
Landlords	1,469	Landlords	1,538
Tenants	2,236	Tenants	285
Income-tax assesses	454	Income-tax assesses	291
Rate-payers	2,612	Rate-payers	231
	6,771		2,345
8. Damoh.		19. Amraoti.	
Landlords	735	Tenants	6,285
Tenants	1,328	Income-tax assesses	2,918
Income-tax assesses	208	Rate-payers	3,222
Rate-payers	623		12,425
	2,804	20. Akola.	
Landlords	604	Tenants	5,588
Tenants	413	Income-tax assesses	2,009
Income-tax assesses	278	Rate-payers	6,801
Rate-payers	943		14,458
	2,238	21. Yeotmal.	
Landlords	363	Tenants	1,575
Tenants	50	Income-tax assesses	1,210
Income-tax assesses	144	Rate-payers	807
Rate-payers	854		3,592
	1,411	22. Buldana.	
Landlords	1,055	Tenants	3,092
Tenants	3,380	Income-tax assesses	1,684
Income-tax assesses	520	Rate-payers	2,683
Rate-payers	2,147		7,39
	7,102		

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[Continued.]

"APPENDIX B."

Serial No.	Name of the District.	Landlords.	Tenants.	Income-tax assesses.	Rate-payers.	Commerce and Industry.	Labour.	Total.	Total number of votes.	Number of votes per seat.
1	Nagpur *	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	14,386	3,600
2	Amraoti	0	3	1	1	0	0	5	12,425	2,485
3	Akola	0	3	1	1	0	0	5	14,408	2,892
4	Boldana	0	2	1	1	0	0	3	7,359	2,453
5	Wardha	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	7,767	2,500
6	Jubbulpore	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	6,933	2,311
7	Saugor	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	6,771	2,257
8	Hoshangabad	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	7,102	2,367
9	Nimar	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	11,005	3,688
10	Bhandara	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	4,603	2,304
11	Yeotmal	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	3,592	1,796
12	Ratpur	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	3,851	1,926
13	Bilaspur	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	4,211	2,106
14	Narsinghpur	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	3,742	1,821
15	Chhindwara	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	3,702	2,410
16	Chanda	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2,410	2,410
17	Balaghat	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1,897	1,897
18	Damoh	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2,594	2,594
19	Soni	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2,338	2,338
20	Mandia	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1,411	1,411
21	Betul	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1,591	1,591
22	Drug	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2,345	2,345

* In Nagpur 14,386 votes [vide Appendix A, Nagpur] have been divided only amongst the first four constituencies, Commerce and Industry and Labour constituencies being excepted.

"APPENDIX C."

Provincial seats.

1. Graduates to get 3 seats.
2. Commerce and Industries to get 5 seats.
Textile industry to get 1 seat.
Mining industry to get 1 seat.
Other industries to get 1 seat.
3. Labourers to get 2 seats.
4. Income-tax assesses with an annual income from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 40,000 to get 1 seat.
5. Income-tax assesses with an annual income over Rs. 40,000 of C. P. to get 1 seat.
6. Landlords of C. P. paying over Rs. 1,000 as revenue to get 1 seat.
7. Tenants of C. P. paying rent over Rs. 500 to get 1 seat.
8. Tenants of Berar paying revenue over Rs. 1,000 to get 1 seat.

Co-opted Members.

9. Elected and nominated members to elect one man from C. P. and Berar to get 1 seat.
10. Elected and nominated members to elect three men from the minorities, viz., Parsis, Christians (which term includes Europeans, and Native Christians), Jews, Jains, and Sikhs to get 1 seat.
17 seats.

Mr. C. B. Parakh, called and examined.

3001. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was a pleader, resident in Nagpur and represented the Graduates' Association of the Central Provinces and Berar. The Association dealt with education and political questions. The membership was restricted to graduates. The members numbered about 200 and paid an annual fee of Rs. 2. There was an executive committee. There had been a good deal of informal discussion with the executive committee but the scheme had not been put formally before the Association. He was the author of the scheme, and therefore it was written in the first person. The proposal for 4 co-opted seats at the end of Appendix C was entirely his own, but otherwise the scheme represented the committee's views.

3002. There should not be much difficulty in preparing the list of factories for the commerce and industry electorate or the list of labourers.

3003. The seat reserved for landlords in Appendix C was intended for the large landed magnates.

3004. In his plural constituencies the vote would be both transferable and cumulative.

3005. He reserved 10 seats for Muhammadans out of 80 desiring to give the 15% provided by the Lucknow compact, but he had not the information necessary to enable him to work out a scheme of constituencies.

3006. (*Mr. Hailey.*) He had proposed separate representation for landlords and tenants not because there was diversity of interest but in order to localise elections.

3007. Candidates should be literate. The officer receiving the nominations would have to decide whether the would-be candidate was literate or not.

3008. The Association thought that tenants should be qualified by a payment of Rs. 50 rent but personally he was in favour of Rs. 75 so as to make the electorates manageable.

3009. (*Mr. Aftab.*) His Association adhered to the Congress League compact.

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At Calcutta.

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PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF ASSAM.

(Extract from a note by the Chief Commissioner.)

3101. (4) The first point for consideration is that raised in paragraphs 198-199 of the report, namely, whether it is wise to include the whole of Assam within the scope of any scheme of constitutional reform; and, if not, what part should be included and what excluded. Much of course depends upon the nature of the scheme which may ultimately be standardised, but it may at once be granted that if in any province there are tracts which have hitherto been excluded from all constitutional experiments, and have hitherto been governed upon purely paternal principles, these tracts should either be excluded completely from the present scheme, or at least should be included subject to adequate safeguards and reservations. It has been suggested in paragraph 199 of the report that the "schedules" of the Scheduled Districts Act might form the criterion for exclusion from the scheme. I do not propose to apply this criterion to Assam, as the whole of the province has been "scheduled." Such a solution would mean that Assam, although nominally included in the scheme, was totally excluded, which is of course unthinkable. The component parts of the province must therefore be examined without reference to the Scheduled Districts Act. From such an examination we find at once that we are confronted with a problem of much difficulty and complexity. In shape and position Assam consists of an inverted triangle with its base along the north and its apex pointing south. Bengal lies on the west, Burma on the east, while along the north are Bhutias, Akaha, Daphlas, Miris, Abors and Mishmis. The whole area of the province is about 77,500 square miles and the population at last census about 7 millions. As might be expected, every diversity of race and language is found. Aryans, Mongolians and Dravidians are found in bewildering confusion. As many as 43 different languages are spoken in the province, and if we exclude those which are spoken by less than 10,000 people we have still 32 languages, each spoken by a large section of the inhabitants. Looked at from a political point of view, this province (like Gaul) is divided into three parts. The first part consists of:—

The Garo Hills, The Khasi and Jaintia Hills, The Mikir Hills (in Nowgong and Sibsagar), The North Cachar Hills (in Cachar),	The Naga Hills, with outlying tracts, The North-East Frontier Tract, in two parts, The Native State of Manipur, The Lushai Hills.
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This part covers nearly two-thirds of the whole province—in other words 50,500 square miles out of 77,500. Its population is roughly one million, consisting of simple hill tribes governed in patriarchal fashion. With the exception of Shillong Municipality, which joins with some other municipalities in electing a member, this vast tract is entirely unrepresented in the present Legislative Council.

The second part of the province consists of the following districts lying along the river Brahmaputra:—

Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang,	Nowgong (the remainder), Sibsagar (the remainder), Lakhimpur.
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This part, known as the Assam Valley, covers about 20,000 square miles and has a population of about 3 millions. In this part the prevailing religions are Hinduism and Animism, and the prevailing language is Assamese. The Assam Valley elects four Indian members to the present Legislative Council, including one representative of the Muhammadan minority.

The third part of the province, separated from the second part by ranges of hills, consists of a small but densely populated tract known as the Surma Valley. The districts in this part are Sylhet and Cachar (Sadr and Hailakandi sub-divisions). The area is much smaller than the Assam Valley, being only 7,000 square miles. The population is, however, practically the same, namely 3 millions. The Muhammadans form a slight majority. The Surma Valley like the Assam Valley elects four Indian members to the present Legislative Council. Of these members, two are Hindus and two are Muhammadans. Of the latter, one represents the Local Boards, while the other represents the communal electorates.

In both Valleys there are numerous tea gardens. They cover an area of 2,000 square miles and give employment to half a million Indians. The Tea Industry has three representatives in the present Legislative Council.

3101A. (5) The map which I annex to this note gives a vivid picture of the province. The large area coloured red indicates the Hill tracts which are as yet unrepresented in the Legislative Council. The two smaller areas coloured white indicate respectively the Assam Valley and the Surma Valley which each elect four Indian members and between them, three British members. It will be readily admitted that owing to the peculiar conditions of this province much could have been said for treating Assam like Burma, in other words for postponing the operation of the new scheme until the experiment had been tested elsewhere. Much could also have been said for treating Assam somewhat on the lines of the North-West Frontier Province. For example, our Legislative Council (although enlarged and reformed) might have retained for the present its existing constitutional functions, while the only change in the executive administration might have been the association with the Chief Commissioner of an advisory council, constituted on a liberal basis. I have carefully considered both these proposals and have come to the conclusion that, whatever be their intrinsic merits, they are no longer within the sphere of practical politics. As Assam has been included in the Report along with the seven major provinces of India, Assam must stand or fall along with them. The future constitution of Assam must follow the general lines of the constitutions of the other seven provinces, although I hope I have already written enough to show that the constitution of Assam cannot be identical with those of its richer, more populous and more homogeneous neighbours. In particular, the existence of 50,000 square miles of patriarchal tracts constitutes a distinct problem which must be faced. How are we to treat the area coloured red? To frame electorates for this area and to include it in the general scheme is out of the question. It is true that the standard of education in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is comparatively high, but the people have as yet shown no desire for political union either with the Assam Valley or with the Surma Valley, and moreover a very large proportion of them are subjects of Indian chiefs (Siems). The inhabitants of the other Hill tracts are obviously unsuited for full inclusion in the scheme. On the other hand, there are cogent arguments against complete exclusion of the "red" tract. In the first place the present Legislative Council has power to legislate for the "red" tract and has, to a limited extent, exercised that power. There is no real danger in the existence of this legislative power. It is laid down in section 14 of the Assam General Clauses Act, 1915, that "unless and until extended under the Scheduled Districts Act, or otherwise no, Act of the Assam Council, in the absence of special provisions to the contrary, shall come into force" in the Hill tracts. An additional safeguard exists in Regulation 2 of 1886 which empowers the Chief Commissioner, with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, to direct that any enactment in force in the Hill tracts "shall cease to be in force therein." So far as legislation is concerned there is therefore no real danger if the new Legislative Council, like the present Legislative Council, has nominal power to make laws for the Hill tracts. On the other hand, it makes for simplicity that the Legislative Council should have such power. There is however a more practical point. It will be seen from the

Continued.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF ASSAM.

accompanying table* that the hills are, to a considerable extent, financed from the plains.—If the hills are to be altogether excluded from the new scheme it will be necessary to arrange that the plains are to pay an annual tribute towards the administration of the hills, just as they are to pay an annual tribute to the Government of India. There are obvious practical objections to such a system. Moreover, if the plains are to supply funds for the administration of the hills it is equitable that the representatives of the plains should not be deprived of all voice in the spending of their money. At present the representatives of the plains can and do ask questions regarding the administration of the hills. They can and do discuss expenditure in the hills on the occasion of the budget debate. To deprive them of these privileges would be a step which it would be hard to justify. Seeing, then, that it is not proposed to make over to the portfolio of a "minister" any matter connected with the hills, and that, whatever may be said in debate or embodied in resolution, the Governor in the future administration will be able to ensure that the hills are sympathetically administered and adequately financed, I have come to the conclusion that the whole of the province as at present constituted can safely be placed under the new administration of a "Governor in Council."

3102. (16) I now turn to the question of the provincial legislature. I entirely agree that the present system of indirect election is radically bad and that the Council should be reformed and enlarged. At present it consists of 24 members:—

Elected by Indians	8	}	11
" " Tea Associations	3		
Nominated officials	9	}	13
" non-officials	4		
TOTAL	24		

I propose that the future Council should consist of 50 members, made up as follows:—

Elected by Indians	30	}	40
" " Britons	10		
Nominated officials	5	}	10
" non-officials	5		
TOTAL	50		

In addition to these 50 members the Governor and the two official members of his Executive Council would be *ex-officio* members of the Legislative Council. The two ministers would already be elected members, while the two "additional members" of the Executive Council would (if not already elected members) be among the nominated non-officials on the Legislative Council. Room should also be left for the appointment, as occasion requires, of two temporary "expert" members.

3103. (17) As regards the franchise for the Indian constituencies, I would refer to a separate note which I have caused to be prepared. Here I need only say that there are approximately 600,000 households in each Valley. I should like to enfranchise the heads of all these 600,000 households, and I look forward to the time when this will come. For the present, in order to bring the electoral roll into practical dimensions, I propose to confine the franchise to approximately one-fourth of the heads of households. To secure this I would lay down that a family income of Rs. 250 per annum, whether from land or from any other source, entitles the head of the family to a place on the electoral roll. The preparation of the electoral roll presents no practical difficulty. Lists of households, with the name of the head of each house, will be prepared in 1919-20 in connection with the census of 1921. For the purpose of the census each of these lists will be supervised by a responsible officer. I propose that this officer should receive from the Deputy Commissioner an instrument of instructions, based on the local conditions of his circle, which will enable him, without real difficulty to prepare a provisional electoral roll *pari passu* with his supervision of the census papers. The provisional roll will be published for criticism, and after the hearing of objections will be finally framed. I anticipate that objections will be comparatively few. Assuming that my estimate is correct and that the standard of Rs. 250 produces a roll of one-fourth of the heads of households, we shall obtain approximately 150,000 voters in each Valley. These will be divided into 15 suitable constituencies of about 10,000 each. It may be thought that 10,000 voters are too many to be managed. It is not, however, necessary that all the elections should be held on the same day, and it can easily be arranged that the poll shall remain open for three days or even a week. In a typical constituency of 10,000 voters it will probably be sufficient to open 5 polling stations, each in charge of a Sub-Deputy Collector. It is not likely that more than 7,500 voters will come to the poll. Each Sub-Deputy Collector will therefore have to deal with 1,500 voters. I have personally presided at Municipal and Local Board elections and I know that a presiding officer can deal with 800 voters in a day. If therefore the poll remains open for three days, the Sub-Deputy Collector will easily get through his work. If the poll remains open for a week, the task will be further simplified. I have only to add that as I have 65 Sub-Deputy Collectors in the province I would guarantee to complete all the elections within a month.

3104. (18) It will be seen from what I have written above that I propose to sweep away all "fancy franchises" and to proceed upon broad and democratic lines. A long experience of the villagers in their own homes has convinced me that their political instinct is quite as sound as that of the richer and more literate classes. I have recently been reading the history of England in 1867. Time has shown that true wisdom was found in the "Tea Room Party" rather than in Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. Like Lord Derby I am prepared to take a "Leap in the Dark" and I have no fear of the consequences—provided that my recommendations are accepted in the matter of communal representation.

3105. (19) It will be seen from the annexed note that I have not proposed to give separate members to municipalities. This is not a question on which I have strong views, but as no municipality in Assam has a population of 15,000 I prefer on the whole that the municipalities should vote along with the surrounding country. In any case Shillong Municipality must be somewhat of a problem. I suggest that it should be amalgamated with North Sylhet, which also includes the important town of Sylhet.

3106. (20) I have carefully considered the difficult question of communal representation. The principle has already been conceded in the case of the Muhammadans and of the Sikhs and I can see no reason why it should be refused in the case of other communities which have distinct interests and which, in the absence of communal representation, have no reasonable chance of adequate representation. To my mind it is immaterial whether the community concerned is, or is not in a numerical majority in the area under consideration. The real questions are these:—*First*—Is the community

one in regard to which it is desirable for political reasons that they should *now* be represented on the Council by spokesmen of their own race and religion? *Secondly*—Has the community any real chance of being *now* so represented in the absence of a communal electorate? If the answer to the first question is "Yes" and the answer to the second question is "No", then I would brush aside all theoretical considerations, look the situation straight in the face, and grant a communal electorate. I have frequently disagreed with my late colleague Mr. P. C. Lyon, and on no question have we disagreed more completely than on the question of constitutional reform, but I desire to express my fullest concurrence with his letter to the "Times," dated the 8th August 1918. After discussing the question of communal representation he concludes as follows:—

"The supporters of the new scheme who have had experience of the working of Legislative Councils in India ask for communal representation because they agree with its opponents that it is most important that Indians should learn to work together without consideration of class. It is by using it now to bring all parties together, to share alike in public service and responsibility that we shall gradually persuade India that she can do without it."

So far as Indians generally are concerned I am content to leave the case as stated by Mr. Lyon. So far as British non-officials are concerned I shall state the case in my own way.

3107. (21) In view of the recommendations in the Report it is almost unnecessary that I should put forward any arguments on behalf of communal representation for the Muhammadans of the province. Here, as elsewhere, they are a peculiar people with peculiar interests and it will be many centuries before they will amalgamate politically with their Hindu or Animist neighbours. They are in a slight majority in the Surma Valley, but in a hopeless minority in the Assam Valley. Taking the two Valleys together they amount to one-third of the population and I therefore propose to give them 10 members out of 30. If the Muhammadans have an electorate of their own, they should have no voice in the election of the remaining Indian members.

3108. (22) I have carefully considered the case of the Indian Christians, the Animists, the lower caste Hindus, and the Ahoms. If the Indian Christians had been of sufficient numbers, I might have recommended them for a separate electorate. It is true that in occupation and mode of life they do not differ widely from their Hindu neighbours, but in many ways they are a distinct community with peculiar interests and peculiar claims. Seeing however that in the plains of the province they number only 23,000 as against my standard of 200,000 for an Indian electorate, I have regretfully decided that I cannot recommend them for a separate electorate. As regards the so-called Animists, their number in the plains is about half a million, but they are far from homogeneous and are often difficult to distinguish from other branches of the same Mongolian stock who claim to have entered the fold of Hinduism. As the nominal Hindus of Assam are to a great extent non-Aryans who have gradually become "converted" I see no valid reason for giving separate electorates to those who have, and to those who have not, crossed the rather shadowy border-line. As regards the lower caste Hindus, such as the Kaibartas (131,000) or the Namasudras (173,000) or the Patnis (111,000), the conditions in this province are fortunately different from those in Madras. I need only mention one luminous fact. The Hon'ble Babu Radha Binod Das, who now sits as member for a mixed constituency in the Assam Legislative Council, is a Kaibarta by caste. He has submitted an interesting note on the Report and has not even mentioned the subject of communal electorates. In the circumstances I do not propose to press for a communal electorate for the lower classes of Hindus in Assam. Lastly, I would invite attention to the claim which has been put forward by the Ahom community for a special electorate. This community numbers 197,000. It is one of the many Mongolian races which have entered Assam from the north or the west, have conquered the previous settlers, and have enjoyed a period of political ascendancy. Like most of its predecessors, this race has now assumed Hindu names and affected Hindu customs. The length of the Ahom ascendancy (600 years) and the comparatively recent date of its fall (less than 100 years ago) constitute some claim to special treatment, but, on the whole, especially in view of the formal embracement of Hinduism I am not prepared to urge the Ahom claim or to distinguish it from that of the Rajbansis and Kacharis. Rai Sahib Padma Nath Gohain Barua will however appear before the Committee and will argue the case for his community.

3109. (23) It has been stated in paragraph 232 of the report that "where the great landholders form a distinct class in any province, we think that there will be a case for giving them an electorate of their own." The talukdars of Oudh were no doubt in the mind of the authors of the report. I have carefully considered whether I can honestly recommend either that the permanently-settled mirasdars of Sylhet, or that the zamindar-families of Goalpara should be granted a separate electorate. I have come to the conclusion that neither claim can be established. If the zamindars of Goalpara had been more numerous, their case would have been strong, but I can hardly suggest that a separate electorate should be constituted from the representatives of seven families—Bijni, Sidli, Gouripur, Mechpara, Chipar, Parbatjoar and Karabari. I have proposed that the district of Goalpara should elect two Hindu members to the Legislative Council. I cannot see why one of the great zamindars should not stand and be elected. But even if they fail to enter the Council by election, I would certainly make a point of nominating one of them to the Council whenever an important Bill connected with the district is about to be discussed. At the present moment a member of the Mechpara family, a barrister by profession, is a nominated member of Council.

As regards the mirasdars of Sylhet, there are a few large proprietors in the district, but the great majority are merely cultivators who enjoy a permanent settlement. They will be amply represented by the 12 members who have been assigned to the district.

3110. (24) I now turn to the case of the British non-officials. To speak freely, I consider that the main defect of the report is its inadequate recognition of the position of the non-official British community. It was as merchants and planters that the British came to India and it is essentially as merchants and planters that we are still here. The official British element is ancillary in function and accidental in form; the non-official British element is permanent and vital. So long as the Government remained bureaucratic in character the non-official Briton was content in the main to go on with his work of trade or cultivation and to leave the business of government to those members of his race who had taken up that business as their profession. But now that the whole character of the administration is to be changed the non-official Briton is entitled to demand that both in the Legislative and in the Executive he shall be placed in such a position that his past history will never be forgotten or his present interests overlooked. He is not a bird of passage and he cannot be so treated. Whatever may be said to the contrary he is "an integral part of the population of India." British families and British firms have been in India for generations and (unless they are deserted by the British officials in whom they have trusted) will remain here for many generations more. Some of the community are technically known as domiciled Anglo-Indians, others intend to spend the last few years of their lives in the home country. Some again are of pure European descent, others have a mixture of Asiatic blood. But the whole community is bound together by ties of origin, of religion and of common interest. We, the Government officials, are in a position of trust. Whatever constitution we now frame must be a constitution in which the other members of our own community can feel that they are safe—that their property is safe, that their lives are safe and (what really matters) that the lives of their women and children are safe. I am convinced that the great body of Indians, high and low, desire the permanent presence of the British community, both official and non-official. But nothing can be gained by pretending that things which have happened did not actually happen; or that things which are now happening are not actually happening. The British

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PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF ASSAM.

community remembers 1857 and there is no reason why it should forget it. Moreover, it has studied the report of the Rowlatt Committee and it knows that a dangerous conspiracy, aimed at the expulsion or extermination of the British community, has ramifications in every province in India. No wonder that the British community demands that the new constitution shall contain real safeguards for its existence. It is true that the scheme as put forward contains many ingenious devices, specially designed for its protection. But the more thoughtful members of the British community have already come to the deliberate opinion—an opinion based on the political training of the British race—that the only real safeguard is the constitution of a separate British electorate which shall send to the Legislative Council such number of British representatives as shall make their presence felt; and as a necessary corollary that on the Executive Council of the Governor there shall be at least one representative of the non-official British community. With these views I am in whole-hearted sympathy.

3111. (25) What I have written above refers to India generally. The case for the non-official Briton is peculiarly strong in Assam. As I have already noted, there are 2,000 square miles of tea gardens in the province. The British community scattered through the two valleys and the hills numbered at last census 2,725 men and women. The non-official British community of Assam has taken a leading part in the work of local self-government throughout the province and it has now four members on the Legislative Council. Three of these are elected by the planting associations and one is a nominated member representing the mining interest. In an earlier part of this note I have already proposed that there should be a non-official Briton upon the Executive Council of the Governor. I now propose that there should be a communal electorate for the British community based on manhood and womanhood suffrage and that this electorate should send ten members to the Legislative Council, six from the Assam Valley and four from the Surma Valley. I regard this as the irreducible minimum for the safety of the British community. I have not proposed that the Tea Associations, as such, should elect members. I prefer that Britons, as Britons, should be the electors. As the tea interest preponderates in both Valleys it is practically certain that the leading members of the Tea Associations will be elected to the Legislative Council. Should this not happen, recourse will be had to nomination.

* * * * *

3112 (45) I agree (paragraphs 273-274) that the Indian Legislative Council should be reformed and enlarged. In a Council of 100, I would have 80 elected and 20 nominated; but I regard it as essential that among the 80 elected members at least 20 should represent the non-official British (and Anglo-Indian) community. Muhammadans, Sikhs, non-Brahmans, and Indian Christians should also be adequately represented. There should be no difficulty in providing direct electorates in the case of the British and Anglo-Indian communities. I have recommended manhood and womanhood suffrage for the British electorate for the Assam Legislative Council. I would recommend a similar suffrage, with a minimum age of 45, in the case of the British electorate for the Indian Legislative Council. The constituency will thus be limited to voters of ripe experience. In the case also of Indian Christians it will perhaps be possible to arrange a direct electorate, but I agree that, generally speaking, we are almost compelled to resort to indirect election and that the non-official members of the Provincial Councils provide perhaps the most suitable field. I strongly urge that Assam should elect at least three members, one Hindu, one Muhammadan, and one Briton.

Additional Note on the electorates proposed for Assam.

3113. (1) In the main note I have explained the general plan on which I recommend that the electorates should be framed. The basis of my plan is the census "house," which is thus defined:—

"A house consists of the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family; that is, by a number of persons living and eating together in one mess, with their resident dependents, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and their servants who reside in the house. In other works the unit is the communal family, known in some districts as the *khana*, and not the homestead or enclosure."

This conception of a house is familiar to the people, and the census has made it still more familiar. Further, each house has a recognised head commonly known as the *Karta*. My goal is the enfranchisement of all the *Kartas*, approximately 600,000 in each Valley; but for the present I must be content to take about one-quarter of this number, say 150,000 in each Valley. My predecessor proposed to bring the numbers into reasonable dimensions by a somewhat elaborate franchise, based on alternative qualifications. In raiyatwari areas he proposed that payment of Rs. 20 as land revenue should be the standard. In zamindari areas he proposed that the payment of a certain sum as chankidari rate should be the standard—Re. 1-5 in Sylhet and Re. 1-12 Goalpara. The payment of income-tax, the enjoyment of a salary of Rs. 50 per month, or a pension of Rs. 25 per month, the possession of a title or decoration, and the attainment of a certain standard of education, were also to be qualifications. I determined, if possible, to get rid of all fancy franchises, and I went for light and guidance to the late-Major Jack's remarkable little book "The Economic Life of a Bengal District." He has shown on the basis of house-to-house enquiries and the tabulation of most elaborate statistics that 49 per cent. (say one-half) of the agricultural households in Faridpur are in a state of "comfort" and have an average income of Rs. 360 per annum. As this is an average figure, about one-half of these "comfortable" households may be assumed to have an income of Rs. 360 and upwards, while the other half have an income of something under Rs. 360. In other words if a line be drawn at Rs. 360, about one-quarter of all the households in the district will fall on or above the line, while three-quarters will fall below the line. It is obvious that if we were dealing with Faridpur and were in search of an electorate embracing the "comfortable quarter" of the households no better criterion could be obtained than the tables of Major Jack. I have carefully considered whether it is possible to apply a similar criterion to Assam—subject to exceptions in poorer constituencies—at Rs. 250 per annum. This criterion should apply to all classes of the population, agricultural or otherwise. In particular the labourers on tea gardens should not be excluded. In their case each "separate doorway" in the coolie lines is classed as a "house." In a coolie family the men, the younger women, and the older children, all work. It is therefore by no means uncommon to find that a coolie family, using a separate doorway in the lines, has a joint annual income of Rs. 250. The head of such a family should not be placed in a worse position than the head of any other family, agricultural or industrial. I have already mentioned that there are half-a-million actual workers on the tea gardens. If workers and non-workers be reckoned, and if we add the population which came to Assam as labourers and afterwards settled down as independent cultivators, it may safely be estimated that 1½ millions—say one-quarter of the population of the plains—are either

labourers or ex-labourers in tea gardens. Moreover, there is no section of the population which is more vitally interested in legislation, past, present, and future. I am therefore persuaded, and I feel sure that the British non-officials will agree, that the respectable families in the coolie lines should be placed on an electoral equality with the respectable families in the villages.

3114. (2) As explained in the main note, I propose that the electoral rolls should be prepared as a "by-product" of the forthcoming census. I readily admit that it will be impossible for the supervising staff of the Census to devote the same meticulous care to the calculation of family incomes as was devoted by Major Jack's trained staff in Faridpur. But it will be quite possible for each Deputy Commissioner to issue such instructions as will secure the desired object—the earmarking of the most comfortable quarter of the households. The statutory rules should be as simple as possible, but their working should be as elastic as possible. In each district it should be left to the Deputy Commissioner, subject to the control and advice of the Commissioner, to lay down tests in accordance with which the families of each constituency should be "deemed to possess" the necessary income. For example, the test in one place might be the cultivation of 5 acres of land; in another the payment of Rs. 15 as land revenue; in another the payment of Rs. 20 as rent to a landlord; in yet another the payment of Rs. 1-8 as chaukidari tax. My point is that none of these working tests should be embedded in the statutory rules. They should be left to the discretion of the local officers.

3115. (3) Some of my officers have represented that in certain parts of the province the general criterion of Rs. 250 per annum is too high and will not produce the necessary "quarter." I can well believe that this is so. I therefore propose that even in the statutory rules there should be an element of elasticity. The criterion might be "an annual income of Rs. 250, or in the poorer constituencies such smaller sum as the Chief Commissioner may direct."

3116. (4) An alternative method of reducing the electorate to reasonable dimensions would be to fix a high minimum of age. For example, it might be laid down that the head of every household is entitled to the franchise provided that his age is 50 years. This would probably give the desired result. I admit that this scheme is attractive. It is simple, democratic and impartial; and it secures that in the initial elections the franchise is confined to the wiser and older members of the population. Moreover, the scheme can be justified by the precedent of women-suffrage in Great Britain. The number of women-voters has been reduced, at least during the first stages of the experiment, by the simple expedient of fixing the minimum age at 35 years. As far as I am aware, all Indians who have discussed the problem of their electorates have assumed that the only possible criterion is property, or taxation, or education. Certainly the simple criterion of age had not occurred to any Indian of my acquaintance until I specifically suggested it to him. I found that the suggestion was generally received as one well worthy of consideration. For the present I only mention it as a possible, and attractive, alternative to the scheme which I propose.

3117. (5) What I have written in the last paragraph reminds me that there is one point, relevant both to my main scheme and to my alternative scheme, which should not pass unnoticed. I refer to the question of votes for women. Personally I think that when the head of a duly qualified household happens to be a woman—in other words, when the *Karta* is in fact a *Kartri* or *Grihini*—that woman should be entitled to exercise the franchise. In the Valleys of Assam such cases will be comparatively rare, but when the hill districts come to be included in the scheme, the matter will immediately assume great importance. Anyhow, this is a problem which may well be left to the decision of Indians themselves.

6. The accompanying table shows how I would frame the constituencies. In each Valley there will be 150,000 voters returning 15 members, while the racial division will be as follows:—

	Hindus.	Muhammadians.
Surma Valley	7	8
Assam "	13	2
TOTAL	20	10

As the Hindu voters (203,000) are to the Muhammadan voters (97,000) in the ratio of two to one, so also the distribution of seats has been made in the same ratio. The table, I hope, is practically self-explanatory, but I add a few notes to make it quite clear:—

- (a) The expression Hindu, for the reasons given in the main note, includes not only Hindus of all castes, but also Animists, Ahoms, and Indian Christians. "Non-Muslim Indians" would have been a more accurate though less convenient, description.
- (b) The North Cachar Hills have been excluded from Cachar, and the Mikir Hills from Nowgong and Sibsagar.
- (c) As far as possible integral districts or integral sub-divisions have been taken as the electoral units. The exceptions are indicated by the absence of the words "district" or "sub-division" in column 2 or column 5, as the case may be. For example, the Hindu constituencies of Cachar are called Sadar and Hailakandi, not Sadar Sub-division and Hailakandi Sub-division. This is because it has been found necessary to transfer the Katigora Tahsil, for electoral purposes only, from the Sadar to Hailakandi. Even after this transfer the Hailakandi electorate is rather small: without the transfer the disparity would have been still more marked. Minor transfers of a somewhat similar nature were found necessary in the Hindu constituencies of Goalpara, Kamrup and Lakhimpur, while two of the Sub-divisions of Sylhet, Sadar and Habiganj, were found capable of sending two Muhammadan members each. Generally speaking, however, the ordinary administrative units have been adopted for the purpose of constituencies.
- (d) The percentages of literacy (columns 4 and 7) are approximate figures. It has been assumed that the standard of literacy among the heads of the "comfortable" households of a particular community is approximately three times as great as the general standard of literacy among adult males in the same community of the district in question.
- (e) No attempt has been made to estimate the distribution of wealth among the different classes of the electorates. The towns, as already noted, are small and unimportant. They contain some professional men, some clerks and some shopkeepers; but broadly speaking the electorates will be made up of cultivators and garden coolies. In neither of these categories is there any marked difference in the distribution of income between the various races. So far as cultivators are concerned, the various races obtain approximately similar incomes, but the Muhammadans are generally more improvident than the Hindus, and the Animists more improvident than either. The coolies as a class, being drawn from the lower strata throughout India, are seldom inclined to frugality or excessive sobriety.

Concluded.]

PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF ASSAM.

Proposed Electorates.

District (with total population, Hindu and Muhammadan).	HINDU.			MUHAMMADAN.		
	Constituency.	ESTIMATED.		Constituency.	ESTIMATED.	
		Number of voters.	Percentage of literacy.		Number of voters.	Percentage of literacy.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CAOBAR.						
Hindu 314,000	Sadar	10,000	47	Whole district	7,000	34
Muhammadan 156,000	Hailakandi	6,000	47			
TOTAL 470,000						
SYLHET.						
Hindu 1,108,000	Sadar Sub-division	10,000	60	North Sadar	8,000	22
Muhammadan 1,365,000	Sunamganj Sub-division	10,000	60	South Sadar	10,000	22
	Habiganj Sub-division	13,000	60	Sunamganj Sub-division	14,000	22
TOTAL 2,473,000	South Sylhet Sub-division	12,000	60	North Habiganj	8,000	22
				South Habiganj	9,000	22
	Karimganj Sub-division	12,000	60	South Sylhet Sub-division	9,000	22
				Karimganj Sub-division	12,000	22
TOTAL SUBMA VALLEY	7 Hindu Constituencies	73,000	..	8 Muhammadan Constituencies	77,000	..
GOALPARA.						
Hindu 398,000	Dhubri	11,000	38	Whole district	12,000	21
Muhammadan 212,000	Goalpara	8,000	38			
TOTAL 610,000						
KAMRUP.						
Hindu 603,000	East Gauhati	9,000	44			
Muhammadan 66,000	West Gauhati	9,000	44			
	Barpeta	12,000	40			
TOTAL 668,000						
DARRANG.						
Hindu 357,000	Tezpur Sub-division	10,000	24			
Muhammadan 20,000	Mangaldai Sub-division	8,000	24			
TOTAL 377,000						
NOWGONG.						
Hindu 232,000	Whole district	11,000	39	Upper Assam Valley	8,000	40
Muhammadan 16,000						
TOTAL 248,000						
SIBSAGAR.						
Hindu 637,000	Jorhat Sub-division	12,000	35			
Muhammadan 30,000	Sibsagar Sub-division	11,000	35			
	Golaghat Sub-division	8,000	35			
TOTAL 667,000						
LAKHIMPUR.						
Hindu 458,000	Dibrugarh	12,000	30			
Muhammadan 13,000	North Lakhimpur	9,000	30			
TOTAL 469,000						
TOTAL ASSAM VALLEY	13 Hindu Constituencies	130,000	..	2 Muhammadan Constituencies	20,000	..
TOTAL BOXY VALLEYS	20 Hindu Constituencies	203,000	..	10 Muhammadan Constituencies	97,000	..

16 December 1918.]

Mr. J. E. WEBSTER.

[Continued.]

At Calcutta, Monday, December 16th, 1918.

PRESENT:

SIR F. G. SLY, K.C.S.L., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Sahibzada AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.L., C.L.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Colonel P. R. T. GURDON, C.S.L., Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Saiyid ABDUL MAJID.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).

The Hon'ble Mr. J. E. WEBSTER, C.L.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, called and examined.

3118. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He was the Chief Secretary to the Assam Administration and had come to explain the scheme prepared by the Chief Commissioner.

3119. The scheme would extend only to the Assam Valley, the Surma Valley and Shillong, which was the head-quarters of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District. The intention was that the laws made by the Legislative Council should be applicable to the remaining areas of the Province, but that no member should be elected to the Council from those areas which would be represented by the official nominated members. So far as he knew, the Chief Commissioner had not considered, except as regards the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, whether those tracts should be represented on the Council otherwise than by election.

3120. According to the Chief Commissioner's proposals the franchise would be based on the household rather than on the more obvious unit of the individual in order to avoid the difficulty of the joint Hindu family, which however was not peculiar to Assam in any way. In many cases this would have the same result as giving the vote to the individual revenue or vote payer as the revenue or rate was usually paid by the head of the family. But this would not be so in all cases. For instance there might be cases of several households paying revenue through a single agent; Muhammadan families which were only partners for the purposes of cultivation often paid revenue in this way; or the members of Hindu families whose property had been partitioned might not have effected mutation of names; or again the names of the co-sharers might be given but not the extent of the shares. In Sylhet there was no complete record of rights. There were records for the temporarily settled estates and for permanently settled estates in three parganas. There was a register of proprietors of permanently settled estates, but the latter was very incomplete and not up-to-date.

3121. It was proposed to give votes to families with incomes of Rs. 250 or more. The Chief Commissioner proposed that the determination of incomes for this purpose should be one of the duties of the Census staff who would work as far as possible on the lines of Major Jack's enquiry. The Census staff would not be altogether suitable, but the Chief Commissioner contemplated laying down certain standards for their guidance, for instance, that the payment of income-tax or the payment of a certain amount of land revenue should be taken as denoting a particular income. The reason for adopting this arrangement, instead of taking the payment of income-tax or of a certain amount of land revenue as itself the qualification, was that even if a man was not qualified by these standards he would still be allowed to

vote if he could produce satisfactory evidence that he was in receipt of Rs. 250 income. When these enquiries were made it was more likely that a man would conceal his income for fear of the ulterior consequences than that he would claim it although there was no duty or tax attaching to the vote. The household unit would certainly fluctuate. The next Census would be taken in 1920 and it would be difficult to conduct the proposed enquiry before then or make any satisfactory revision before 1930; but when once the roll had been prepared it should not be very difficult to maintain. He could not say whether the Chief Commissioner had considered using the land records staff to prepare the list.

3122. The intention was that the polling should last for several days in each constituency. If there were about 10,000 voters in the constituency and one polling officer could poll about 500 votes in a day, 20 polling officers would be required to finish the work in a single day. He thought this could be arranged.

3123. The general electoral unit selected was the district, but the Muhammadan constituencies extended in some cases over a number of districts and the north Sylhet sub-division would have to be divided into two parts to provide constituencies for the two Muhammadan representatives. In some cases parts of one sub-division had been attached to another sub-division in order to obtain equality of constituencies, but the district was a self-contained unit in every case.

3124. No urban constituencies were proposed. There were no towns of over 15,000 population in the province and no big commercial settlements; and the difference between a town and a large village was not very great. The municipalities in the province numbered 15. The Chief Commissioner had considered grouping the towns in urban electorates but had deliberately abandoned the idea.

3125. A Council of 50 members was proposed and in addition to this the Chief Commissioner, the two members of the Executive Council and experts taken in from time to time must be included, making a total of 55. The two additional non-official members would not be included if the Joint Report was accepted.

3126. The 5 non-official nominated members were intended to represent interests which would otherwise not be represented, for instance, the Goalpara zamindars or the Mahishyas, if they failed to secure representation otherwise, or the backward tribes.

3127. In proposing 5 nominated officials he thought the Chief Commissioner had not taken the Grand Committee into consideration because he was opposed to the idea of having one at all. There would be no difficulty in appointing 2 or 3 more officials.

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[Continued]

3128. The Assam Valley and the Surma Valley were each to get 15 elected members chiefly because their populations were about equal. The population of the Assam Valley was growing the faster of the two and that Valley paid a heavier land revenue. The number of voters in each case would be about the same.

3129. The essence of the scheme was that one quarter of the householders should get the vote and the figure of Rs. 250 was selected as the one that would give this proportion. Some statistics had been collected in connection with Sir Arohdale Earle's proposals. The idea then was to get an electorate of about one per cent. of the population and it was thought that a payment of Rs. 20 in land revenue was sufficient to provide the one per cent. in the Assam Valley, but in Nowgong it would have to be lowered to Rs. 15 and in the Eastern Duars to be raised to Rs. 30. In the permanently settled portions of Goalpara and Sylhet the land revenue criterion had to be abandoned and they had fallen back on the chaulkidari assessment. It was found that by taking a payment in chaulkidari tax of Rs. 1-12 a year in Goalpara and Rs. 1-5 a year in Sylhet and an intermediate figure in Cachar the necessary one per cent. could be obtained. The chaulkidari tax was levied on every household outside the towns and tea gardens in the districts of Sylhet, Cachar (except North Cachar Hills), and Goalpara. It was based not on land but on the assessee's general well-being and represented the village panchayat's estimate of his income. In Sylhet the chaulkidar got 8 annas a month for 10 houses, i.e., 12 annas a year for each house on the average. To obtain the required sum the village panchayat had to distribute it over the households, exempting the very poorest. The payment varied from 6 pice to one rupee a month; the assessment was an arbitrary one made by the villagers on the households. The road cess, or rather local rate, was payable in Assam but not in the same way as in Bihar or Bengal where the raiyat paid half an anna in the rupee. In Assam the tenant only paid the rate in special cases. This rate could be used as the basis of the franchise in the case of revenue payers in the permanently settled areas, but the difficulty would be to find out who paid the local rate because Government accepted payment from anybody who chose to pay and the payer might represent half a dozen joint owners. The demand for each estate was fixed but there was no record of the sums paid by individual co-sharers unless they opened separate accounts.

3130. He thought there was a record of rents and of rent payers in the temporarily settled tracts but he was not sure in what detail it had been prepared. The difficulty about having a rent qualification for tenants was that there was no record of rights for the greater part of the permanently settled estates in Sylhet, nor was there any record of tenancies so that it would not be possible to take a particular area of land as the qualification. The revenue was assessed on whole estates.

3131. There would be no difficulty about basing the franchise in urban areas on the payment of municipal tax; that was in fact the existing basis.

3132. The Chief Commissioner contemplated separate communal electorates for Muhammadans both in the Assam and in the Surma Valleys, although in the latter they were in a small majority. The Muhammadans were to get 10 seats as against 20 for the Hindus and 10 for the British electorate. The Muhammadan population in the province was about 2 millions out of 6 and it was growing faster than the rest of the population in the Assam Valley. The Muhammadans were distinctly influential and well educated; this at least was their own claim.

3133. No separate representation was proposed for the Animists.

3134. The Ahoms were separate by race and he believed separate in custom and in many other ways. He believed they were Hindus by religion but hesitated to give a very definite opinion.

3135. There were only 7 zamindari estates in Goalpara.

3136. The mirasdars in Sylhet were permanently settled small proprietors paying for the most part a revenue of

from 5, 6 or 10 annas but in some cases as much as Rs. 200 or Rs. 300.

3137. At the last Census the European and Anglo-Indian community numbered 2,725 men and women including the few British officers from the regiment at Shillong. There was no British garrison. The figure also included officials. The Chief Commissioner intended that officials should vote in the proposed electorate as much as non-officials. The proposal was that the existing separate representation for the planting and mining interests should be abolished in favour of a general British and Anglo-Indian electorate. There were a certain number of Indian firms interested in tea and the number of gardens owned by Indians was increasing, but the greater part of the industry, which was of enormous importance and had really made the province, was in British hands. It occupied 2,000 square miles; it employed one-tenth of the population and was responsible for over one-quarter of the population of the province. The mining industry was almost entirely in British hands. In the case of the European electorate no property qualification was proposed; the Chief Commissioner had only proposed a property qualification in the case of the Indian electorates because otherwise the number of voters would have been unmanageable. In the case of the British electorate the individual was taken as the unit because it was simpler. By the proposed arrangement the assistants, of whom however there were not many on most gardens, as well as the managers would get votes. At present only the manager had a vote and in many cases he represented the views of the absentee proprietor.

3138. The Chief Commissioner saw no reason why women should not vote and regarded female suffrage as the ultimate aim even in the general electorates. Pardah was much stricter in the Surma Valley than in the Assam Valley. The proposal might penalise the higher Hindu castes; it would not penalise the Muhammadans because they had separate communal representation. No memorial had been received asking for women's suffrage.

3139. (Mr. Sastri.) The special interests of the landholders would get representation through the general constituencies.

3140. Some Indian tea-planters would have a good chance of being returned. At least 3 had already been elected to the Council. At present he believed that a good deal less than 1/10th of the industry was in the hands of Indians, but the proportion was growing.

3141. In the general electorates each member would represent about 200,000 of the population, of whom about 1/20th would be voters. In the case of the European electorates there would be one member for every 250 of the population. In their case manhood and womanhood suffrage was proposed. He thought it essential that there should be a very large British representation at any rate for some time to come. The tea industry had made Assam and the tea industry was a British industry and was at present managed by Europeans. They owned about 2,000 square miles or about 1/14th of the land. He did not think it likely that any of the nominated seats would be given to Europeans.

3142. (Mr. Hailey.) After the last census it was estimated that the tea industry was responsible for 1 1/2 million of the inhabitants of Assam who had come either as garden coolies or in some other capacity in connection with the industry. Some of these men had settled in the province. Many of them had acquired land through the tea industry and many in other ways.

3143. The potential mineral industries were large but they could not compare with tea in importance.

3144. (Mr. Hogg.) He imagined that under the present system the votes of the managers must be influenced by the absentee proprietors.

3145. From two-thirds to three-quarters of the European and Anglo-Indian population was connected with tea. The balance were mainly officials and railway employes. The tea gardens, of which there were under thousand, did not have large British staffs. Very

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often a number of gardens were grouped together under one superintendent.

3146. Pundah women might be *kastries*.

3147. (Mr. Banerjee) The hill tribes were at present under the Legislative Council in the sense that the laws passed by the Legislative Council could be specially extended to them.

3148. Tea garden coolies occupied houses and some of them would be voters. They were more or less under European control but he doubted whether the number of the coolies who would get the franchise would affect the general electorate appreciably.

3149. Of the 2,725 Anglo-Indians and Europeans 2,153 were European British subjects exclusive of those in Manipur. 475 were Anglo-Indians, and there were a few non-British subjects, chiefly from the United States. The interests of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Assam were identical in many respects. If only 10 seats were given he doubted if the Anglo-Indians would get separate representation, but their interests would be represented in the main. The Anglo-Indians had made no separate demand.

3150. The chaukidari tax was confined to three districts. It was not paid in the upper districts of the Assam Valley, but it was paid in the Surma Valley and in the permanently settled area of the district of Goalpara. It could not therefore be made the sole basis for the franchise.

3151. He saw that there were advantages in having separate urban constituencies, but the Chief Commissioner, after full consideration, had decided against the proposal.

3152. He did not think that the Chief Commissioner had considered what residential qualification would be required of candidates or voters. He would obtain his views on the subject and also as regards age, and the necessity for a voter being a British subject.

3153. (Mr. Aftab.) He could not say for what special reasons the Local Administration had departed from the principles adopted by the Government of India in 1909 with regard to Muhammadan communal representation.

3154. (Sir Frank Sly.) In the permanently settled areas the chaukidari tax was the only basis that could be adopted for a property qualification without detailed enquiry. It was paid by all residents in the village, both agricul-

turists and non-agriculturists, on an assessment made by a panchayat of the general means of individuals.

3155. (Mr. Hailey.) The chaukidari tax was not strictly proportionate to the wealth of the individual. On the whole the wealthier man paid less and the poorer man paid more, but it gave a general indication as to who would have a vote and who would not. The different assessments represented grades of prosperity within the village but an assessment of one rupee might connote an income of Rs. 100 in one village and in another village an income of Rs. 250. He did not think the tax could be accurately re-assessed without altering the whole of the panchayat system.

3156. (Sir Frank Sly.) There was a system of election to Local Boards by "gaonburas." This, however, was unpopular, because it was not sufficiently representative and it was therefore proposed to adopt a direct system of election.

3157. So far as he knew, the Mahishyas were a branch of the Kaibarttas, although they denied that there was any connection between them. They were shown in the Census Report as a sub-sect of the Kaibarttas. They were a Hindu caste. The Jalia Dases and the Halia Dases were two sections of the main Kaibartta caste. Some of the Halia Dases now called themselves Mahishyas and traced themselves back to the Mahabharata. They were a progressive caste, mainly cultivators. Some of them had been called to the Bar, and there was a Mahishya member on the Assam Council. They were not untouchables.

3158. "Satras" were monasteries.

3159 A. (Maulvi Abdul Majid.) At the last Census the Muhammadans in the Assam Valley numbered 335,000 and it was now proposed to give representation as for 400,000. There had been a great immigration of Muhammadans since then, greater in the case of the Muhammadans than in the case of the Hindus.

3159. (Col. Gordon.) One consideration which had influenced the Chief Commissioner in taking the household as a unit was that this had been the unit adopted at the Census.

3160. He did not know the Lakhimpur district and therefore could not say whether the North Lakhimpur sub-division had been divided for convenience sake, because part of it was on the opposite side of the Brahmaputra.

J. McSWINEY, Esq., I.C.S., Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Assam.

Written Statement.

I.—NOTE ON THE PREPARATION OF AN ELECTORAL ROLL.

3161. (1) For Census purposes districts are divided, beginning with the smaller units, into blocks, circles and charges. A block is the area managed by a single enumerator and experience has shown that it should average forty houses and should not be more than fifty. These blocks are grouped into Supervisors' circles; generally 10 to 15 blocks, covering 400 to 600 houses are given to one Supervisor. Finally there is the charge which is assigned to a Superintendent and usually contains about 12,000 houses; so far as possible the charge coincides with the administrative unit of a police station in the permanently-settled area and a Sub-Deputy Collector's circle in the temporarily-settled part of the plains; if the number of houses does not exceed 15,000 it is not usual to reduce it. These sub-divisions are carefully checked with all available maps and by local enquiries and on their completion house-numbering is taken up. At the last Census this preliminary stage was completed on 15th November 1910, and at the next Census will presumably be finished on the same date in 1920 and not in 1919-20 as indicated in paragraph 17 of the Chief Commissioner's note on the Reforms Scheme. The lists of houses should be completed at the same time. It is from the latter that the electoral roll would be prepared.

(2) The enumerators of blocks and the Supervisors of circles are, except in unusual circumstances, unpaid

local people and the Supervisors are generally men of weight and public spirit: the Charge Superintendents are usually officials, Sub-Deputy Collectors or Police Sub-Inspectors. On the proposed scale of representation the latter officer would be required to select about one quarter of the houses in his charge, i.e., about 3,000 to 4,000. It would, I think, be necessary to associate with him and the Census staff a representative or two from each village; otherwise, apart from the local knowledge of the Charge Superintendent and the Supervisor, the nomination of voters would rest with the enumerators. It should, however, be quite easy for the Charge Superintendent, who should be continually on tour in the villages in his area for the purpose of checking the progress of enumeration, to consult the leading men of each village and, if necessary, to hold for this purpose a meeting of representatives from each Supervisor's circle, including the enumerators; from the knowledge so acquired he should be able to complete a list of voter *kartas* which should be practically correct and could be published for information in each village and for objections to its accuracy. Even if no criterion other than that of gross income were prescribed, the above procedure would, I think, supply a very fair method of arriving at the result desired. If in addition to this, the income criterion is modified by the payment of a certain amount of land revenue, rent, *chaukidari* or other tax, as suggested in paragraph 2 of Appendix II to the Chief Commissioner's note, the approximation to accuracy should be very close

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indeed, as receipts for the amounts paid would usually be indisputable evidence of the fact.

Once the list of voters is prepared it should not be difficult to maintain it, if the people are eager to secure a vote, by a triennial or quinquennial revision, at which objections to the existing register would be received and in any case there should be a complete revision at each Census.

II.—NOTE ON THE ASSAM HILLS DISTRICT FROM AN ETHNOGRAPHIC POINT OF VIEW.

3162. (1) In the Indian Census Report, in addition to the administrative units, such as districts, sub-divisions, etc., provinces are divided for statistical comparisons into homogeneous tracts: Assam has thus been split up into its physical sub-divisions of the two valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surma and the large block of hills, which make up the rest of the province. In the subsidiary tables to each chapter of the Census Report, which usually contain proportional statistics, each of these three divisions is shown separately and it is thus possible to indicate at once their statistical differences. In the Chief Commissioner's note the Mikir Hills in Nowgong and Sibsagar districts are shown separately, but are included in their respective plains districts in the Census Report, while the North-East Frontier Tract was created as a separated entity in 1912 and hence does not appear in the 1911 Census Report.

Besides the Census statistics there is an excellent series of ethnographical monographs published by Government on most of the tribes inhabiting the hill districts and there are the annual administration reports of the officers in charge of them. There can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has read the above or has visited the localities that the hills people are in such a backward stage of development that they require separate treatment from the plains of the province. They are different from the people of the plains in race, religion, customs and language. And further, apart from a general resemblance in the religious beliefs of Animism or nature worship and the fact that they all belong to a Mongolian strain in race, they differ from one another in other respects as much as they are all distinct from the people of the plains.

3163. (2) In a short note of this kind it is impossible to enter into ethnographical details, which are collected in the monographs referred to above, but a few general statistics taken from the last Census Report will probably show the need for a differential treatment of the hill districts.

(1) *Religion.*—In the province as a whole in 1911 there were 5,437 Hindus, 2,893 Muhammadans and 1,765 Animists in every 10,000 of the population. In the Brahmaputra Valley the numbers were 7,014, 1,143 and 1,734, and in the Surma Valley 4,771, 5,166 and 53, respectively, while in the hills there were 6,790 Animists, 2,523 Hindus and only 251 Muhammadans. The figure for Hindus in the hill districts is greatly exaggerated by the comparatively recent converts in North Cachar and the accession of the people of the Manipur Valley a couple of centuries ago. The figures for Muhammadans must

be discounted by the fact that the Garo Hills contain a long circular strip of plains inhabited mainly by Muhammadan settlers from Mymensingh, which lies over the border in Bengal. But even without taking these deductions into account it is clear that the prevailing form of religion is Animistic, i.e., the Nature or Demon worship of the primeval man.

(2) *Sex.*—It has been fairly conclusively proved during the last Census that the supposed concealment in India of the existence of females was a myth and that, as a matter of fact, the excess of males found in India at each successive Census is probably more normal than the excess of females in the west of Europe. Assam contains 940 females per 1,000 males in actual population and 963 in natural population, i.e., population excluding immigrants, who come mainly to tea gardens. In the plains this proportion holds generally, but in the hills there are 1,026 females per 1,000 males in actual and 1,040 in natural population: with the exception of the Garo Hills, where the proportion is vitiated by the inclusion of the plains strip, there are more females than males in every district and amongst the Lushais the proportion is 1,120 per 1,000 males in actual and 1,159 in natural population. It is hardly necessary to add that there is no seclusion of females in any hill district.

(3) *Civil condition.*—The general prevalence of child marriage, which is a peculiarity of Indian conditions, appears in the Surma Valley: but in the Brahmaputra or Assam Valley the existence of the Animistic population and of tribes not long converted to Hinduism tends to maintain a more mature age for the marriage of girls: The latter tendency is still more apparent in the hills. Taking the critical age of 10–15 there are per 1,000 males 672 unmarried females in the Brahmaputra Valley, only 430 in the Surma Valley—and no less than 900 in the hills. Another point which bears on this subject is that matriarchy or heredity through females is the prevailing system in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills.

(4) *Literacy.*—Education is most advanced in the Surma Valley, where 55 per mille are literate: in the Brahmaputra Valley the proportion is 47, while in the hills it is as low as 27 and would have been much lower but for the literacy of the Christians in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where the proportion is the same as in the Surma Valley.

(5) *Language.*—Assamese and Bengali are the languages of the plains, the former being confined to the Assam or Brahmaputra Valley. Out of 10,000 people in the Province 2,171 speak Assamese and 4,568 speak Bengali, leaving 3,261 for other languages, of whom 610 people speak Hindi. In the Brahmaputra Valley over 49 per cent. of the people use Assamese and in the Surma Valley over 86 per cent. use Bengali. In the hills only 21 people out of 10,000 speak Assamese and only 233 speak Bengali: the latter proportion is exaggerated by the plains population of the Garo Hills. The Hindi speaking population of the hills, 62 per 10,000, are mainly sepoys, so that 9,684 persons out of 10,000 speak tribal languages. Into the diversity of the latter it is unnecessary to enter here.

Mr. J. McSwiney, I.C.S., called and examined.

3164. (Sir Frank Sly.) He was the Director of Land Records in Assam. He had been Superintendent of the last Census and he possessed a general knowledge of Assam apart from the hill districts.

3165. So far as he knew, there were no special circumstances in Assam which made it desirable to depart from the individual property qualification, in fact he believed that the joint family system was less prevalent in Assam than in some other parts of India. The difficulty about giving votes to revenue payers was that there were many people who held jointly. When land was held jointly, it depended on the wishes of the proprietors how their names were entered in the records. Very often the name of the eldest brother would be recorded, and often

the names of several brothers. If the vote was confined to the manager of the family, this difficulty would be removed, and if a rule was made that only the principal member of the family should get the vote, there would be no difficulty about enforcing it. He did not think this would be difficult or unjust in any way.

3166. In his opinion the determination of an income of Rs. 250 would be very difficult. If an income of Rs. 250 could only be determined indirectly by ascertaining the amount of land revenue paid or by some other similar means, he saw no advantage in taking the income Rs. 250 in preference to the criteria now employed in determining it.

3167. There was no possibility of getting a property qualification based on the local cess in the permanently

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settled areas. The chaukidari assessment was an alternative. It was not very suitable, but it was practically the only basis available. In the permanently settled areas, except for about 90 square miles of which a record-of-rights had been made by way of experiment, there was no record of tenants or of what rent they paid; nor was there any record of owners but only a list of states each of which had a number and a name. Things were so bad that a number of separate estates had been registered which were non-existent. (Both agriculturists and non-agriculturists paid the chaukidari tax in the permanently settled area. In the temporarily settled area there was no similar basis which could be used for giving the franchise to the non-agriculturist class, but persons of this class were very few in number.)

3168. He concurred with the Chief Commissioner's view that neither Animists nor Ahoms should get separate electorates. The Ahoms had race castes of their own. At the last Census they were put down as an impure caste to which they took strong objection. They utilised the services of rather degraded non-Ahom Brahmans. The ordinary explanation of their origin was that they were Mongolians who had come from the Shan States and intermarried locally.

3169. In Goalpara there were 7 large estates owned by zamindars who were descendants of a Koch king of whom the Maharajah of Cooch Behar was a lineal descendant. The Kochs were a Mongolian race who ruled from Gauhati as far west as Dinaipur in Bengal. When the East India Company took over the area, these zamindars were frontier chieftains who kept off inroads from the east and who paid a tribute of elephants which was subsequently commuted into payment in money. They were on a different footing to the other landlords of the province and could not be represented by them.

3170. In the other permanently settled district estates were very small. The average area of the proprietary holdings in the 90 square miles of Sylhet of which there was a record-of-rights was about one acre.

3171. The Mahishyas really came into existence in Eastern Bengal. At the time of the anti-partition agitation they had come forward on the side of Government and claimed to be a separate caste. In previous Censuses

they had been classed as Kaibarttas, but they had subsequently called themselves Chasi Kaibarttas. In Sylhet the corresponding class was generally called "Das" and a certain number of them had joined the Eastern Bengal Mahishyas. In Sylhet they were not of particular importance.

3172. (Mr. Banerjee.) He would vary his basis between the chaukidari tax and revenue according to circumstances. He would take revenue in temporarily settled tracts and the chaukidari tax in Goalpara and Sylhet; the permanently settled tracts. In Cachar, which was a temporarily settled district and where the chaukidari was also in force, he would prefer to take the revenue.

3173. The Mahishyas were originally fishermen, but some of them, having become rich, wished to separate themselves and constitute a caste of their own.

3174. (Mr. Hailey.) The chaukidari tax was assessed by unions in accordance with the rules in the Bengal Chaukidari Manual.

3175. (Mr. Sastri.) He did not think the zamindars' rent rolls could be used for electoral purposes in order to ascertain the rents paid by the tenants; for instance in Sylhet landlords practically kept no record at all. In Goalpara they were attempting to make a record-of-rights of their own, but he would not like to guarantee its accuracy even there. The proposal meant that the electoral roll would be framed by the zamindars.

3176. (Maulvi Abdul Majid.) At the last Census the Muhammadans in the province had increased by 20.2 per cent. over the previous Census. The increase in the Brahmaputra Valley was 42.8, chiefly owing to the stream of immigration from Mymensingh.

3177. The Hindu population had increased since the last Census by 11.9 per cent., 16 per cent. in the Brahmaputra Valley and 5.7 per cent. in the Surma Valley. He could not estimate the increase since 1911.

3178. (Colonel Gordon.) There was no particular reason for giving tea garden coolies the vote; on the other hand there was no particular reason why they should not get it. This might be done on the basis of wages of Rs. 200 or Rs. 250 a year.

3179. The estates in Goalpara were very large. The Bijni estate extended to about 900 sq. miles. The Goalpara landlords were certainly a distinct community.

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Babu KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS.

[Continued

At Calcutta, Tuesday, December 17th, 1918.

PRESENT :

Sir F. G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

SAHIBZADA AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HAILEY, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members :—

The Hon'ble Colonel P. R. T. GURDON, C.S.I., Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi SAHYD ABDUL MAJID.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).

Babu KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS, representing the Sylhet People's Association.

Written Statement.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

3180. (1) and (2).—My Association is of opinion that election to the Legislative Council should be by direct representation and on as wide a franchise as possible.

3181. As to the formation of general electorates, my Association would suggest district or division as the basis whose population upon qualifying themselves for the franchise shall be automatically placed upon the Election Register.

3182. We have at present a Legislative Council, 11 members of which are elected. We know how very inadequate the representation is, and we would naturally aim at making the representation very much broader, even if the size of our proposed council would appear large, for our intention is to carry the right of franchise to the masses.

3183. We further know how difficult it is to give mathematically equal representation to various areas of the province where variations are likely to arise among the different districts and among the different sub-divisions of a district itself. My Association, therefore, thinks that population should be the factor in determining electorates allowing franchise on a wide scale to a certain percentage of them.

3184. The population of the Surma Valley is in round numbers about 80 lakhs, and the suggestion of my Association is to give the right of franchise to 38 thousand among them on qualifying standards hereafter suggested. To give one member to every thousand voters, whose number in the Surma Valley should not be less than 38,000, Surma Valley should have 38 elected members in the Legislative Council; and allowing room for nomination of 7 members, the total of 45 intended for the Surma Valley will give representations to 1.5 per cent. of the population to the Council. As the other valley has the same population, they may have the same number of members, but the proportion of their nominated element to the elected may be fixed by reference to the circumstances of that area. Thus between the two valleys the number of non-official nominated members should be 14; but the number of officials to be nominated should not exceed 5 for the whole province. The total strength of the Assam Legislative Council will thus be 95.

3185. In the rural areas of the Surma Valley, the parganas may be classed under a number of groups or units classified on the basis of population and voting strength as described above. In the alternative, thanas may be made such units, provided the requisite number for representation by election be obtained. Sub-divisions

should on no account be taken as units, for they will fail to equalise the proportion of representation on any basis whatever.

3186. For voters both in the rural and urban areas the qualification should be a certain minimum of any kind of rates, taxes or revenues or a certain minimum educational qualification. Besides these, the possession of any of the following qualifications should in the alternative also entitle for a vote in the election :—

- (1) Payment of income-tax.
- (2) Holding posts carrying salary of Rs. 30 or upwards under the Government or any private agency.
- (3) Enjoying Government pension of Rs. 25 a month.
- (4) Holding Government titles.

In all cases the primary condition should be 21 years of age.

Rural Electorates.

3187. In the rural areas, chaukidari tax is, in the opinion of my Association, the surest guide to go upon and the minimum limit for it should be Re. 1-2 per annum. In the alternative, payment of land revenue to a minimum of Rs. 20 in the temporarily-settled areas and Rs. 5 in the permanently-settled areas or local rate of Re. 1-4 should also qualify. The educational test should be Middle Examination (Middle Vernacular or Middle English), Pass Certificate or any certificate of any Sanskrit or Madrasa Examination of the corresponding standard. The teachers of *tolis* and madrasas of three years' standing should also have votes. Any one of these tests applied exclusively may not yield the desired number of voters, but their application as an alternative will work well.

3188. The population in rural areas has been hitherto unexplored for the purposes of our legislative council. Although the Muhammadan voters of the special electorate, the zamindars and the rural members of the Local Boards have enjoyed the right of voting, they have generally been content to give their votes to some one residing in the town. In many cases rural voters have been found reluctant to vote on account of the distances to be travelled. It is therefore essential that polling centres should be as numerous as possible in order that voters may take direct interest in the election.

3189. From among the 38 elected members suggested for the Surma Valley, the members for the municipal areas may be taken. The fact that this constituency has hitherto given really capable representatives to the legislative council should not be lost sight of and the urban population should have the franchise on an equally broad basis as in the rural areas. One member may b-

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Babu KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS.

[Continued.]

given to each of the municipalities with a population up to a limit of ten thousand. Where this is not practicable without some encroachment on the number from the rural areas, municipalities may be grouped into units giving one member to each ten thousand of the population. These members should be elected by the rate-payers themselves, the voting qualification being fixed at a minimum rate of Rs. 3 or an educational qualification such as Matriculation Pass Certificate.

3190. (3) In the province of Assam taken as a whole the Muhammadans are in a minority, but they form a majority in the Surma Valley, where their population stands to that of the Hindus in the proportion of 15 : 14. The Muhammadans of the Surma Valley cannot by any stretch of imagination be said to be a backward community. The question of a special electorate for them, therefore, does not arise in the Surma Valley unless their number of voters falls far short of those belonging to the Hindu community.

3191. If it is thought necessary to safeguard Muhammadan interests in the Surma Valley, this may be done by reserving for them a certain number of seats in plural constituencies.

3192. No other interests should have special representation, it being opposed to the principle enunciated in the Joint Report. The representation of backward communities and important minorities might be secured by nomination within the limit suggested. Special privileges should not be allowed to injure the interests of those entitled to representation by election.

3193. (4) The Legislative Council should contain a fourth elected and one-fifth nominated element. With 59 members the Assam Legislative Council can have room for only 19 nominated members, of whom not more than 5 shall be officials.

3194. The distribution for the two districts within the Surma Valley may be as sketched below:—

Elected	38
Cachar	5
Sylhet	33
Municipalities:—	
Cachar	1
Sylhet	3
Rural areas:—	
Cachar	4
Sylhet	30

3195. My Association does not particularly mention any important minorities whose interest may be secured by nomination if anyone of them fails to get adequate representation by election.

Babu Kshitish Chandra Das called and examined.

3200. (Sir F. Sly.) He was Assistant Secretary of the Peoples' Association of Sylhet which had been formed to promote material progress and political work in the district. Its members numbered about 100 or 150 and they paid a subscription of Re. 1 a year. The scheme placed before the Committee had been laid before a special meeting of the Association and approved by them.

3201. The Association proposed that the Council should consist of 80 elected and nominated non-officials and 5 officials. His Association disapproved of the Grand Committee and had made no provision for it; the number of officials would have to be increased if a Grand Committee was appointed.

3202. His note only referred to the Surma Valley and there the chaukidari tax was only in force in the permanently settled tracts and Cachar. At present the assessment of the tax was not uniform and it should be re-assessed. Neither was the local rate uniform.

3203. Fewer people would be qualified by the urban franchise which should be uniformly fixed at a minimum of Rs. 3.

3204. The middle examination should form an educational qualification. Anybody who claimed to be so

Government of India.

3196. We were promised a substantial step towards responsible government in the administration of India. But the Joint Report has not extended it in the central government, but has limited it to the provinces only. My Association therefore suggests that the principle of responsible government, should be introduced in the Government of India simultaneously with the provinces. The Legislative Assembly is given no power but a shadowy authority called "influence." It is also designed to place over its head a supreme legislative authority called the Council of State, whose composition has very little of popular element in it and is open to the objection that its method of work seeks to perpetuate the very kind of rule which the authors of the Joint Report have condemned. The necessity of a Council of State is what my Association would object to on principle and on the strength of the declaration of August 1917.

II.—THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

3197. The Legislative Assembly should consist of 150 members, four-fifths of whom shall be elected and one-fifth nominated by the Government of India, of whom not more than half shall be officials. Of the 120 elected members 6 should be returned from Assam by indirect method of election through members in the provincial legislative council if the direct method be not found feasible.

III.—THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

3198. If the Council of State is at all to be retained, as to which the views of my Association have already been set forth, its lease of life should not extend beyond the transitional period by which time the whole machinery of the Government of India should be made responsible to the Legislative Assembly. Its constitution should consist of one-half elected element and the process of certification should be confined only to the "reserved" subjects. The method of election may be as suggested in paragraph 277 of the Joint Report and the number of members for Assam should be 2.

IV.

3199. As it is not the intention of the Local Administration to include Hill tracts within the application of the Reform Scheme, their government may be placed directly under the Government of India; and the Assam Government, which will be constituted on a popular basis, should not be asked to pay for the maintenance of the machinery of the government within the Hill areas.

qualified would have to produce a certificate; if he had lost his certificate he would have to get a duplicate from the Director of Public Instruction.

3205. Each municipality with a population of 10,000 or over should have a separate member. This would give about one member for every 10,000 of the urban population as against one member for every 100,000 of the rural population. The urban vote should be weighted because of the importance of the municipal towns.

3206. His Association was opposed to a separate electorate for Muhammadans, but if possible, they would like to reserve some seats for them in plural constituencies. They were in the majority in the Surma Valley and he would deprive them of the communal representation which they at present enjoyed.

3207. His Association had proposed six members from Assam on the Indian Legislative Assembly because that number was necessary to give representation to all the interests of the Province. His Association recommended indirect election to the Assembly by the members of the Legislative Council.

3208. (Mr. Sastri.) He would divide Sylhet into 30 constituencies according to population grouping parganas or thanas. There were 38 thanas in the district and 186

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Babu KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS.

[Continued.

parganas. About a thousand voters would be included in each electorate.

3209. Three urban groups were proposed for Sylhet and the municipalities had been grouped so as to form constituencies of approximately equal size.

3210. Each area should also be given seven nominated members on the Council, four for the planting community, two for the zamindars and one for commerce. He would agree to the planters' representatives being elected, but he would not agree to the two zamindars being elected. In the category of planters he included also other Europeans. He proposed 5 members for planters from the other areas.

3211. Indirect election to the Legislative Assembly was recommended because direct election would be difficult.

3212. (Mr. Hailey.) He had not considered what income would be connoted by a payment of Rs. 1-2 in chaudiari tax nor had he attempted to compare this payment with the payment of Rs. 20 in land revenue.

3213. The chaudiari tax could not be re-assessed so as to equalise its incidence from village to village.

3214. Teachers of tols and madrasas would be drawing between Rs. 15 and Rs. 20.

3215. He thought that the National Congress had proposed a Council of 50. He wanted the Councils to be very large and would have no objection to a Council of 400 members in the United Provinces.

3216. (Mr. Banerjee.) The adoption of a household franchise would result in other members of a joint family being left out. They must be brought in by such tests as income-tax payment, payment of land revenue, payment of chaudiari tax, receipt of pensions, etc.

3217. He would not form the Indian tea planters into a separate electorate.

3218. (Mr. Aftab.) Teachers would get a vote under his scheme because they would have passed the Middle Vernacular examination.

3219. He had no objection to communal representation for Muhammadans in those parts of the province where they were in a minority nor would be object to its being granted to them in the province taken as a whole.

3220. (Maulvi Abdul Majid.) So far as he knew the Muhammadans in the Surma valley wanted communal representation.

Maulvi ABDUR RAHIM CHOWDHURY, representing the Surma Valley Muhammadan Zemindars' Association, Sylhet.

Written statement.

3221. My observations of course relate to the conditions in the Surma Valley.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

3222. (a) I entirely agree with the authors of the scheme that the franchise should be as broad as possible and representation adequate and direct; keeping this in view I would suggest that in the Surma Valley persons paying a minimum chaudiari or municipal tax of Rs. 1 should have a vote. As the districts of the Surma Valley are very poor, proper representation is not possible to secure unless the franchise is kept low.

(b) Pleaders, Mukhtars, Madrasah passed Maulvis, Graduates, Doctors not below Sub-Assistant Surgeons, Hakims and Kavirajes holding a diploma from a known body, Government officers drawing a salary of Rs. 50 per month, persons paying an income tax, Honorary Magistrates, Commissioners of Municipalities and members of Local Boards should also have votes.

3223. The centre of polling should be the district headquarters and sub-divisional headquarters and the attesting officers should be the Deputy Commissioner, Additional District Magistrates and Sub-divisional Officers. Police stations should be the last place.

3224. Communal representation from special electorates should be conceded only to the Muhammadans, land-holders and Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians or rather the planting community, though their number is small, have considerable interest in the country and they deserve separate representation from their special electorate. The qualification for landholders should be payment of Rs. 100 as revenue or local rate. As to the qualification of Anglo-Indians, the matter may be left to them. No other community deserves communal representation.

3225. Decision of objections should rest with the Deputy Commissioner in Sadr and Sub-divisional Officers in sub-divisions.

3226. The total strength of the Assam Council should be 50, of which 38 should be elected and the rest nominated from officials and non-officials. Of these 38 seats, there should be 19 in each Valley. Of this 19, 8 should be elected from special Muhammadan electorate, 7 Hindus, 2 landholders and 2 Anglo-Indians.

Maulvi Abdur Rahim Chowdhury called and examined.

3229. (Sir Frank Sly.) He represented the Surma Valley Muhammadan Zemindars' Association. It was an Association of the Muhammadan zemindars of Sylhet.

They also had a few members from Cachar. In all there were about 250 members and the minimum subscription was Rs. 4. The scheme which was before the

II.—INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

3227. The strength proposed in the Reform Scheme, 100 for the whole of British India, seems to be too small for such a vast country and population, I would therefore suggest a total number of 150 to be distributed as follows:—

Three Presidencies at 15 each	45
United Provinces	12
Punjab	11
Bihar and Orissa	11
Central Provinces	8
Burma	7
Assam	6
	<hr/>
	100

Nominated.

Officials	32
Non-officials	18
	<hr/>
	150

Of the 11 seats for Punjab, 1 should be reserved for Delhi which is the Imperial enclave and seat of the Central Government. I refrain from making any observation as to the seats in the Provinces other than our own, as I am not aware of the conditions there.

3227-A. As to the 6 seats in Assam, 2 should be reserved for Muhammadans from special electorate.

3227-B. As in the cases of Provincial Legislative Councils, the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly should be returned by direct election.

3227-C. As the people of Assam are poor, a lower franchise than other Provinces is necessary to secure a wide representation and I will suggest as a qualification payment of Rs. 250 as Government revenue or local rate, or the payment of an income-tax of the same amount.

III.—COUNCIL OF STATE.

3228. As to the Council of State, I agree with the authors of the scheme.

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Maulvi ABDUS RAHM CROWDHURY.

[Continued.]

Committee had not been placed before the Association for want of time but the statement represented his individual views which he had been authorised to lay before the Committee.

3230. His proposals for the franchise were based on the chaukidari tax. This tax was very unevenly assessed by the panchayats. The system could be reorganised for electoral purposes.

3231. He was in favour of separate communal representation for Muhammadans and in the Surma Valley he would give 8 Muhammadan and 7 Hindu seats on the basis of population. The communal electorate was necessary for the Muhammadans even though they were in a majority because most of the voters would be agriculturists who would be in the hands of big zamindars or mahajans, the mahajans being Hindus.

3232. By Anglo-Indians he meant the planting community.

3233. Muhammadans should also get separate communal representation in the Legislative Assembly. Two of the six Assam seats should be reserved for them.

3234. (*Mr. Aftab.*) About 20 members of his Association had seen his scheme and accepted it.

3235. It was the general wish of the Muhammadans in the province that they should get communal representation;

3236. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) Persons who paid Re. 1 a year as municipal tax should get a vote. This would connote about the same status as the payment of Re. 1 chaukidari tax and would indicate an income of Rs. 300 or Rs. 400 a year.

3237. In temporarily settled tracts a payment of Rs. 20 land revenue might qualify for a vote. That standard also would indicate an income of Rs. 300 or Rs. 400 a year.

3238. If responsible and disinterested persons could be found he would have no objection to non-official agency being employed at elections.

3239. Of the 12 nominated members half should be officials and half non-officials. These officials should suffice for the Grand Committee.

3240. Election to the Assembly should be direct by persons paying Government revenue on a higher franchise than for elections to the Council.

3241. (*Mr. Sastri.*) In his land-holders' electorate he would include all persons paying Rs. 100 revenue to Government. The payment of Rs. 250 as Government revenue should be a qualification for voting at elections to the Assembly. In the land-holders' electorate there would be about a thousand voters.

3242. He was a land-holder and had a record of his tenants but it was not a reliable one.

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Hon'ble Mr. H. MILLER.

[Continued.]

At Calcutta, Wednesday, December 18th, 1918.

PRESENT:

SIR F. G. SLY, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

SAHIBZADA AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SUBENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.L., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

And the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Colonel P. R. T. GURDON, C.S.I., Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi SAHYID ABDUL MAJID.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).The Hon'ble Mr. H. MILLER, C.I.E., representing the Assam Valley Branch of the Indian Tea Association, and
A. D. PICKFORD, Esq., representing the Indian Tea Association.*Written statement of Mr. Miller.*

3243. I have been resident in the Sibsagar district of Assam since January 1883, during the whole of which period I have been in the employ of the Jorehaut Tea Company, Limited, of which Company I have been Superintendent since December 1907. The Company owns 17,491 acres of land, of which 6,418 acres are cultivated and the total labour force consists of 15,186 souls. I have been a member of the Assam Legislative Council since 1913 having been elected thereto by the Assam Branch, Indian Tea Association. I have been Chairman of the Assam Branch, Indian Tea Association, since 1913.

3244. I have been a member of the Jorhat Local Board since 1908, during the whole of which period I acted as its Vice-Chairman.

3245. With regard to the Reform Scheme as a whole I understand I am not now called upon to offer general criticisms. At the same time I do not think it is amiss for me to state here that I entirely associate myself with the views expressed thereon by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

3246. Subject to such views the following opinions are submitted in respect only of the Assam Valley of the Province of Assam, as I have no personal knowledge of the people or conditions of the Surma Valley of the province.

3247. The terms of reference to this Committee are (*inter alia*) (1) To advise on the Franchise and Constituencies in each province with the object of securing as broad a franchise and as representative a Council as present circumstances in each province permit.

3248. Undoubtedly therefore the first thing that must be taken into consideration is the electorate. Before any advice can be given on this subject by the Committee they must have full knowledge of the history, population, and existing condition of the Indian residents of Assam.

3249. The population of the Assam Valley at the last census in 1911 amounted to 3,108,669, of whom 631,552 were immigrants, the natural population being entered as 2,503,035. In paragraph 38 of the Census Report, 1911, it is estimated that there were then one and a half millions of people in Assam who would not have been there if there had been no tea gardens. As is shown by paragraph 135 of the same Report by far the greater proportion of such natural population consists of ryots and tea-garden coolies who cultivate small areas of land direct from Government and who have no other means of subsistence. They are a people without education of any kind and without any wish for it and have no other ideas than that of growing one crop of *dhan* during four months of the year to suffice them until the following harvest. The balance of the population consists of a

very few small landed proprietors sparsely spread throughout the valley, with pleaders, Marwaris and shop-keepers resident in the few principal towns. The valley can only be described truthfully by using the words mentioned in paragraph 136 of the Reform Scheme Report, namely, "an enormous country population, for the most part poor, ignorant, non-politically minded and unused to any system of elections,—immersed indeed in the struggle for existence." Amongst such a class there can be no potential capacity for politics with the result that as mentioned in paragraph 146 of the Report "the rural voter will perhaps find himself cajoled or bought or coerced into voting in a way that does himself no good." In my opinion this will be inevitable and not problematical as mentioned in the paragraph and I have not the Authors of the Report's belief in his awakening, as he belongs to a class who, unlike other parts of India, are their own masters and are perfectly content to live and let live so long as they have sufficient food. How then out of such a class is it possible to form an electorate? In my opinion it is impossible. If, however, the class are given the power of voting it will result in their votes being given to the highest bidder, in consequence of which elections will very soon become a farce. If on the other hand the class are excluded from the electorate and a minimum land revenue or income tax payment is fixed as the qualification, I believe that even such a small annual payment as Ra. 20 would only produce about 1 per cent. of the population of the province. In all probability this one per cent. would not be evenly distributed throughout the province, resulting in the possible continuous election of members from one part of the province or valley to the exclusion of other portions. In any case it is submitted that, if it is found only possible to form an electorate of one per cent. of the population of the province, then the province is not one which should be included in the Scheme but that its present constitution should continue. Of the eight provinces mentioned in paragraph 198 of the Report, there is not the slightest doubt that Assam is the most backward. This is undoubtedly due to the primitiveness of its people in which there is not and is not likely to be any material on which to found political institutions of a nature sufficient to form a responsible Government of the province. This being so, it is submitted that in accordance with the reasoning mentioned in paragraph 199 of the Report the Province of Assam should be excluded from the Scheme and should be allowed to retain its present constitution. If on the other hand the Committee are of opinion the province should be considered as a "backward area," then it is submitted their opinion should be communicated, with details of what such treatment would entail, to all interested parties to enable

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Hon'ble Mr. H. MILLER.

[Continued.]

he latter to express their views prior to any decisions being arrived at.

3250. My further views are expressed merely on the assumption that Assam will not be excluded from the scheme.

3251. I now pass from the Indian portion of the electorate to that of the European, and in doing so will first note my emphatic protest, as others have already done, in the scant manner in which the Report recognises the achievements, claims and interests of the European community in India. So far as the Province of Assam is concerned it is admitted by all that the province has been opened up by and at the expense of the Tea Industry in which the sum of approximately £18,000,000 is now invested. Thousands of acres have been and are being annually opened up for Government by coolies imported by Tea concerns. The present area in the occupation of Tea concerns in the Assam Valley amounts to 793,716 acres, the labour force in connection with which amounts to over 600,000 souls. The total area settled direct with time-expired coolies now amounts to 211,162 acres and in addition 21,121 acres are held by them as sub-tenants. The area now settled with immigrants other than ex-tea-garden coolies amounts to 158,616 acres. These figures alone entitle the Industry to very great consideration, including the European community residing in the province, as it has been solely due to European Capital and enterprise that the province has been opened up and attained its present condition.

3252. The European population of the valley at the last Census amounted to 1,495. Now the only representation offered by the Scheme to (1) protect these huge interests on which undoubtedly the life of the province depends and (2) the European residents, is through the Tea Planting Associations and by nomination. "I need hardly mention that it is apparent that with such a small proportion of Europeans it would be worse than useless for Europeans to seek election from a general electorate. This being so it is only just that communal representation should be granted to the European community. Such representation should be by direct election and not by nomination. On this question I associate myself with the views expressed by the European Association which are as follows:—

3253. "If, as the European Association firmly believes, communal representation is absolutely necessary in the interests of the Indian masses, it is not less needed for the protection of legitimate European interests. The European non-official community in India is numerically so small that it would be swamped in open elections with a general electorate. But its economic interests are so immensely important, it plays so useful and peculiar a part in the commercial development of the country to the benefit of all classes, that such swamping of it would be most disastrous to India. Again from the political point of view, it is essential to the welfare of India that European non-officials should have their proper share in the direction of affairs, for as the role of the European official is continuously restricted in accordance with the new policy, the European non-official will become increasingly responsible for the maintenance in Indian administration of those ideals which Great Britain introduced into the country and the preservation of which is imperative if the new system, also imported from Great Britain, is not to collapse."

3254. "Yet, under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the only representation allowed to Europeans is through certain specialised bodies, like Chambers of Commerce, and through nomination. That the community alone of all in India is fitted by heredity, and by the early environment of its members before they come to this country, to understand and work the franchise and representative institutions apparently counts for little or nothing with the authors of the reform scheme. That the membership of its one general organisation, the European Association, exceeds that of any constituency represented in the Imperial Legislative Council is ignored. Europeans—except in so far as, in very exceptional cases, Europeans may be returned by a general electorate

of all races, in which case they would not be genuinely representative of European opinion—are condemned to representation merely through sectional bodies and through a problematic number of nominated members. Now the members returned by bodies like Chambers of Commerce are thoroughly entitled to their places in the Legislature for the interests they represent are vast; but such members naturally cannot receive from their constituents any general political mandate. They are in the Legislature to guard economic interests, and can only rarely and tentatively deal with questions not directly affecting such interests. That alone is a strong reason for granting communal representation to Europeans. There is a further reason in the fact that without communal representation, Europeans following the legal, medical and other professions, or resident, where Chambers of Commerce, Planters Associations and Trades Associations do not exist, will continue to be wholly unrepresented through a period when representation is being extended on all other sides."

3255. "Nomination cannot remedy the resultant injuries. Experience of nomination by the Government in their prime does not inspire that confidence which the community is invited to feel in nomination by the Government in the days of a decline preparatory to regeneration as a popularly controlled body. And even if assurances could be given that the Government would nominate their severer critics as readily as their mute supporters, the European Association would still feel obliged to contend for the right of Europeans to choose their own representatives, instead of having them chosen by the Government. Under the new conditions Europeans must be free to seek out men of political talent regardless of those considerations which usually have weight with the Government in making nominations. Europeans must be enabled to place in the Legislative Councils men who can incontestably claim that they are there by the general wish of the community, and over whom the community can exercise the influence constituents have under all representative systems."

3256. I therefore ask for communal representation by election of Europeans in the Assam Valley to such extent as is consistent with their importance as a community, such representation being in addition to that which it is admitted in the Report should be granted to Tea Planting Associations.

3257. In the same manner and for the same reasons as I have asked for communal representation of Europeans by election, I consider the representation to be granted the Tea Planting Associations already existing in the Province of Assam should be by election and not by nomination.

3258. What such representation should be in either of the above cases it is impossible for me to suggest as no information has been given or suggested as to the size of any new Council, or the degree of representation granted to other interests. When this information is available the representation to be granted the European community and Planting Associations will have to be further carefully considered, and it will then be of vital importance to take into such consideration the possible Indian personnel of any new Council, who will then form what has been described as the Amateur Government in contradistinction to the present Official Government. In considering such personnel it may be presumed that the present Indian members of the Assam Legislative Council are the best men now obtainable throughout the Province and that therefore if the Council is enlarged the new comers will at any rate not be superior in standing education and experience. If the Scheme proceeds it therefore follows that the Government of the Province and the huge interests of the Tea Industry will be handed over to Indians the majority of whom have absolutely no knowledge of administration and no business experience and all of whom have no special educational qualifications, many of whom even in the present Council not having had sufficient education as to have been taught the English language. To hand

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Hon'ble Mr. H. MILLER.

[Continued.]

over to such a community the future Government of the Province of Assam and the enormous interests of the Tea Industry and all that it involves will in my opinion be criminal folly unless such interests are completely safeguarded by guarantees of adequate representation in such Government. It is my considered opinion after five years as a member of the Assam Legislative Council that the Indian members have not shown themselves fitted for or capable of taking over the Government of the Province in the manner mentioned in the Report and if the Scheme proceeds in its present form it can only be disastrous to the Province.

Written Statement of Mr. Pickford.

3259. The following statistics are given :—

	ASSAM.	BENGAL.	ALL INDIA.
Total area of tea plantations, acres	1,366,089	410,940(a)	2,020,875
Total area under tea, acres	399,680	167,701(b)	604,284
Persons employed	618,387	138,401(c)	752,513
Output of tea in lbs.	243,646,708	88,308,892(d)	359,431,378
Percentage of acreage represented in Indian Tea Association	86%	74%(e)	
DARJEELING.			
DOOARS.			
(a)	129,581 acres.	282,792 acres.	
(b)	54,635 "	107,820 "	
(c)	43,288 persons.	90,128 persons.	
(d)	18,960,752 lbs.	87,859,149 lbs.	
(e)	48%	80%	

Capital of Joint Stock Companies engaged in production of tea in 1916 amounted to about £23,000,000 made up as follows :—

	Rs.
Companies registered in India	4,82,31,729
United Kingdom	29,88,81,720
" "	219,925,448
	34,71,13,449

Figures relating to position as regards European Superintendents, Managers, Assistants, etc.

NOTE.—These figures were tabulated from returns received from a large number of members of the Indian Tea Association.

	Area repre- sented in the returns.	Normal staff.	Total area under tea.	European staff of all gardens in same ratio.
	acres.		acres.	
Assam	357,185	1,062	399,680	1,188
Darjeeling (including Darjeeling)	39,876	115	54,648	168
Dooars	84,291	252	107,820	328

3260. It is laid down in the report that the franchise should be as broad as possible. In the case of tea gardens, the coolie population consists of two kinds, those actually under agreement to gardens and those who are settled on grants outside the garden areas. None of these have a standard of education fitting them to exercise a vote, but if property is to be a qualification the second class should be given voting power, even though their votes will be largely directed by the planters who employ them or who live near them.

3261. Where the vote is exercised by persons largely uneducated it seems desirable as a general principle that the electorate should be as numerous as possible in order to minimise the chances of undue influence.

3262. In a letter addressed to the Assam Branch of the Indian Tea Association by the Indian Tea Association, Calcutta, a copy of which is attached, the opinion is urged that the election of representatives of tea gardens should be direct, and not by nomination. The tea industry should have the absolute right to decide who shall represent it.

3263. I am opposed to the suggestion contained in the last part of paragraph 232. The general body of electors can be no adequate judges of the most suitable representatives of the planting community on the Legislative Councils. The risks alluded to in paragraph 230 of the report are not applicable to the tea industry.

3264. If it is true, as stated in the first part of paragraph 232, that "any general extension of the communal system would be fatal to that development of representation upon the national basis on which alone a system of responsible Government can possibly be rooted," I suggest

it is also true that to leave the representation of interests of minorities such as the tea industry in the hands of any general electorate would tend to drive the community out of the political field altogether.

3265. If Legislative Councils are to have control, their responsibility should be real, and there should be no chance of that responsibility being frittered away by subsequent action. Therefore, though there may be danger in the arrangement, I do not think the number of nominated officials should be such as to risk the independence of the Council.

3266. The Northern India tea industry is in a peculiar position in relation to these questions. The gardens are situated partly in Bengal and partly in Assam, mainly the latter. Representatives on the provincial councils are naturally and rightly drawn from residents in the tea districts, planters. But they do not represent the tea industry as a whole. The majority of planters are managers of estates belonging to joint stock companies or private proprietors owned and controlled in Calcutta and London. Apart from the lack of independence which this involves, there are many operations connected with the industry with which practically only London and Calcutta are concerned, as for instance the marketing of the tea, shipping arrangements and all that occurs after tea is packed and despatched from the garden. Practically all large questions of policy are dealt with by London and Calcutta in consultation. The situation is further complicated by the fact that certain companies have gardens situated in both Assam and Bengal.

3267. It is essential, therefore, if the industry is to be properly represented, that room should be found both on the Assam and Bengal Legislative Councils for members representing proprietary interests not located in the planting districts otherwise than through managers.

3268. I am also of opinion that the Northern India tea industry as a whole should be represented on the Legislative Assembly.

3269. The election of planting representatives of the tea industry might be in the hands of all managers and assistants drawing salaries of Rs. 300 and over, while, in the case of the proprietary interests, votes both for the Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assembly could be on a tea bearing acreage basis.

No. 1076-O., dated Calcutta, the 16th November 1918.

From—The SECRETARY, Indian Tea Association,

To—The SECRETARY, Assam Branch, Indian Tea Association.

Reform Scheme Report.

3270. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 224 of 25th October and its enclosure.

3271. (2) The Committee have carefully considered what their attitude should be in this difficult matter. As already indicated they do not feel called upon to offer general criticisms on the reform scheme as a whole, beyond associating themselves with the views expressed by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

3272. (3) So far as the particular interests represented by the Indian Tea Association are concerned they are in the difficulty—which your Branch probably feel also—that there is nothing to go on. Under the reform scheme as formulated by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu it is conceivable that it might be proposed to impose on Assam, instead of a Chief Commissioner, the cumbersome machinery of a Governor and Council. On this point the Committee feel that the province is not ripe for any such fundamental change in the form of Government. They consider that the Indian gentlemen in Assam, who are elected or nominated members of the Council, have not shown that they would be able to accept so great a responsibility.

3273. (4) At the other end of the scale it is conceivable that Assam might be excluded from the general scheme, and be regarded as a "backward" province. Without

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Hon'ble Mr. H. MILLER.

[Continued.]

me knowledge of what this would entail, as for instance the matter of representation on the Council, it is impossible to say whether this would be an advantage or a disadvantage.

3274. (5) The question of the due representation of the interests is of course of the utmost importance, but here again a mere expression of opinion that the number of seats reserved to the tea industry should be so many is purposeless without information on the number of uncultivated lands, the degree of representation granted to other interests, etc. On one point, however, the Committee is clear—namely, that if election is to be the basis of representation in the future the representatives of tea interests should be sent to Council by election and not by nomination. The latter would mean, theoretically, if not

practically, that the representatives of the tea industry would serve at the invitation of Government and not by the will of the industry. The Committee hold that under any new scheme their interests should be governed by law, and not by convention. As has already been pointed out, it seems absurd that those who are by nationality and racial tradition best fitted to exercise a vote should be prevented from doing so, while in the case of Indians an electoral system is to be artificially created.

3275. (6) With regard to the two Committees which, it is noted, will take evidence in Calcutta between 25th and 30th November the Committee of this Association feel it is very important that your Branch should nominate a witness to appear before them.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. Miller, C.I.E., and Mr. A. D. Pickford* called and examined.

3276. (Sir Frank Sly.) Mr. MILLER.—He appeared as a representative of the Assam Valley Branch of the Indian Tea Association. Mr. Pickford had come as a representative of the Tea Association in case he wished to add anything to his (Mr. Miller's) statement.

3277. He was a member of the Assam Legislative Council having been elected by the Assam Branch of the association. His Branch extended only to the Assam valley and represented practically the whole of the European planting community and some of the Indian planting community in the valley. He could not give details of membership off-hand but would send in a statement. If there was any tea in the hill tracts outside the valley it must be infinitesimal.

3278. In the first Council in Assam 2 members had been returned by their Branch and one by the Surma Valley Branch. In the following Council the Surma Valley had elected two members and the Assam Valley one. The representatives were elected by the General Committee, not by all members. The Association was controlled by the General Committee. The members of the General Committee were elected from Sub-Committees and the voting for the Sub-Committees in the different districts was on the basis of acreage. (Without mentioning the General Committee he could not say for certain whether the Association would prefer the system to continue or whether they would like to include all members of the Association in the electorate, but he did not think that there would be any objection. Nor could he say off-hand whether the Association would give a vote to each concern having a vote, but he thought that there would be no objection. Personally he would prefer the system under which the number of seats depended on the area under tea.)

3279. He proposed a separate communal electorate for Europeans. He considered that 1-4th of the elected seats on the new Council should be given to the tea industry and to this communal European electorate. Europeans were employed in the province outside tea in mining and in saw mills where they manufactured tea boxes. There were the seats available for Europeans he would

give 4 to the tea industry. The remainder would be elected by the European population in the valley. If votes were given to income-tax payers this would embrace nearly all Europeans.

3280. (Mr. Hogg.) The tea industry in the Assam Valley was, he believed, nearly double that in the Surma Valley. The figure of £15 million sterling which he had given as the approximate amount of capital invested in tea referred only to the Assam Valley.

3281. In the case of the tea representatives the voting would be by the manager who would in many cases vote under instructions. He did not think that pressure was brought to bear by capital at the present time because the representatives were really elected to look after local affairs. The great majority of the gardens in Assam were controlled from Calcutta or London. The individual concerns were relatively very few.

3282. In the European communal electorate not only would the men employed in other interests be represented but also the interests of the planters and tea employers as individuals.

3283. He believed that the General Committee consisted of 20 members.

3284. (Mr. Banerjee.) He was prepared to qualify the statements in his memorandum to the effect that the population of the province was unused to any system of election and that they had no potential capacity for politics.

3285. (Maulvi Abdul Majid.) His proposal that there should be 10 European representatives on the Council was a mere suggestion. According to the last census there were 1,496 Europeans in the Assam Valley. He did not know how many mining members there were on the Council.

3286. (Sir Frank Sly.) In his opinion the total European representation should be about one-quarter of the number of members. He regarded four seats as a fair representation for the tea industry. If the number was likely to be divided between the different industries, tea should have the prior claim and 4 members would not be sufficient.

The Hon'ble Colonel W. MASON, representing the Surma Valley Branch of the Indian Tea Association.

Written Statement.

3287. Memorandum of subjects on which the Hon'ble C. W. Mason is prepared to give evidence, as representative of the Surma Valley Branch of the Indian Tea Association.

(1) That Assam should be left out of the scheme, there being practically no "intelligentsia" in the Province: it being difficult to get suitable members for the existing small Council, and there being practically no demand for political reforms. That the number of people, who could even read a voting paper is so small that direct representation would be a farce.

3288. In addition to these difficulties, there is the diversity of languages, two-thirds of the area of the Province

being hills, inhabited by entirely illiterate and primitive races, with no material on which to found political institutions.

3289. (2) Provided Assam is included in the scheme:—

Payment of Land Revenue is the only basis on which, I consider, the franchise should be framed.

3290. (3) If any increase in size of Council is decided on, European representation to be enlarged in proportion to their stake in the Province. Representation of Tea Association Branches to be increased by 1, giving two representatives to each Valley.

3291. In addition 4 representatives to be elected by the European Electorate, every European paying income-tax to have a vote.

3292. (4) The Tea Industry to have one member in the Council of State and one in the Legislative Assembly.

* For Mr. Pickford's oral evidence see para. 3246 to 3265.

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Colonel W. MASON.

[Continued.]

The Hon'ble Colonel W. Mason called and examined.

3293. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He appeared as the representative of the Surma Valley Branch of the Tea Association which consisted of about 800 members, that is to say, 800 separate concerns. It represented practically the whole of the European tea concerns in the Valley and about 75 per cent. of the Indian concerns. The interest owned by Indians was about 5 per cent. of that owned by Europeans.

3294. Under the existing arrangement the members of the General Committee of the Association were elected by the district committees and the members of the Legislative Council were elected by the members of the General Committee. The members of the District Committees were elected by the tea concerns, which in the case of Europeans were controlled from Calcutta. For the purposes of elections to the District Committees, votes were given according to the area under tea, but the voting on the District Committees for the purposes of election to the General Committee and the voting on the General Committee itself was on the principle of one member, one vote.

3295. He proposed that in a Council of 40 there should be two members to represent the tea industry in the Assam Valley and two for the Surma Valley. The Council should consist of 20 members elected by the Indian community, 8 Europeans, including the tea representatives, elected by the European community, 8 nominated officials and 4 nominated non-officials. Of the 8 elected Europeans, 4 would be elected by the Tea Association and 4 by a general European constituency. For this constituency he would prefer universal suffrage. The difference in the output of tea between the two Valleys was not very great, so he proposed two members to represent tea from each Valley.

3296. He would also like to see one member for tea on the Imperial Legislative Assembly to be elected by the members of the Tea Association in both Valleys and not by any committee or branch. The Indian Tea Association represented 86 per cent. of the whole tea industry in both Valleys.

3297. Provided the representative was an expert in tea, he did not think his branch would object to a system of direct election by the members of the Association. He thought that would really be an improvement.

3298. (*Mr. Ahab.*) There should be two members to represent the Indian population of Assam in the Assembly.

3299. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) His Association was an Association of concerns. In so far as the concerns were owned by Calcutta firms, Calcutta controlled the elections to the District Committees.

3300. He proposed a Council of 40 as opposed to the 50 proposed by the Local Administration because he did not think there would be sufficient suitable members for a Council of that size. For the 6 million Hindus in the Surma and Assam Valleys he would give 20 seats. He had not thought how to apportion these between the two communities. Of these 6 millions, 1½ millions were coolies who would not be qualified to vote.

3301. There were not more than half a dozen Indian firms in his Association. He believed that 5 per cent. of the members of his Association were Indians.

3302. (*Mr. Hogg.*) The 4 seats which he proposed for the tea industry would indirectly be representative of capital. The communal European electorate would afford representation not only for the interests of Europeans outside tea but also for the individual interests of the tea garden employes.

3303. (*Maulvi Abdul Majid.*) He did not think the coolies would be likely to exercise the vote at all if they were given it, unless their manager told them to do so.

3304. (*Mr. Hailey.*) The tea gardens could supply information showing the number of households on their gardens the members of which were drawing an income of Rs. 250 a year. Only a few households in his part of the province would qualify by that standard. The household was a possible unit to take.

3305. (*Colonel Gordon.*) For the census each room or each house with a separate entrance inhabited by a coolie family was taken as a unit, and the same unit could be used for electoral purposes. He would not reduce the standard of Rs. 250 to Rs. 200. He did not think at present coolies were ready to exercise the vote.

3306. (*Mr. Hogg.*) There were half a dozen mining concerns in the Assam Valley and 2 or 3 oil concerns in the Surma Valley. There were considerable deposits of coal and also of oil. At the present time mining was represented on the Council by one nominated representative.

Babu PYARI MOHAN DAS, representing the Mahishya Samitee, Sunamganj.

(Written Statement, being a copy of a memorial addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Assam.)

3307. That Your Honour's humble memorialist perused with unmitigated pleasure and deep sense of gratitude the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms and finds it to be a master-piece prepared in a statesmanlike way so as to safeguard the interests of all concerned.

3308. That it is most gratifying to note that the report proposes to retain power to protect public services and the interests of the masses to intervene in case of abuse and to maintain supreme authority of the British Government in all important and vital matters affecting the people in general in cases of mal-administration and the like (vide paragraphs 155, 156, 240, and 260, etc.).

3309. That for reasons more than one the spread of English education in India has not been up to expectation and that, to quote the words of the report, among the Hindus education has been very much a matter of caste (vide paragraph 134 of the report). Educational advancement has not reached the rural population proportionately to its numerical strength, and that, owing to this uneven distribution of education, there has been a sort of monopoly in the enjoyment of public services (vide paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Resolution of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam of the 15th February 1907 as published at page 131 in the Supplement to the *Eastern Bengal and Assam Gazette* of the 16th February 1907). To remedy the evils consequent on such a state of things so sincerely

alluded to in the last line of paragraph 155 and paragraph 138 of the report, Your Honour's memorialist begs respectfully to suggest the spread of English education to a common level in India, and that to educate India to a common level it is but necessary that Middle English and High English schools may be established largely according to the needs and demands of the people in suitable places in the mufassils, and that free studentships and special scholarships be reserved for the educationally backward people of several castes and creeds in proportion to their numerical strength, and that no political expediency and the like should interfere with the just claim of the people on the kindness of the Government.

3310. That the educated section of the Indian population do not represent the masses has rightly been indicated in paragraphs 136, 138 and 155 of the report. This decision finds support in the action of the Dacca People's Association when in 1911 the Association in an address to the then Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, prayed for special representation in the councils for the educated community. This sort of prayer of a people's association is a commentary on the constitution of like associations held up as bodies to represent people of all castes and creeds. It is relieving to note that Government has understood the real state of things and is moving in the right direction.

3311. That the principle of contribution to the public fund, i.e., to the revenue of the country, for which the

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[Continued.]

different Mahishya samitees have been pressing on the attention of the authorities so long, has been recognised at paragraph 136 of the report to the entire satisfaction of the Mahishya community.

3312. That, in the interest of the people in general to give them a share in the governance of the country, it is but meet and just that every land-owning proprietor without limitation and restriction, every tenure holder and every occupancy raiyat, each of whom has a stake in the country, may possess a right to vote in the election of members in councils. Educational qualification for a voter may be limited to primary education, and that this will, Your Honour's memorialist honestly believes, give inducement to the raiyats to take to education as well.

3313. That the Mahishya community which the Sunamganj Mahishya Samitees represents has a thin layer of aristocracy decaying for want of proper nourishment and is one of the important castes of Bengal and Assam. Though large, it is educationally backward. It is mainly agricultural and rural. A tolerably good number of the community is land-holders paying revenue direct to the Government, and a very large number is substantial tenure-holders and raiyats. The community represents an important part of the landed interests of different kinds in the country, contributes not an insignificant quota to the revenues of the country, and has thus a great stake therein. But being almost unrepresented in Government service and every other place, the Mahishya community forms a minority interest. They have little pretensions to politics and have implicit faith in the sense of justice of the Government.

3314. That though communal representation in councils has not been favoured, the proposal of representation of minorities by nomination in paragraphs 225 and 232 of the report is most re-assuring and has, Your Honour's memorialist ventures to say, given consolation to all concerned.

3315. That Your Honour's memorialist begs to annex herewith a note on the Mahishyas to show their past and present degree of importance.

3316. That assurances regarding patronage in favour of the Mahishya community as conveyed to them by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam's circular letter No. 1392-C. of 1907, addressed to the Assistant Secretary to the Sunamganj Mahishya Samitee and by its letter No. 848-A., dated Dacca, the 22nd February 1912, addressed to the Secretary to the Dacca Mahishya Samitee, copies of which have been adumbrated in the notes on the Mahishyas annexed and the policy of the Government underlying the extract at page iii of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, which runs to the effect that though "we are looking to the future we are not unmindful of the past," embolden the Mahishyas and fill their minds with great hopes and aspirations.

3317. That Your Honour's humble memorialist most fervently prays that Your Honour will be graciously pleased to consider the case of the Mahishya Community favourably; and

- (i) To introduce free primary education and to bring English education home to the Mahishya community by reserving scholarship and free-studentships to be enjoyed by them adequately in common with other educationally backward communities, and by establishing High English and Middle English schools in suitable places in the mofassils when funds are available;
- (ii) To make public services of all kinds duly representative of the several deserving Indian castes and creeds as recommended in the Report of the Public Service Commission, wherein, in all fairness and justice, communal representation in public services, has been proposed to be based on numerical strength, influence, caste-characteristics and education; social matters and other considerations and not religion alone to be regarded as the line of cleavage (vide paragraphs 18 and 48, 14 of Annexure IV, and 60 of Annexure X of the Report of the Public

Service Commission of 1912), so that the Mahishya community may get its proper share in the responsibility of the Government of the country in common with the rest of India;

- (iii) To grant nomination in councils in favour of the Mahishya community in common with other deserving minorities;
- (iv) To arrange for every stake-holder in the country to vote in the election of members in councils;
- (v) To grant such other boons as will ensure for the benefit of the Mahishya community in common with other deserving minorities; or
- (vi) To forward the memorial to the Vicaroy if Your Honour thinks proper with such remarks as Your Honour deems fit.

And Your Honour's humble memorialist shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Further written statement of Babu Pyari Mohan Das.

Introduction of voting by ballot.

3318. To liberalise franchise so as to maintain healthy condition in the system it is desirable to introduce voting by ballot in which case free-will of the voters will be exercised to elect their representatives and the possibilities of the extraneous influences brought to bear upon voting affairs, e.g., undue influences and the like will be averted.

Provincial Legislative Councils.

3319. Generally election ought to be sub-division by sub-division or by more sub-divisions than one where suitable or necessary. One seat for every 10 thousands of persons will be happy election.

Qualifications of a Voter.

3320. To enable people of all classes and interests to vote, the Franchise ought to extend to—

- (i) Every headman of every family or house; or to.
- (ii) Those who hold Jote-land of 5 bighas (6 Kedars).
- (iii) Those who pay Choukidari tax of annas twelve a year.
- (iv) Those who pay municipal tax of rupee one a year.
- (v) Those who pay income-tax.
- (vi) Government officers and officers of private persons and companies whose monthly pay is at least Rs. 50.
- (vii) Those who pay revenue of Rs. 2 a year to Government.
- (viii) Those in receipt of M. V. or M. E. Examination Certificate in the least in municipal areas.
- (ix) Every literate in rural areas.
- (x) Sanscrit title holders from recognised bodies.
- (xi) Arabic and Persian title holders from recognised bodies.
- (xii) Those who draw from the Government or private persons pension or the like to the extent of Rs. 15 in the least per month.

3321. Neither minors nor women ought to be voters. Women in India do generally live in Farda-system.

3322. In view of the Principle of equality and to arrest complicity in the affair, no one should possess more than one vote even if he happens to possess more qualifications than one.

Qualifications of a Candidate.

3323. (i) The candidate must be between the age of 36 to 70 years in order to be possessed of ripe wisdom, reasoned ideas and mature thoughts worthy of the position he aspires to fill.
- (ii) He must possess the qualification of a voter.
- (iii) He must possess a fair knowledge in English.
- (iv) If he comes from Municipal areas, he should pay at least Rs. 15 as Municipal tax a year.

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(v) A candidate for representing landlords or Zemindars, he should pay at least Rs. 50 a year as revenue and local rates of revenue and cess.

(vi) He must not suffer from any objectionable disease.

(vii) He must not be a disqualified proprietor.

(viii) He must not be a proprietor of heinous crime and offence.

(ix) Property qualification ought not to be a bar to candidates from rural areas.

(x) A candidate may be resident of several electoral units and he should be qualified to stand for election from any such electoral unit he pleases to select. Residential qualification should not be enforced at all, in which case the Council won't get the best intellect of the country—as educated Bengalis have almost always migrated from the rural areas.

Constituency.

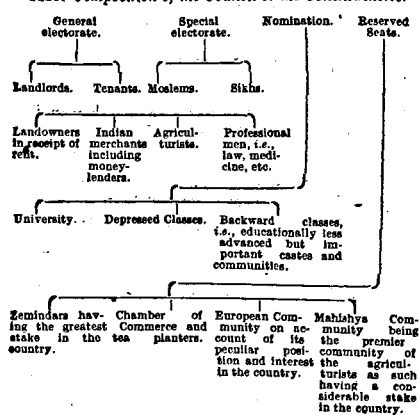
3324. Election should be based on the following principle so as to adequately represent all legitimate aspirations, deserving classes and interests by means of—

(i) Electorates.

(ii) Nominations.

(iii) Reservation of elective seats as per below rough outline.

3325. Composition of the Council or the Constituencies.



Size of the Council.

3326. The Number of Seats to vary according to the magnitude importance of each province.

3327. Of the members three-fifths to be elected and two-fifths nominated. Of the nominated official and non-official may be in equal proportion.

3328. The strength of the Assam Legislative Council may be 100 members and more than 100 in other provinces according to the degree of importance.

Means of direct Election.

3329. (i) An electoral roll ought to be prepared for each province, thana by thana, for the sake of convenience.

(ii) There ought to be a number of polling centres in each sub-division. I propose that each thana ought to be a polling centre where the voters are to attend. It will curtail inconvenience of the voters.

(iii) To guard against impersonation the Surpunches of each thana ought to be present for proper identification at the time of receiving votes.

(iv) The name and additions of the intending candidates ought to be printed in Bengali and distributed among the voters at least one month before election.

(v) Voting paper ought to be given to the voter at the time of giving vote by the vote-receiving officer himself.

(vi) Arrangement should be taken that the Voter may not be disturbed by candidates or their agents at the time of endorsing vote. It ought to be done in a house or tent and in the presence of the identifier only.

Indian Legislative Council.

3330. In view of the Provincial Councils receiving broad representation it will be convenient to all concerned and expedient that election should be by the non-official members in such a manner as to represent the interests of all as outlined in the scheme for election in the Provincial Legislative Council.

Council of State.

3331. As to the 12 members to be elected out of 50, I propose that the members of the Provincial Legislative Council should elect among themselves the said 21 members so as to be representative of the various important interests and classes as far as possible.

3332. The number of special members namely 2, ought to be enlarged. India being pre-eminently an agricultural country, two other members are necessary to protect agricultural interest of the country. The enlargement will be necessary also for the peculiar social, religious, educational, and political conditions of India.

The Mahishya Community has a Special Case.

3333. India is, specially Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam are, mainly agricultural. The Mahishyas form the premier community of the agriculturists there and are an important community, but being very sadly under-represented in Government service and elsewhere, they form a minority-interest.

3334. The interest of the Community has hitherto been overlooked in the matters of:—

(i) Receipt of Government appointments and other patronages.

(ii) Providing proper facilities to bring English education within easy reach of the Community by establishing educational institutions in the Muffasils, i.e., in places other than towns, where they live largely, and gift of free-studentships and special scholarships in spite of their considerable contribution to the revenues of the country, which are drained largely in every year for education.

(iii) Improving agriculture.

(iv) Sanitation, Communication, Conveyance and the like adequately in rural areas where the agriculturists muster strong.

Importance of the Community.

3335. (1) *Literacy and education.*—In Assam the Community stands 4th in point of literacy, literacy being applied to mean writing out name only. The Community is sadly poor in English literacy and education. It is less than 1 per cent. in Assam in English literacy. Out of 21 lakhs in Bengal, some 1 lakh 8 thousands are literate. But literacy in English is only 15 thousand there. The Community has some lawyers, Government clerks and a few appointments in the higher grades and is keenly alive to English education.

3336. (2) *Influence.*—The Community has in Assam, some 8 qualified voters to the Provincial Legislative Council and to the Imperial Council.

It has a good number of Talukdars in Sylhet who pay revenue to Government and whose income as rent from tenants vary from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 50 a year, in addition to the produce of their Khamar lands.

The number of substantial agriculturists and riyats is large.

The importance of the Community has authoritatively been declared in his reply to the Mahishya Memorial of 1919.

3337. (3) *Numerical strength.*—The Community counts some 23 lakhs in the country. 2 lakhs in Sylhet, some 21 lakhs in Bengal. But for obvious reasons explained

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[Continued.]

below the community was found to be some 63 thousand in Sylhet in the last census of 1911. The annexed table extracted from the census reports of 1907 and 1911 will corroborate and explain:—

Caste Name.	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Mahishya Das	..	..	..	70,192	..
Sudra Das	..	..	..	21,220	..
Maiwa-Das	..	102,426	143,536	15,961	..
				105,273	
Kaibarta	222,882	37,161	67,324	84,836	45,098
Sudra	2,755	..	7,068	56,326	118,512
Kayastha	105,688	185,561	92,395	80,386	51,197
Mahishya (Chasi-Kal-barta).	..	..	..	..	65,312

3338. It will be seen from the table that in the first census the Community was tabulated mistakenly under the heading Kaibarta which in East Bengal and Assam means invariably a Jalia-Kaibarta, i.e., fisherman. This caused irritation. It was done on false and malicious statement of the interested Indian officials whom the European officers came in contact with and whom they believed simply to be deceived.

3339. The Community therefore got themselves enumerated as Hal a-Das in the second census and we got its strength over one lac and in the third census we got its strength to be 1½ lacs.

3340. In the fourth census the community was enumerated and tabulated under 2 headings and we got their total over one lac.

3341. The decrease is due to the use of the word Sudra. Many entered as Kayasthas (*vide* the remarks in the report of the census of 1901 at pages 127 and 130 and the significant allusion under Kayastha in the report of that year).

3342. During the fifth census of 1911 there was a stir in the community as regards adoption of caste name. Some advocating Sudra Das and some Mahishya. As a result an immensely large number of the community more than one lac entered as Sudras to avoid displeasure of either party and we got a corresponding increase of over one lac in the strength of the Sudras as compared with their number in the previous censuses which is between 7 to 8 thousands.

3343. The Mahishya Community is a progressive one. 3344. The Community is the premier of the Hindu agriculturists and according to the late Hon'ble Sir William Hunter it occupies numerically the 3rd place as land-holders in Bengal (old), i.e., Bengal, Sylhet in Assam, Orissa and Bihar.

3345. (4) Its characteristics or special feature:—

- (i) Both directly as land-holders and indirectly as ryots it contributed largely to the revenues of the country.
- (ii) Inhabiting as it does largely rural areas, the Mahishya community as a class is loyal and tried in its humble way what they could to co-operate with the Government in the development of the country and spread of healthy influence.

3346. The Indian caste-system prevents people of one caste to see eye to eye to the interests of the people of other castes not to speak of that of other creeds in spite of many professions so to do. The land-owners, the money lenders and the privileged classes who gene-

rally get Government appointments and enjoy other Government patronage and for whom the revenues of the country is spent in terrible disproportion cannot represent the masses who contribute largely to the revenues without receiving any patronage worth the name for obvious reasons. Their respective interests do generally clash and are conflicting. In order to receive and enjoy the benefit consequent on the expenditure on education and service, the masses ought to be adequately represented in the Councils and elsewhere.

3347. The fact of the "European-returned" Hindus dining with Europeans and other educated non-Hindus at the same table is no pass-port to hold that all the Hindus can safely and properly be represented by the people of any caste.

3348. The formation of Brahmin associations, e.g., Brahmin Dharma Mohamandal, Brahmin Parisads, the Kayastha Khatriya associations and conference, the Mahishya associations and conferences, etc., supported and guided by England-returned people goes rather to add to the rigidity of caste system.

No General Representation in India at present.

3349. Responsible Government by general representation in the line as followed in western countries like Great Britain and Ireland and elsewhere whereof the entire body of the people possess community of interests unfortunately wanting in India so divided by castes and creeds, would be unsuitable to and fraught with many difficulties unless it is started in such a manner as to safeguard the interests of all classes and creeds. The demand on behalf of India is the establishment of such a Government in India where caste, racial, sectarian strife, inexperience and illiteracy are terribly prevalent. The perusal of books on Indian Ethnology and so-called modern district histories will show that the gulf is being widened and antagonistic caste-warfare is being daily carried on.

3350. The Mahishya community is an old dominant caste of India not to speak of Bengal (*Vide* Vishnupurana, Chapter IV), Ramoharit, a publication of the Asiatic Society and the admission by the Hon'ble Mr. Basu, a member of the Committee in a letter dated 21st August 1918, India Office, London S.W., to my friend Prokash Babu, Vakil, Calcutta High Court.

3351. It has suffered much and will do more if not taken special care of by the Government. The following pregnant statement of Warren Hastings as quoted in the Reforms Report breathes apprehension:—

"In no part of the world is the principle of supporting a rising interest and of depressing a falling one more prevalent than in India."

Population of Assam.

3352. Assam—

66 lakhs; 15 lakhs houses or families.

33 lakhs in Assam Valley.

34 lakhs in the Surma Valley.

Sylhet—25 lakhs; 5½ lakhs of houses.

Mahishya—

2 lakhs in Sylhet.

10,000 (ten thousand literate including those under instruction).

500 English literate and educated.

3353. In Assam 900 cultivators in per 1,000.

Therefore among the Mahishyas (2 lakhs), 1,80,000 are cultivators, i.e., nine-tenths cultivators.

In Assam per 1,000 Mahishyas—25 traders.

Therefore all 8,000 Mahishya Traders.

Babu Pyari Mohan Das, called and examined.

3354. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) By profession he was a pleader. He represented the Mahishya community through the Mahishya Samitee (i.e., Association) of which he was the Secretary and which included 500 to 600 members paying a subscription of from 4 annas to Re. 1 a month.

3355. The Mahishyas were a distinct caste of Hindus mainly employed in landholding and agricultural pursuits. They were principally found in the Surma Valley of Assam and were locally known as Das-es. At the first census both Kaibartas and Dases were enumerated as Kaibartas, but there were two distinct classes of Kaib-

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Babu PYARI MOHAN DAS.

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artias, namely Jalias (fishermen) and Halias (cultivators). In Sylhet there were two lakhs of Mahishyas.

3356. He wished one seat to be allotted to Mahishyas, and provided they got one seat, he did not very much mind whether it was by election or by nomination. In the past the separate interests of Mahishyas had been neglected. They had not been able to enter Government service in adequate numbers. Every important class of the Hindu community should be separately represented. The Mahishyas were foremost in agriculture.

3357. His second note was explanatory to his original memorial. He also had submitted a modified note with regard to education.

3358. (Mr. Banerjee.) The caste had called themselves Mahishyas since the census of 1901. Before that they were called Sudra Das or Halia Das.

3359. (Mr. Aftab.) In his sub-division there would be, according to his scheme, 10,000 voters.

3360. Candidates should be aged between 36 and 70. Until he reached the age of 36 a man's intelligence was not developed. He would have fixed the maximum limit at 60 but had increased it to 70 in order to include Mr. Banerjee.

3361. There was not a panchayat in every village, but every village was included in a union which had a panchayat.

3362. (Maulvi Abdul Majid.) His Association had been started 13 years ago. The Mahishyas were regarded as touchables and Hindus. There was at first some opposition to the election to the Council of the present Mahishya member. Some Mahishyas called themselves Kaisthas.

3363. (Col. Gurdin.) He had omitted half a lakh of Janna Kaibartas from his list because they belonged to a distinct caste. The Mahishyas were not boatmen or fishermen.

Rai Sahib PADMANATH GOHAIN BARUA, representing the Ahom Associations.

Written Statement.

I.—CLAIMS OF THE AHOM COMMUNITY TO SPECIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE PROPOSED ENLARGED PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL THROUGH SPECIAL COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

3364. The Ahoms are Shans belonging to the great Tai family of the human race. They invaded the country which now goes by their name (Assam) in 1228 A.D., subjugated the various races inhabiting the country including the Barahies, Morans, Chutias, Kaoharies, Khasias and other neighbouring hill tribes and ruled over a greater part of this Province with the help of a State Council and a popular assembly for about 600 years up only to 8 or 9 decades ago, when it passed into the hands of the benign British Government to which they have all along remained devoted and loyal. Militarily they have a glorious past and they successfully repelled a series of Moslem invasions even at the zenith of the Moslem power and instances which are very rare and unique in the history of the whole world, are not wanting of even their ladies leading hordes or armies to victory. But unfortunately the sequestration of their *paiks* and so anticipation of their slaves who carried on cultivation for them—the only means of their subsistence even at the very inception of the British rule without any compensation, and the most inadequate provision by way of stipends and pensions to only a handful, overlooking the claims to them of a deserving host of the aristocracy who had been rendered destitute by the indiscriminate plunder and ravages by the Burmese, reduced the upper classes from a position of affluence to that of abject indigence. Crippled already by the ravages, brutalities and plunder of the Burmese, the loss of perquisites and sundry privileges including the right of holding a certain amount of land rent-free, rendered the condition of the general mass of the Ahom population still more pitiable. Thus fallen from a position of dominance and sufficiency the Ahoms were stunned in their utter helplessness and were unable to accommodate themselves to altered circumstances ushered in by the British mode of Government for a considerable number of years and were outstripped by the other races of the Province—the result being that they are now admittedly the most backward community in the Province—socially, educationally, economically and industrially. It is only a few years back that with the fostering care of the paternal British Government, the Ahoms—some of whom are Hinduised, others still retaining their ancient customs—have realised their condition and have made a little progress in education. Thus in their present circumstances and in consideration of their being a minority in this Province, they can hardly successfully contest for and obtain a seat in the Provincial Legislative Council through the general electorate. Thus the principle underlying the grant of special representation to the Mahomedans through their own electorates in the Council, is rightly applicable to the case of the Ahoms who, I may be permitted to say, have even better claims

to special representation than the Mahomedans. Notwithstanding the opinion of the illustrious Authors of the scheme who seem to have failed to grasp the real situation and condition of the country, the time is not yet ripe to do away with communal representation in respect of at least certain communities like the Ahoms. I do not dispute the proposition that general electorates are the natural machinery for a homogeneous nation but this country is not a homogeneous nation and the proposition can hardly apply to it. This has been recognised by a host of politicians both Indians and Europeans who have actual experience of the condition of this vast country and even in the last debate in both the Houses of the British Parliament, many a member have ranged themselves to this opinion. There is no fear so far as this province is concerned that the communal system will split this Province into so many jarring elements and will stereotype the existing relations, as there is no other community which has such strong special claims to communal representation as the Ahoms. In its present circumstances, this Community cannot but think it unsafe to leave its interests in the hands of the other advanced fellow countrymen who from the vantage ground are free to use their powers for their own purposes and whose interests may, not likely in many cases, class with and be antagonistic to those of this Community. To deprive this Community of its own representatives in the Provincial Legislative Council which has been proposed to be enlarged to meet the requirements of and to up-lift all people in the onward march to the goal of "Swaraj" to look after and safeguard its interests, will be tantamount to setting a pigmy to fight with a giant which spells utter ruin and disaster to the former. I may be permitted to say also that communal representation is indispensable for some time to come. It is not merely a means for securing the representation of minorities and backward classes but is rather a device for avoiding conflicts between communities at elections and is designed to prevent elections from being contested solely upon a racial or communal issue. I admit, it cannot of course cure deep-seated animosities but it does minimise the opportunities for venting them and by eliminating one cause of friction give them a chance of dying down. Far from ranging the communities into hostile camps and keeping sectional animosities alive, communal representation nips in the bud at least some causes of conflict and ushers in amity and co-ordination. No more convincing proof of this can be found than in the good relations which now exist between the Congress and the Moslem League. It is a glaring fact that before 1909 the political atmosphere of India was full of Hindu and Mahomedan quarrels. But since Lord Morley wisely accommodating himself to the facts of Indian life, gave to the Mahomedans separate representation, opportunities for conflict between these two communities have, as if magically, vanished and the most hopeful epoch of co-operation between the Hindus and Mahomedans has been inaugurated. Should the Government stick to the idea that special electorates

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for backward communities are subversive of all principles of self-government, my Community begs most humbly to state that it is quite prepared to forgo the privilege of separate special election when it will be sufficiently trained and strong as to be able to stand on its own legs without it and which it will be the duty of the periodical Parliamentary Commissions to decide. Till then, my Community strongly urges on this august Committee and through it on the Government to provide special representation for the Ahoms in the proposed Council and my Community trusts that by the term of reference No. 3 to it, this august Committee is fully authorised to do. I beg to say with all the emphasis I can command that the deprivation of special representation to this minor and backward community will permanently relegate it to the back-ground and as such its case should receive just and due consideration at the hands of this august Committee.

3365. In asking for special representation for the Ahom Community in the enlarged Council I would venture to say that the representation should be by election by an Ahom electorate. My Community regards nomination as defective and ill-suited to meet our case. A nomination is not the same as election and the nominated member may not be the fittest person to represent the Community to which from his peculiar position he cannot be made accountable, while in the case of an elected member the Community has always a potent check upon him. Election has this advantage over nomination that it has the most salutary educative effect on the communal electorate or constituencies which is utterly lacking in nomination and which is of paramount importance and is imperatively necessary to awaken, uplift and train apathetic constituencies, thereby helping them on the onward march to the goal, i.e., the attainment of the complete self-government under British control, a consummation which the authors of the scheme have in view and which the people devoutly wish for. It is therefore highly desirable that the spokesmen of the community should be men of the community and be elected by the community. The illustrious Authors of the scheme prefer nomination to communal system on the ground that it can be more easily abolished when the necessity for it ceases. But as the Ahom Community has solemnly bound itself to forgo the privilege of special communal representation when it will be able to do without it as said above, it sees no difficulty why nomination cannot be substituted by communal system in view of the fact that the latter on account of its educative value on the constituencies and of its having a potent check upon the representative, has immense advantage over the former.

3366. Lastly, I am afraid that I cannot countenance the proposal of having a certain number of seats reserved to this minor and backward community in plural constituencies as better expedient than either communal electorates or nomination. I need not dilate upon the grounds for holding this humble opinion as the grounds stated above in support of communal electorate abundantly apply against such a course. There is no guarantee that the member elected by the plural constituencies, unless they sail with us, will be the fittest man and the man of our choice. There is very risk of our being out-voted. Suffice it to say, that in the present circumstances of this Community no other expedient that can be devised can equal communal electorate.

II.—FRANCHISE, ELECTION AND COMMUNAL ELECTORATES FOR THE AHOMS.

3367. The right of voting is the indefeasible right of every human being and any limitation of the franchise tends to curtail his legitimate right. But it has been desired by the authors of the Reform scheme that there should be restrictions and that the limitations of the franchise should be determined rather with reference to practical difficulties, so that inordinate extension of the franchise might not lead to a breakdown of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers and it is further desired that the same should be as broad as possible. Keeping these points in view I would base franchise on a

certain degree of education, amount of income and property only. I must confess that my scheme is not perfect but as there is no other scheme that appeals to me as more perfect, I am, under the limitations imposed, perforce led to accept this scheme. The qualifications of Mahomedan electors as given in Rule No. 3, Schedule IV of Regulation II, disqualifications imposed by Regulation VI and qualifications of candidates set down in Regulation V of the Indian Councils Act, with suitable changes to suit its conditions, will do for the Ahom Community. We prefer these rules which guide the Mahomedan community for returning their members, on the ground that the election thus secured, is direct without any intervening medium or media and is purged of the unreality that characterises the existing councils. It brings in a sense of responsibility to the representative and he feels that he stands in a direct relation to the original voters and that he is accountable to them. Indirect election has rightly been condemned by the authors of the scheme and where possible steps should be taken to sweep it away. With this preface, I would hold the following persons as qualified for exercising the franchise:—

- (a) Holders of titles recognised by Government; (b) Kaiser-i-Hind medalists; (c) Members of the Order of the Star of India or the Order of the Indian Empire or any other Orders; (d) Fellows of the Calcutta University; (e) Graduates of any University in the United Kingdom or British India; (f) Honorary Magistrates; (g) Matriculates and Under-graduates; (h) Teachers of schools including Pathshala, Pandits; (i) Mauzadars, Mandals and Gaonburas; (j) any other officers drawing a salary of Rs. 50 per mensem; (k) Proprietors or Landholders paying land revenue and local rates in respect of their estates or shares of estates to the extent of not less than Rs. 20 per annum; (l) holders of pensions of not less than Rs. 20 per mensem; (m) Income-tax assesses.

Provided that no elector shall have more than one vote though he may possess more than one of the qualifications described above.

3368. I have reduced in the case of the Ahoms, the property and educational qualifications set down for the Mahomedans (in whose case payers of land revenue of Rs. 50 and upward and graduates and teachers of High-Schools and Madrassas and persons holding certificates of Madrassas are qualified voters) on the ground that the condition of the general mass of the Ahom population, is worse than that of the Mahomedan brethren. It is also the view of the noble authors of the Reform Scheme that owing to unequal distribution of population and wealth it may be necessary to differentiate the qualifications for a vote not merely between provinces, but between different parts of the same province. I may be permitted to say that such is the condition of the Ahoms that the number of voters possessing the above qualifications will not be so large as would render the task of preparing and maintaining an electorate roll unwieldy and impracticable, though it may strike the Hon'ble members at the first sight to be so. A survey and detailed enquiry into the economic conditions of the Ahoms, will, I trust, convince the authorities of the truth of my statement and this is why it warrants a provision for separate electorates for this minor and backward community.

3369. The total Ahom population in the Province according to the last Census is 197,000, of which roughly 66 per cent. of the number was censused in Sibsagar and 33 per cent. in Lakhimpur and the rest distributed in the districts of Nowgong, Darrang, Kamrup, Goalpara and Cachar. But I cannot accept the Census figures as quite correct, for it is a fact that a good number returned as Chutias in the past Censuses are really Ahoms and consequently their number is considerably larger than what has been censused. On the face of it the distribution of Ahom population in the several districts is unequal. Notwithstanding this, I would base the electorates on the territorial basis which is also the desire of the illustrious

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authors of the Reform Scheme. To come to the point the conditions and, as a matter of fact, the requirements of the Ahoms demand 3 representatives—one for Sibsagar, one for Lakhimpur and the third for the remaining districts irrespective of the number of the population. Each of the districts of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar may be allowed to return one member and the other districts jointly to return another; my community trusts and ardently prays that the Government on account of its backwardness, would provide rooms for 3 of its representatives in the proposed expanded Council. To secure this and also to facilitate the attendance of the voters, I would suggest every sub-divisional headquarters be made the polling stations. Electorates and polling stations should be established accordingly. To guard against malpractices, elections should be by ballot. The strength of the existing official and non-official agency available for electoral purposes in Assam is quite sufficient and no difficulty is likely to be experienced in carrying on the work. I may also say that there is little danger of impersonation to be apprehended in case of our community. As to the adjudication of electoral petitions the existing method and agency is quite adequate and no innovation appears necessary. Lastly should the Committee be of the opinion that the paucity of the Ahom population in the districts other than Sibsagar and Lakhimpur does not justify the provision of a third representative to us, I would suggest the alternative scheme of giving us a general Ahom electorate for all the districts inhabited by our people with the right of electing on the basis of the qualifications of voters stated above 2 representatives instead of 3. Short of this number will never meet our requirements and I hope this august Committee will provide this number to us in the proposed enlarged Council.

III.—SCHEME FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THE ASSAM PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

3370. At the outset I must confess I am not an advocate for introducing the Reform Scheme into the several Hill districts, by reason of the fact that the various tribes inhabiting them, are almost in the primitive state and education has hardly made any head way among these children of nature. A patriarchal system of Government in their present condition, is all that is needed and any improved system of popular Government to them is at present out of question.

3371. The existing Council needs expansion but the subject of remodelling and enlarging it, while most vital, presents not a little difficulty. The present constitution of the Council is inadequate and faulty, as it does not meet the requirements of the various sections of the heterogeneous population and interests. As at present constituted, it is composed of 24 members, of whom only 11 are elected and 13 nominated and of the latter only 4 are non-officials and 9 officials. Clearly, there is a preponderance of the nominated over the elected members, which is a weak feature and which I am glad, is intended to be remedied in the enlarged Council and I would at once venture to say that in the proposed Council, not less than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the members composing it, should be elected. The principle followed in nominating the non-official members, is a best known to the Government whose prerogative it is, but in the opinion of my Community, it might be regulated more advantageously in the interests of the communities which are sorely in need of representation and which at present go practically unrepresented. In the first Legislative Council of this Province, one member of my community found a seat by nomination but in the existing Council, this backward community is thoroughly unrepresented. The number of elected members is filled up as follows:—

By the Local Boards	2
" Municipal Commissioners	2
" Land holders	2
" Mahomedan Community	2
" Planting Community	3
TOTAL	11

The figures given above show at a glance that the claims of the Ahoms for a seat have been totally ignored and I trust their grievance will be removed by the Government through the intervention of this august Committee before whom I now stand. The Local Boards which look to the welfare of the general mass of the population are not at all adequately represented. There are 6 districts with 12 Local Boards in the Brahmaputra Valley and 2 districts with 6 Local Boards in the Surma Valley and each valley returning only one representative. The position of such a member and his relation to the general inarticulate mass are therefore peculiar. There are several intervening media and loose links between the mass and the so-called representatives. Further, the system of returning a certain percentage of members through the electorates of the gaonburas to the Local Boards is erroneous and quite faulty. It is not the mass of the population but the gaonburas who enjoy the vote on the assumption that they are the elected representatives of the villagers, but the general consensus of the public opinion is that the term 'gaonburas' is rather a misnomer. He is not necessarily the accredited headman of the village or villages within his ambit. The post has little attraction to the educated and respectable sections of any community and it is hereditary. A young man in his teens is also a gaonbura by right of succession to his father though his predecessor might have been once selected by election at which better section hardly stood candidate. It is not too much to say that a majority of the gaonburas is illiterate, unscrupulous, is not free from temptations and corruptions and has very little influence on the village. Imposition of hundreds of duties—some of which are humiliating—on the gaonburas who have to dance attendance at the camps of the touring officers ministering to their wants and comforts, submitting meekly to the caprices and vagaries of and sometimes to indignities by the officers whose members are legions—all in consideration of the remission of the land revenue of Rs. 8 a year, which the post entails, precludes the qualified, literate and self-respecting sections of the people from aspiring to the so-called "headship." His position is almost analogous to that of a village Chaudkidar in Bengal. Yet the strangest of the strange things is that such a man is an elector of a certain number of members to the Local Boards in the plains of my valley! Such a scandal—if I may be permitted to use the word—in the election of agency for the purposes of Local Self-Government should be forthwith swept away and I think that the subject has engaged the attention of our Provincial Government. Once this scandal is purged away from the system of election to the Local Board by direct method of election on the principle of as broad a franchise as possible, similar to the one suggested by me for returning a representative of our community to the Council, providing also seats for all interests and minor backward communities, I would advise the august Committee to make room in the enlarged Council for one representative to represent each district returnable by the Local Boards in it. Sylhet being the biggest district containing 4 sub-divisions and 4 Local Boards may have an additional member. I confess that even in this Scheme election is indirect which it is desirable to avoid. An alternative scheme that may be devised and that occurs to me, to give it a semblance of direct election is this:—the electorates for returning members to the Local Boards should also be electorates for and be allowed the right of electing a member to the Council, but such member should already be a non-official Local Board member holding a seat in the Board continuously for at least 3 years. Such a method would go a good deal to improve the tone of the Local Boards giving greater zest and earnestness to the members to work whole-heartedly for the amelioration of the condition of the people, improvement of communications, education and sanitation, etc., and will give a healthy hold to the mass on their representatives. I would not go much to dilate on the comparative merits of the above two schemes. Suffice it to say, that the members of the Local Boards are an intelligent group of responsible persons experienced and trained in

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the art of Self-Government and are sure to return the best of their comrades to the Council. On the other hand, the alternative scheme laid down, while imparting a healthy tone to the Local Board is capable of adoption only when the general mass of the people will be sufficiently politically awakened and trained and will be able to judge the best for itself and be above all extraneous influences and temptations. As we must proceed very cautiously, I would commend in the present circumstances of the country, the first scheme to the notice of the august Committee for adoption in the first instance, though the election is rather indirect. Replacement of the first by the second method should only be a question of time. Lastly, I would say that the election should be made by the votes of the members other than the (a) Chairman if an official and (b) Officials appointed by name *ex-officio* to be members. The number of votes should be regulated by the ordinary income possessed by each local Board as under the existing rules.

3372. There are several grades of Municipalities in Assam—some called Unions and Stations constituted under the altogether obsolete Bengal Act V of 1876 and first-class and second-class municipalities constituted under Act III, 1884 (B. C.), which is also out of date. But I am glad that a bill called Assam Municipal Bill, is already on the anvil to provide municipal legislation to suit the present condition of the towns, drawing from more modern enactments in force elsewhere and also in the light of the recent review of the municipal policy by the Decentralisation Commission and the Government of India.

3373. There are 13 municipal institutions in the Assam Valley Division which jointly elect only 1 member to the Council, while 6 such institutions in the Surma Valley return the second member. The number, I would say, is hardly adequate and, in my humble opinion, the number should be raised to 4. A group of municipalities in 6 districts should be given the right of electing a member each. Thus the districts may be grouped as follows:—

Lakhimpur and Sibsagar (Upper Assam)	1
Nowgong and Darrang (Central Assam)	1
Kamrup and Goalpara (Lower Assam)	1
Sylhet and Cachar (Surma Valley)	1
TOTAL	4

The members elected must be non-officials and election should be made by the votes of the members other than the Chairman, if an official, and officials appointed by name or an *ex-officio* of the municipalities. The number of votes which the Commissioners of each municipality shall be entitled to give, should be regulated by the local income possessed by it according to the existing scale. In suggesting the increase of members to be returned by the Local Boards and municipal electorates, my reason is that they are the institutions which train the people in the arts and secrets of self-government sobering them down into the true and right conception of the civic rights and privileges and limitations and they are the institutions representing the general mass of population and the members returned by them are eminently qualified and are verily valuable assets to the Provincial Legislative Council. I have not equalised the numbers to be returned by the Local Boards and the Municipalities, simply because the latter are more restricted in area than the former.

3374. I would not propose any increase to the number of members for the landholders in the proposed Council. The existing number is quite adequate. The paucity of number of such landholders and zamindars enjoying the privilege under the existing rules which require no alteration does not justify any increase. I would commend the system of election as at present rather than nomination.

3375. The Planting community at present returns 3 members—each valley returning one and in addition another representative by rotation. This seems to me

not insufficient, but as the community has important interests at stake and also indirectly represents the whole labour force whose interests—I must admit—are in cases quite adverse to it and as the Council is going to be expanded, this number will not satisfy it and my community will not grudge an additional number to it, so that each valley will be in a position to return 2 members at a time. Further addition is not justifiable as there is the possibility of its having the whole force of the official members at its back who will presumably sympathise with it, and will lend support to it in any emergent case affecting its interests. I would commend election rather than nomination of its members.

3376. The question of settling the numbers of representatives to be returned by the Mahomedan community presents a most difficult and arduous task. My humble suggestion in regard to this, must be subordinated to the aspiration and view of this community, provided they are just and do not do injustice to the other communities. Their total strength in the province is 1,875,155; but the number is quite disproportionately distributed in the several districts and the two valleys—the Surma Valley showing an aggregate population of 1,620,335. I would give here a statement from the last Census Report showing the distribution of Mahomedan and Hindu population in each of the plain districts of this province.

Brahmaputra Valley.

Districts.	Total population.	Mahomedan population.	Hindu Population.
1	2	3	4
Lakhimpur	468,989	18,419	367,990
Sibsagar	699,200	29,718	695,268
Darrang	877,314	20,905	245,341
Nowgong	393,596	15,689	177,795
Kamrup	687,828	64,827	450,227
Goalpara	600,643	211,562	334,720
TOTAL	3,117,660	355,320	2,171,339

Surma Valley Districts.

Districts.	Total population.	Mahomedans.	Hindus.
1	2	3	4
Sylhet	2,472,671	1,364,739	1,098,950
Cachar	497,463	156,096	320,104
TOTAL	2,970,134	1,520,835	1,419,054
GRAND TOTAL	6,087,794	1,876,155	3,690,393

3377. The above figures will show at a glance that in the Surma Valley the Mahomedan population is in excess of half the Hindu population by about one lakh, but the aggregate Mahomedan population in the 6 districts of the Brahmaputra Valley is roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Hindu population in it and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total strength of the Moslem population in the other valley. The total population of the whole Mahomedan Community is only a little more than

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one-half of the total Hindu population of the 2 valleys. In my humble opinion these points must be borne in mind in suggesting and working out the number of representatives this community may be allowed to elect for the proposed enlarged Council. No separate electorate for the Hindus like that of the Mahomedans is intended to be provided and they are left to the chances of their being returned by the Local Boards, Municipalities and landholders, but it must be borne in mind that these electorates should and will make no discrimination as to the religion of the candidates, i.e., whether the candidates are Hindus or not. It is certain that a certain number of Mahomedan brethren will be returned by these electorates as their representatives. That being so, fifty or any hard-and-fast reservation of a certain number of seats for their representatives through their own electorates, is unworkable and cannot be advised. Should the electorates other than Mahomedan electorates return some members of their community, the reservation would require alteration and reduction every time the fresh election is held for the Council. At any rate the number that should be reserved every time, is dependent on and should follow the result of elections by Local Boards, Municipalities and landholders. This is what is also the view of the noble authors of the Reform Scheme. Again, the proportion of Hindu and the Mahomedan members has to be worked out. It does not seem to present much difficulty. Their total number being a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ the Hindu population, the number of seats for the Mahomedan brethren should be, in my humble opinion, about $\frac{1}{2}$ of those of the former, in other words, the ratio should be accordingly regulated on this principle. The total number of members I have suggested to be returned by the Local Boards, Municipalities and landholders is 15. So 8 seats to the Mahomedan community appear to me to be the most equitable number that I would like to suggest for being reserved for it. All these 8 seats should be filled up by their own electorates only on the contingency of the aforesaid electorates returning only Hindu members. But such a contingency I venture to state will hardly happen. Roughly, 2 to 3 seats or more will be filled up by our Mahomedan brethren through electorates other than their own. It is only the remaining number of the 8 reserved seats that will have to be filled up by their own electorates. I would leave it to the opinions of that community as to the best way in which the seats are to be distributed among the several districts or valleys. I would only suggest for what it is worth that the proportion of population in the Brahmaputra and Surma Valleys is 1 : 4, and seats may be allotted to both the valleys accordingly. In this connection I would beg to point out that should some of our Mahomedan brethren be returned by electorates other than their own—which is a likely contingency—the proportion 2 : 1 of Hindu representatives whose number should be about double of the Mahomedans will be disturbed. To make up the proportion and to keep the number of Hindu members intact, an equivalent number of seats thus lost to the Hindus by absorption of the number by their Mahomedan brethren should be filled up by fresh elections by the electorates affected or by nomination by the Governor. But the first alternative scheme seems to be the more commendable. But this point I would leave to the consideration and decision of the Committee. The same principle is also to be adopted for keeping the Hindu number intact in case of the European Tea-planters obtaining more seats through Local Boards' electorates.

3378. I would now pass to the case of the Animists who form a considerable bulk of the total population. Leaving aside those in the hill districts to which I would not recommend extension of the Reform Scheme on the grounds stated above, the total Animist population in the plains districts is approximately 558,262, of which the Brahmaputra Valley alone contributes 538,994.

3379. The main section of these Animists in the plains are Kacharies, Lalunga, Meches, Mikirs and Miris. Education has made no progress among these Animists. The following table of those main sections leaving out

of account those of their brethren that have been either Hinduised or Christianised will show this—

	Popu- lation.	Literate.	Literate in ele- mentary English.
1	2	3	4
Kacharies	168,429	1,218	27
Lalunga	32,790	231	2
Mechee (Animists)	24,437	91	3
Mikirs	102,212	354	12
Miris	13,256	76	..

3380. Clearly they are absolutely in the dark and I am doubtful if the political awakening will occur to them in the near future. Yet their backwardness justifies a representation to them in the Council for safeguarding their interests. At the same time in consideration of their conditions, I cannot recommend any special electorate at present to them but I would suggest nomination.

3381. In this connection, the case of the Indian Christians occurs to my mind. Leaving aside those who inhabit the hill districts in which the Missionaries have found scope for their evangelistic mission, their total number in the plains is approximately just above 21,000. They are therefore a minority and may have a member to represent them. The bulk of the Indian Christians are recruits from Animists, tea-garden coolies and higher education has made very little progress. In order not to expand the Council to make it unwieldy I would suggest that only one member may be allotted to the Animists and Indian Christians by rotation and that the seat may be filled up by nomination by Government who is alone in a position to select a suitable member for them on account of their backwardness.

3382. Lastly, there should be, in my humble opinion, 2 seats provided for the Mercantile Community—one from each valley. In the existing Council I think there is only one member that has found seat by nomination to represent its interests. There should be a special electorate for their community. The franchise should be based on a certain amount of income-tax paid by the individual members composing it. I am for doing away with the present system of nomination.

3383. As to the official element in the Council, I would increase its present number by one more instead of 9 at present.

3384. So then the constitution of the expanded Council for this province according to the humble opinion of my Association should be as follows—

Officials	10
Local Boards	9
Municipalities	4
Landholders	2
Planters	4
Mahomedans	8
Ahoms	2
Mercantile Community	2
Animists and Indian Christians	1 (by nomina- tion and rotation).
TOTAL	42

3385. I have only transposed the present figure of 24. The elected element in my scheme is about $\frac{1}{2}$ of its total strength. The proportion of Hindu and Mahomedan members is 2 : 1 and that of the latter is raised from $\frac{1}{4}$ th to $\frac{1}{2}$ in the new Council. The scheme has been devised on as broad a franchise and as direct an election as possible. Its size is not unwieldy or inconveniently large and it is as representative a Council as the illustrious authors of the Reform Scheme heartily desire to suit all communities and interests by providing for all and I would commend this scheme to the notice of this august Committee.

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Rai Sahib PADMANATH GOHAIN BARUA.

[Continued.]

7.—REPRESENTATION OF ASSAM IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

3388. As to the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Assembly which is to consist of about one hundred members, I would not say much. I would only suggest that the province should have the right of sending more representatives than it does enjoy at present. It has been decided that 1/3rd of the total number should be elected and 2/3rd nominated and of the nominated not less than 1/3rd to

be non-officials. At present my province returns two members—one official nominated by the Government and the other elected by the non-official members. This will not be adequate in the expanded Legislative Assembly. The view of my Association is that the province should have the right of returning 6 members to it—of whom two should be Hindus, one Mahomedan, one tea-planter—all to be elected by the non-official members of the Provincial Council and the remaining two from officials to be nominated by the Governor of this province.

Rai Sahib Padmanath Gohain Barua, called and examined.

3387. (*Sir Frank Sly.*) He had been a school master employed under the Education Department and was now Government pensioner. He appeared as the representative of the Ahom Associations. There were 13 such associations, each having its own secretary, and he was General Secretary for all of them. There was also a General Committee containing as far as he could member about 500 members.

3388. He claimed separate representation for the Ahoms on the grounds that they were a weak minority, and the most backward community in Assam and also because pre-British days the Ahoms were rulers of the larger part of the province. The Ahoms had fallen from their dominant position owing to the emancipation of their slaves. They were the scions of a great tribal dynasty which came to Assam in the year 1228. The Chutias are not Ahoms but had been subjugated by the Ahoms in the 15th century. At the last census some Ahoms had turned themselves as Chutias, but he did not want the Chutias in the Ahom electorate. Some of the Ahoms

had embraced the Hindu religion 400 years ago. Most of them followed their own religion and customs.

3389. Separate representation was necessary for the Ahoms owing to the social oppression of the upper classes of Hindus. His Association would like the Ahoms to have 3 seats, one for Sibsagar, one for Lakhimpur and one for the other districts, but they would be satisfied with two. The number of Ahoms was 1,97,287.

3390. The Ahom electorate should be based on the same franchise as the Muhammadan electorate.

3391. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) There would be no difficulty in distinguishing Ahoms from others at the polling booths. Government would have to give assistance in the matter. It would be quite easy to distinguish Chutias.

3392. He himself was a Hindu. The Ahoms followed some of the Hindu customs.

3393. (*Colonel Gordon.*) Many Ahoms were disciples of Vaishnavite gossains. This did not necessarily mean that they became Hindus. The Ahom language was now obsolete and Ahoms wore the same clothes as the Assamese.

Raja PRABHAT CHANDRA BARUA of Gauripur.

Written Statement.

3394. I have been requested by the Government of Assam to give evidence before the Franchise Committee in connection with the Reforms Scheme as the representative of the Goalpara Zamindars. I accepted the invitation, as I am deeply interested in the matter, but the time at my disposal did not enable me to discuss the various points with my brother Zamindars. I have, however, consulted them and discussed the matter with those whom I could meet.

3395. I have been further hampered by the absence of authentic statistics which are necessary in examining so far the ideas which suggested themselves to my mind fit in with the actual state of things. I must also say that the time allowed is much too short for mastering the practical details of such a vast and important subject. I have not, therefore, attempted to enter much into details and have contented myself with an expression of my general view on the point raised in the official communiqué which was sent to me.

3396. Before I come to the point on which my opinion is invited, I would try to explain the position of the permanently settled Zamindars in general and the peculiar position of the few Zamindars in the district of Goalpara under the Assam Administration. A reference is invited to a note (Annexure) which I prepared and forwarded to the Government of Assam and submitted a copy to Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose when the latter came to India with the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. That note was written before the publication of the Reforms Report, and I would just touch the latter, later on, to show that bad as was the position of the Goalpara Zamindars under the present Administration, it would be very much worse when the Reforms are introduced in the Report are introduced in India. A perusal of the Proceedings of the Conference of the non-official members of the Assam Legislative Council held on the 5th October last to consider about the scheme of Indian Constitutional Reforms will disclose the attitude of the members towards the Zamindars of Goalpara. It would be seen that when Mr. R. N. Choudhri proposed

a separate electorate for the Goalpara Zamindars, he was opposed by nine members.

3397. It seems doubtful at times if the position of the permanently settled landed aristocracy is properly realised. The various terms loosely used, such as zamindars, landholders, landowners—some of which have been adopted in legal phraseology—seem confusing. In paragraph 147 of the Report, the landed aristocracy are acknowledged to be the natural leaders; I do not quite follow what they mean by the "smaller gentry" in paragraph 148. The Hindu Law, which does not recognise primogeniture, is responsible for the dismemberment of large and important estates and the creation of a very large number of small estates by partition, sale or otherwise. The latter are not therefore always of "utilitarian origin"—inasmuch as they also are portions of large estates which owe their origin to "conquests or grants." The subsequent owners do not, however, represent "ancient and well-born families" for having changed hands. It is pointed out that the consideration for preserving the dignity and integrity of the real landed aristocracy of India may not be affected by the gradual but inevitable passing of some estates to the rising democracy, which tends to some confusion in appreciating the real status of the aristocracy, for whatever may be the origin of the families who now hold permanently settled estates, they all come under the same community and are entitled to the same consideration in the matter of representation under the Reforms Scheme.

3398. I would try to illustrate what I mean by specific instances. In doing so, I would confine myself to the permanently settled Zamindars in India. The Maharajas of Durbhanga and Burdwan belong to the same class, while there are petty Zamindars as well, paying a few rupees as Government revenue, who nevertheless belong to the same class of landed proprietors created by the permanent settlement. I would here point out the necessity of authoritatively fixing a word for the permanently settled landholders, and I think the word Zamindar will be the most appropriate designation for this class. It would also be necessary, to avoid confusion, to fix

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[Continued.]

different terms for different classes of landed proprietors.

3399. I would now come to the landed aristocracy in the Province of Assam. By the term "landed aristocracy" I mean the Zamindars under Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement of 1793. In the Province of Assam there are only two districts, *viz.*, Sylhet in the Surma Valley Division and Goalpara in the Assam Valley Division, the major portions of which were settled permanently with the proprietors then in possession and who usually are known as Zamindars.

3400. I have, for the present, been asked to represent the Zamindars of Goalpara to which district I belong. The note (Annexure I) which I had occasion to refer to before would give an exhaustive idea of the Zamindars of Goalpara and their isolated position under the Assam Administration. I am now to point out how the proposed Reforms Scheme would affect them and in what way their interests might be protected. This naturally leads us to the question of communal representation in the Reformed Provincial Legislative Council.

3401. Before coming to the question of the application of the system of communal representation of the Zamindars of Goalpara, I would like to state my personal views on communal representation in general. The Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy have expressed their decided general opinion more than once in the Report that the history of self-government amongst the nations who developed it is against the recognition of communal representation. They go further and assert that any system of communal electorates would be a serious hindrance to the development of self-governing principles. And yet circumstances have compelled them to go against their well-considered principle and recommend communal representation. The great Muhammadan community is to have separate representation, and the Government cannot get out of it because of the pledge given to them. The Sikhs and the great landowners must have the same privilege for other reasons. I take it an open challenge by the authors of the Reports to all Indians as to whether they can depend upon their own men irrespective of class and creed. I also say that if we do not take up the challenge, we tacitly admit our inability to govern ourselves. So, as my personal opinion, I would state that the Muhammadans should relieve the Government of the pledge, and the system of special electorates and communal representation should be condemned and abandoned from the beginning.

3402. If, however, communal representation has to be accepted after all, I would say that the Government is bound by a more sacred unwritten pledge, to the Zamindars of India. The origia of some estates can be traced as far back as the Hindu Kingdoms. The British Government from before the permanent settlement have recognised the great body of landowners as a distinct body by themselves, and special treatment has invariably been accorded to them. I can do no better than refer to a speech of the Maharaja of Durbhanga on the subject. The authors of the Report also recognize this (*vide* paragraph 147). And this, I take it, ensures special electorates and communal representation for the Zamindars. This, however, is recommended for provinces "where the great landholders form a distinct class of their own."

3403. Do we—the Zamindars in Assam—in the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara form a distinct class of our own? Certainly we do, and our isolation from the great body of Bengal Zamindars makes our distinctness all the more glaring. The Assam Administration however has but half recognised the importance of our community. This idea was painfully forced upon us when we—the few permanently settled Zamindars of Goalpara and Sylhet—were formed into the same electorate, under the designation of "landholders," with the Khas Mahal temporarily settled tenants of Assam. I would again invite a reference to my note (Annexure) which will clearly explain the situation. It is for this sort of

treatment that I have been strenuously advocating the transfer of the permanently settled area of Assam to Bengal, where our interests would be safe in every way. In any case, I should think that India Government should provide for the introduction of all laws relating to the permanently settled Zamindars and raiyats, to the areas in Assam which also are under the permanent settlement. I go further and say that even if separate electorates and special representation be conceded to the Zamindars in Assam in the reformed Provincial Council, their position would not only be no better than what it was, but very much worse. With a solitary representative of our community, or even perhaps a few, can we ever hope to influence the reformed Assam Provincial Legislative Council with diverse interests, namely, those of the planting community, the Khas Mahal landholders, the vast tenantry of the Zamindars and the officials, forming the majority of members? The Zamindars have nothing in common with the former two, and the interests of the tenantry—who are bound to have much better representation in the Councils—are directly opposed to those of the Zamindars. Then those of our community who desire to take part in public affairs would naturally seek places in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State rather than in the Provincial Council. But we, the few Zamindars of Assam, would have absolutely no chance of being ever returned to the Indian Legislatures unless seats are reserved for us in the Indian Assembly and the Council of State, with a special electorate of our own, and so, I fear, we would be debarred from fulfilling our responsibilities, even when we have the will to do so. These are some of the reasons which urge me to point out why we should be transferred under the Government of Bengal, where our birthrights would have chances of being much better protected by men of our own class.

3404. It has been said in some quarters that this is a barred question for present consideration. The authors of the Report frankly admit that modification of the areas of provinces according to the character and economic interests of the people should be made (paragraph 349). In the case of Orissa, they consider this as urgent. But they are not willing to complicate the situation and do anything which might make the consideration of the proposed Reforms Scheme more difficult. I would point out that there are instances where questions of slight territorial redistributions are closely and intimately connected with the protection of important minorities, who would otherwise be swamped by larger majority with different interests. Unless this is done, the arbitrary constitution of the reformed Councils will perpetuate injustice. If the mischief is once done, it would be impracticable to rectify it later on under the reformed Government. Ours, I humbly submit, is a case to the point. In paragraph 246 of the Report it is stated that it should be one of the earliest duties of the reformed Provincial Governments to test provincial opinion upon schemes of redistribution of territories. The verdict as to whether any such scheme should be adopted or not would lie on the Provincial Councils. In the Assam reformed Council, there would be two distinct popular elements, *viz.*, those from the five Khas Mahals plains districts and those from the two permanently settled districts. If in a Council so composed, the question of the transfer of Sylhet and Goalpara is put and supported by the members from those two districts but opposed by the others who are likely to be in the majority, would it be ever possible for Sylhet and Goalpara to go back to Bengal, even if they cried themselves hoarse? It is admitted that the Zamindars of Goalpara have nothing in common with the remaining plains districts of Assam. They are under the same permanent settlement as in Bengal. Their language, social customs and habits and laws are all similar to those prevailing in the adjoining districts of Bengal, Rungpur, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Bogra and Cooch Behar. It is said that without Goalpara and Sylhet, Assam cannot be a self-contained province. Should that be a reason why an important, though small community should be sacrificed and put in a position where they would be at best forced to taking

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part in a losing game till their distinctive rights are lost and they are merged with the Khas Mahal temporary settled tenants? I fail to see why the consideration of territorial modification should not be considered where necessary, unless the observance of rigid rules is placed above the just and right consideration of questions which arise in connection with the constitution of the Legislature.

3405. This again leads me to point out another proposal which has been discussed from time to time and which has the support of at least some eminent men of Assam. It is the transfer of all the plains districts of Assam to Bengal. If the administrative difficulties in transferring Jhalpara and Sylhet are insuperable, could not the above proposal be carefully examined? The present Chief Commissioner, the Honble Mr. N. D. Beeson-Bell, explained in his speech at Dhuba delivered on August 11th, 1918 how very difficult of application was the Reforms Scheme in Assam. He excluded two-thirds of the total area in the Province as unfit for any advanced form of Government. With this two-thirds excluded, the remaining one-third cannot form a self-contained administration and should rather be incorporated with Bengal leaving the Hill Districts as a Frontier Province. Without arbitrarily binding together heterogeneous interests and classes for the sake of maintaining an administrative unit, this occasion, I submit, would be the most suitable one of considering how the administrative units could be more homogeneous. It is not for any sentimental reasons that I have advocated the transfer of the permanently settled districts to Bengal, nor am I here inviting a consideration of the transfer of the whole of the plains districts to the same province for any such idea. I smell the possibility of the extinction of the rights and privileges of our small community in Assam, if we are not united with the great body of Zamindars in Bengal.

3406. I have already stated my personal views about communal representation. If, however, it is inevitable that communal representation will be adopted, I would recommend that it may be introduced in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State and not in the Provincial Legislative Councils. The illustrious authors of the Report, while admitting any system of communal electorates as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle, regard its adoption as inevitable in the case of the Muhammadans for the reason that they are bound to see that the community secures proper representation—apart from the question of pledge which also they feel bound to honour. Having once deviated from the principles, they naturally have to extend the system to the Sikhs and to the great landholding classes. After having stretched so far, pledge or no pledge, are they not bound to protect other minorities and interests who would fail to secure proper representation in the new Councils but for separate communal electorates in their cases also? I think they are equally bound by honour not only to any particular community but to all important minorities and interests who would otherwise be unable to secure suitable representation in the Councils.

3407. They, however, intend to adopt the system of communal representation only in the educative stage of the electorates during the transitional period, at the price of a slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship. This they characterize as one of the devices, a temporary expedient for training purposes, that can have no permanent abiding place. The goal is clear. From the above we may presumably deduce that this sort of special representation is only to be tolerated till the electorates are educated to regard public good over individual interests. If that be so, then is it not incumbent on the authors and the powers that be to introduce it in the way in which the evils attendant on the system may be reduced to a minimum and the pace towards the goal accelerated as much as possible?

3408. This, I think, can be done if the system of communal representation be altogether done away with in forming the Provincial Legislative Councils. The object

of instituting communal electorates is the representation of the important minorities and interests who would have no chance in the ordinary way. When this privilege is conceded to special classes and interests they will still be in an absolute minority in the Councils and at best shall have only the opportunity of making their views known in Council "by the mouth of some member specially acquainted with them." They will have to depend upon the popular element in the Councils for a consideration of their special interests, which would not infrequently be either directly opposed to their own or else they would be perhaps quite unconcerned or indifferent to such matters as not affecting themselves. If these minorities and special classes have to depend upon the judgment of others, would it not be desirable that they should choose the very best of their fellow-countrymen to sit in judgment over them? It is for these reasons that I suggest that communal representation should be secured in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly and not in the Provincial Legislative Councils. The education of the electorates is to proceed from the spirit of partisanship of special classes in the Council to that of a common citizenship, when they would learn to sacrifice individual interests to the common good. The best men—the flower of aristocracy and intellect in India—many of them already trained in Parliamentary education—would naturally seek to go to the Council of State or the Indian Assembly, and the Provincial Councils would thus be composed mostly of inferior men; few having any experience of debates, and perhaps not above local jealousies or free from the spirit of partisanship. If communal representation is adopted in the Provincial Councils, would it not be turning the Council Chamber into a fighting arena where the potentialities of friction would receive the maximum scope? Would it be politic to let loose communal hatred and frustrate the end in view? If communal representation is to be adopted at all, let it be introduced in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly where there would be the smallest chances of friction or debates degenerating into undesirable extremes.

3409. There is yet another aspect of the question to which also I would like to draw attention. The same special classes in different Provinces would necessarily receive different treatment according to the composition of the Provincial Councils. The Muhammadan community in some Provinces where they are in a majority in the Provincial Council, or the Zamindars in Bengal, would secure privileges which their brethren in Assam or some other Province where they are in minority would be unable to gain. This will have the undesirable consequence that the position and privileges of the same community or interest will gradually tend to become more and more divergent and a sense of dissatisfaction is sure to grow with it. Would this not therefore have the effect of perpetuating class division, stereotype existing relations and increase the cleavage? In other words, it would be foisting another artificial caste system on a people already sore with irremovable differences of their own.

3410. The Council of State and the Indian Assembly can surely be so enlarged and constituted as to include adequate representation of all important classes and interests throughout India. It would be composed of our best men who would be above any narrowness and best suited to take a dispassionate view of all questions raised. It has already been hinted in the Report (vide paragraph 238) that matters which vitally affect people who may not be adequately represented in the new Provincial Councils will not be transferred to that body but taken up by the Imperial Legislature, where the same special interests of the different Provinces would be co-ordinated and be possible to be advanced in parallel lines. If thus all matters affecting the minorities are decided by the Indian Legislative Assembly, nothing would be lost by special interests in not having special representation in the Provincial Councils, but much would be gained by avoiding the possibilities of friction in local Councils, making the attainment of the goal more and

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more difficult and distant. Minorities will be minorities everywhere, either in the Provinces or in the Imperial institutions. If my suggestions be adopted, they would at least have the satisfaction that whatever awaits them would be in the hands of the most capable men their country can boast of, and the spirit of partisanship would much sooner give place to that of a common citizenship.

SUMMARY.

3411. To sum up, while approving of the Reform Scheme generally, I would—

- (1) In the first instance do away with communal representation altogether.
- (2) Secondly, if the system is to be adopted at all, I would not have communal representation in the Provincial Council, but introduce it in the Indian Assembly and in the Council of State.
- (3) For the protection of the vital interests of our community, viz., that of the permanently settled estates in Assam, and also because Assam, without the hill districts comprising two-thirds of the Province, cannot be a self-contained unit of administration, I would recommend the transfer of all the plains districts to Bengal, leaving the hill districts to be administered as a Frontier Province.
- (4) If the former be not acceptable, I would recommend the transfer of the permanently settled area in Goalpara and Sylhet to Bengal.
- (5) As a matter of last resort, I would suggest that if Goalpara and Sylhet are to remain under the administration of Assam, it should be ruled by the Government of India that the Bengal laws and amendments relating to the permanently settled Zamindars and their tenants be always automatically introduced in the permanently settled areas of Assam without passing through the Assam Provincial Council.

3412. I would now note my views on the terms of reference in paragraph 3 of the *Communiqué* and also give my reference to the questions set by the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner for the non-official members of the Assam Provincial Council, dated the 5th October 1918, copies of which are, no doubt, before the Committees.

I.—As regards Provincial Legislative Councils.

3413. (1) The franchise should be as broad as possible. In Assam I would fix the qualification of general election as those fixed for the election of members by the Muhammadan community in the present Provincial Council, with slight modifications where necessary.

3414. (2) I approve of doing away with indirect elections and substitute direct elections instead generally. I have, however, no objection to indirect voting in special cases, like that of allowing Tea Associations to return special representatives for the Tea Industry.

3415. (3) I would fix each district as an electoral unit, the electorate returning the number of member fixed for each district.

- (i) *Special or Communal Electorates.*—I have already expressed my views on the general question of communal representation. If it is considered expedient to adopt the system in the Provincial Legislative Council, I would extend communal representation to—

(a) The permanently settled Zamindars by a special electorate of their own. The qualifications of the voters should be fixed after mature consideration, the present rules for the electorates of landholders not being satisfactory. I am unable to go more into details in the absence of statistics.

I would, however, point out here that the case of the permanently settled Zamindars is a peculiar one in Assam. All the Councillors returned from the five

other plain districts would represent one interest only, namely, that of Government Khas Mahal landholders. The Councillors elected by the general electorate with the qualifications suggested in the permanently settled districts of Goalpara and Sylhet would be raiyats under the permanently settled Zamindars. The Muhammadans would be eligible for election by the general electorate as well as by the special electorate for the permanently settled area in Sylhet.

I would not, however, have separate electorates for the permanently settled districts of Sylhet and Goalpara. I would want five seats in the Council for the permanently settled Zamindars of Assam, two being reserved for the Goalpara Zamindars and the other three for Sylhet. In an enlarged Council, five members for this important community would not be disproportionate to their importance and peculiar isolated position.

(b) For Muhammadans I do not think special election would be necessary if the value of the general franchise be fixed as suggested by me before. Their representation can, I think, be secured by reserving elective seats in plural constituencies. The total number of Muhammadan members to be elected may be distributed amongst the different districts in proportion to the numerical strength of Muhammadans, the electoral units in some cases comprising more than one district.

It may be said that special elections would be less cumbersome and more convenient. But I would recommend this, so that Hindus and Muhammadans may vote for each other, thus fostering the growth of mutual interest and trust amongst these two important communities.

(c) For the planting community as at present.

(ii) *Reserving elective seats.*—I have already suggested this for special representation of the Mahomedans.

(iii) *Nominations.*—I think the Ahoms and the Animists should have representation by nomination. Although I prefer election to nomination, in the present state of the backwardness of these communities and their small number, nomination would serve their interest best.

I would, however, recommend nomination with this reservation that it should be made in consultation with the community concerned, and that such nominations should be null and void if the majority of that community object to any particular nominee. I intend this as a safeguard against taking "safe" (*sic*) or mere figure-heads, as also that the nominated member should always feel his responsibility to the members of his community.

This disposes of Question 4 of the Chief Commissioner's Note to the non-official Members of the Council.

(iv) I have no idea of proportional representation.

3416. (4) *Nominated official members.*—I think the present members, namely 9, may do. The object is to have all the departments represented, and I would not object to increase this figure, should this be necessary for representing different departments.

The Commissioners need not be in the reformed Councils.

<i>Present Constitution.</i>	
Nominated 13	9
	4
Elected—	
Municipality	2
Local Boards	2
Landholders	2
Muhammadans	2
Tea	3
	11
	24

3417. (5) If the total number of members be calculated on a numerical basis on the standard which obtains in the United Kingdom, I think the number of Councillors would be 87.

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[Continued.]

I am excluding the hill districts which the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner thinks not sufficiently advanced for taking part in any advanced form of government, but would include Shillong.

I note, however, what is stated in paragraph 225 of the Report about the practical difficulties attending in election, and would, for the present, suggest the following strength and composition for the reformed Provincial Council:—

General—		
Lakhimpur	3	
Darrang	2	
Sibsagar	6	
Nowgong	2	
Kamrup	5	
Goalpara	6	
Sylhet	20	
Communal—		
Permanently settled Zamindars	5	
Planting Community	3	
Muhammadans	2	
Nomination—		
Officials	8	
Non-officials	4	
Municipalities	4	
	—	
	70	

I think some explanation is called for in support of the number of members suggested by me.

Zamindars.—The area under permanent settlement in Goalpara and Sylhet is about 7,504 square miles. There is no chance of a Zamindar being elected by any other electorate than their special one.

Planting Community.—There are 608 square miles under tea. The members they would return would be very highly trained and educated men with a sense of all responsibility. The vital matters affecting their interests would be more Imperial than Provincial, and, I think, these would secure effective representation.

Muhammadans.—A member of this community would be returned by the general electorate and by the special electorate of Zamindars. The general interests of this community are, after all, identical to those of the Hindus, and I think two specially elected members would be able to represent the special interests of the community.

Municipalities.—The problems of the towns are different from those of the rural areas, so I think these cities should have special and adequate representation.

I would thus fix the total number at 70 with no less than four-fifths as elected.

This concludes my answer to Question 1 of the Chief Commissioner's Note.

II.—Indian Legislative Assembly.

3418. I have already stated in full how I would recommend that communal representation be altogether done away with in the Provincial Legislative Councils and introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly. It is, however, not possible for me at this moment to suggest the various special communities and interests which should be represented in the Indian Legislative Assembly, either can I indicate the number of special representations to be assigned to each. Generally, I should fix the number of this Assembly at the figure which would ensure adequate communal representation, besides the representation of the Provinces and nominated members as stated in paragraphs 274 and 275 of the Report.

3419. I realize the difficulties of direct election in the general electorates, but I think direct election to be so very important that the difficulties must be faced and some method devised by which direct election could be secured.

3420. It has been stated that there will be no difficulty about direct election in the case of special constituencies. If, however, any suggestions for communal representation and special electorates be favourable, I anticipate practical difficulties in forming these electorates too

Very often such an electorate will have to be formed from the same communities or interests in the various Provinces. But any practical suggestion is not possible to be made before the special communities and interests which are considered fit for special representation are fixed. After this point is considered and decided, the distribution of such communities throughout India will have to be examined with a view to form their special electorates.

3421. I hope, however, that the difficulties anticipated would not be unsurmountable, and it would be possible to devise means for direct elections for the general as well as special electorates for the Indian Assembly.

3422. If, however, any suggestion about communal representation in the Legislative Assembly be not favoured, I would still very strongly recommend direct election for special as well as general representation.

3423. I do not see my way to suggest the exact numerical strength of the Legislative Assembly. I would, however, strongly protest against the proposal contained in paragraph 274 of allowing only two members for Assam and should think that Assam ought to have four. The number of representatives has been probably based on a consideration of all the circumstances and not on the area of numerical strength only. I think Burma and Assam should have larger numbers than suggested.

3424. With the information at present at my disposal, I would not propose franchise and constituencies.

3425. I would, however, express, as my general opinion, that the value and qualifications of voters for the Indian Assembly should be much higher than what has been proposed for the Provincial Legislative Council.

3426. I have also expressed my view strongly in favour of direct election. The suggestion made in paragraph 273 of indirect elections by non-official members of Provincial Councils is, to my mind, open to grave objections. In that case it seems likely that the candidates would also be confined to the members in each Provincial Legislative Council. The qualifications of the voters would also be very low and they would not be, to my mind, well qualified to exercise sound judgment in distinguishing the comparative qualifications of rival candidates. I am not, therefore, at all prepared to approve of indirect election through the Provincial Council.

3427. I would state further that the best men would prefer to go to the Indian Assembly and not to the Provincial Councils. The members of the landed aristocracy have little chance of being elected except by their special electorates, as the interests of the general electorates being usually opposed to those of the Zamindars, they cannot be expected to give their votes in favour of such a candidate. So, if indirect election through Council be made, the members of the landed aristocracy will be practically excluded from the Legislative Assembly.

III.—Council of State.

3428. I generally approve of the constitution of the Council of State as stated in paragraph 277.

3429. Here, also, I am opposed to indirect election of the 15 members. The reasons stated against the adoption of indirect election in the Indian Legislative Assembly hold good here also. Unless special electorates are formed for direct election, I am of opinion that the ablest and fittest men will be practically excluded.

3430. But the same electorates for the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, where possible, would do.

3431. (a) I have already suggested before that the six elected members should be returned by special electorates by direct voting. The same electorates, where possible, may form plural constituencies for the purpose of returning members to the Indian Assembly and the Council of State. The qualifications of the voters should, however, be much higher than those recommended for the general voters for the Provincial Legislative Councils.

(b) The special Muhammadan members for the Council of State are for the representation of communal interests peculiar to that community, apart from their interests as landholders or riyats. The latter are in common

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Raja PRASHAD CHANDRA BARUA.

[Continued.]

with those of other Indians which need no measure of special protection for that community. So I do not anticipate any difficulty in that community devising means by which the members returned would represent all Indian Muhammadan interests.

3432. I anticipate difficulties in securing "landed members" adequately representing the interests of their community in the whole of India. As I had occasion to point out at the outset, the different words loosely used to mean the "landed interest" are most confusing. If by "landed interest" is meant the large land-owners, then even they would include permanently settled Zamindars, territorial magnates like the Taluqdars of Oudh, and, perhaps, other big owners with different incidents attaching to each. Then there are the temporarily settled riyats under Government in Assam and elsewhere who also come under the designation of "landholders." I take it that riyats under the large land-owners are not meant, as they will have adequate representation through the general electorate.

3433. The large land-owners mentioned above, although all of them landed proprietors, have not identical interests, and, in the first instance, it is necessary to define exactly what classes of landed interests are intended to be grouped together under "landed members."

3434. I am sorry the information at my disposal just at present does not enable me to decide the exact number which would adequately represent the all-India landed interest in the Council of State. All I can say is that the permanently settled Zamindars, with their peculiar land laws and history of their own, should have at least two members to represent their special interests in the Council of State.

3435. Generally speaking, the tracts mentioned in the schedules and appendices to the Scheduled Districts Acts, 1874, might be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed Provincial Governments. The lists should be carefully examined and those classes who have since advanced and are no longer backward should be allowed to participate in the reformed Government.

ANNEXURE.

*Note about the present position of the Goalpara Zamindars, etc.**

ENCLOSURE.

Representation of Landholders in the proposed Assam Legislative Council. Informal Conference at Dhubri with the Commissioner on 21st August 1912.

3436. (1) In the informal conference with the Commissioner of Assam Valley Districts held in Dhubri on 21st August 1912, those present were told that two seats are proposed to be allotted to "landholders" in the Assam Council.

PRESENT:

The Commissioner, A. V. D.
The Deputy Commissioner, Goalpara.
Raja. P. C. Barua of Gauripur.
Srijut Bholanath Choudhuri, Meechpara.
Mr. H. H. Bignold, representing 13-anna Meechpara.
Mr. T. D. Moran, representing 5-anna Parbatjoar.
Superintendent of Karabari, representing Karabari.

3437. (2) The Zamindars of Goalpara and the representatives of some who are unable to attend personally were not informed about the subject-matter of discussion before they came to the conference and had, therefore, no time or opportunity to meet and discuss before and were not prepared to deal with the matter with the care and attention which the importance of the subject-matter demanded. The representatives present had to give their personal opinion without previously consulting their Zamindars. It is not yet known what opinion the representatives of the Bijnee Raneer or the Zamindars of Bagribari gave. The Commissioner, however, was pleased to state that when the draft rules were published, all would be given full opportunities for discussion and submitting their opinion formally.

* Not printed.

3438. The question placed before those present in the informal conference were, as far as we remember,—

- (i) that of the two representatives, one is to be allotted to the Surma Valley and one to the Assam Valley;
- (ii) that the word "landholder" is intended to include permanently settled Zamindars, although its definition in the Assam Land Revenue Manual excludes persons in the permanently settled estates;
- (iii) that two electoral colleges are proposed to be formed, one in the Surma Valley and one in the Assam Valley;
- (iv) which of the two electorates stated above Goalpara would join—the Surma Valley or Assam Valley.

Two suggestions were made in the conference:—

- (i) That Government be pleased to reserve in the Assam Council a member by election for the permanently settled Zamindars of Goalpara and that a separate electorate be given for the permanently settled Zamindars of Goalpara for electing such a representative.
- (ii) That failing the above, Goalpara Zamindars may join the electorate of the Assam Valley Districts, provided that separate representation for the Goalpara Zamindars was secured.

Memorial to Government.

3439. (3) The Zamindars of Goalpara intended to submit a memorial on the subject to the Government after the draft rules for the Council are published and the Zamindars invited to submit their opinion, as the Commissioner was good enough to inform us.

3440. (4) Since the last conference we have met and discussed this matter, and pending the submission of this memorial we beg to submit our views and suggestions.

Present suggestions and views.

3441. (5) Our information is not yet clear what the word "landholders" is proposed to mean for the purpose of defining the qualifications of the voters. From what, however, we could learn during the informal conference with the Commissioner, it seems that the word "landholder" may be intended to include both the permanently settled Zamindars and the landholders as defined in the Assam Land Revenue Regulations. To this, however, we submit our respectful protest as a departure from the principle hitherto recognised by Government in distinguishing between the permanently settled Zamindars and Khas Mahal landholders.

No objection to separate electorate or representation of Khas Mahals.

3442. (6) Although not quite pertinent to the present question, we would venture to suggest that we have no objection to a separate seat being given to represent the interests of the landholders, Nisipikharajdars and Lakherajdars of the Assam Valley Districts Khas Mahals. They are an important body, and if we may be permitted to express our opinion, we would submit that they are entitled to separate representation. The electorate for this representation may include all Khas Mahals either in the A. V. D. or in the S. V. D.

3443. (7) What we want to bring to the notice of the Government for favourable consideration is—

- (i) that the interests of the permanently settled Zamindars in this Province are important enough to have two representatives in the proposed Council;
- (ii) that the Zamindars in the district of Goalpara for peculiar circumstances and conditions may be given a separate representation by election;
- (iii) that the permanently settled portion of Goalpara and the other Khas Mahal districts of the A. V. D. cannot form one electorate as their interests are not identical.

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Rajā Prabhāt Chandra Barua.

[Continued.]

Reasons.

3444. i. (a) In the whole Province of Assam, only portions of the two districts of Goalpara and Sylhet are permanently settled, and, as such, it is not considered desirable that these permanently settled estates should be separated from each other and joined to Khas Mahals.

(b) In the Assam Council, besides those elected to represent this class of Zamindars, we cannot expect any other elected member to be interested or have experience in permanently settled estates: whereas in the Bengal Council or the Behar Council most of the elected members, besides those specially representing permanently settled Zamindaris, are either themselves Zamindars or thoroughly conversant with the laws and incidents of permanently settled Zamindaris.

(c) In the Assam Council the official members will naturally represent the interests of the raiyats. In making this assertion we only repeat the Government view as quoted below. The other interests and classes will also doubtless be represented in the Council. At least two members with a sympathetic Government view may be expected to safeguard the interest of the permanently settled Zamindars to some extent, and it is humbly submitted that this number is perhaps not at all disproportionate if the importance of their interests and peculiar situation in this Province be considered.

In framing these proposals we have not lost sight of the fact that the interests of landlords and tenants are by no means identical; that our electorates will consist mainly, if not exclusively, of the former class; and that no means can at present be devised of giving the great body of tenants direct representation on the Legislative Councils. Their interests, however, are in no danger of being overlooked. In the debate the House of Lords on the 6th of March 1890 both Lord Blyton and Lord Kimberley pointed out that when the Bengal Tenancy Act was under discussion in Lord Dufferin's Council "the only representative of the raiyats was the Government." Among the official members of the Legislative Councils there will always be some experts in Indian land questions who will be qualified to represent the views of the raiyats." (Papers relating to Constitutional Reform in India, Vol. 1, page 18.)

Peculiar circumstances of Goalpara.

3445. ii. (a) Because communication between these two distant districts is very difficult and the chances of frequent meeting and exchange of views amongst their people are therefore very remote. This is one of the reasons why the Goalpara Zamindars should have a separate representation, although their interests are the same as those of the permanently settled Zamindars of the Surma Valley Division.

Permanently settled portion and Khas Mahals cannot form one electorate.

3446. iii. (a) The foremost reason we would respectfully point out to the Government to consider is whether the formation of one electorate with these two classes having no interests in common would not be a violation of the principle of having the same and common interest for all the members of one electorate hitherto recognised and acted upon by the Government.

(b) Because landholders of A. V. D., as defined in the Assam Code, and the permanently settled Zamindars do not represent the same interest.

3447. This distinction between the different classes of landholders was recognised by Government during the formation of the E. B. and Assam Council.

- (1) The word "landholder" as defined in Section 8, Assam Land and Revenue Regulation I of 1886, excludes persons within the permanently settled estates.

(2) The same word "landholder" was defined in the Rules for the election of a member or members by the landholders as including only the proprietors and sharers and permanent tenure-holders, etc.

(7th page 237 E. B. and Assam Gazette, Part I, published on November 17th, 1909.)

(3) The Khas Mahal landholders were excluded after mature deliberation from participating in the franchise given to landholders.

Regulation in the Proceedings of the Conference in Decca held on 18th August 1909.

"No objection was raised to the proposed exclusion of the raiyats from participation in the franchise given to landholders."

(c) The laws governing the Khas Mahals including the Lakherajdars and Nispukherajdars and the permanently settled estates are different. The revenues paid by the Nispukherajdars of Upper Assam, we understand are variable.

The same reasons hold now also and we fail to see how the permanently settled Zamindars of Goalpara can be joined to the A. V. D. landholders, whose laws and incidents of tenures are totally different.

Prayers and suggestions.

3448. For the reasons stated before, it is humbly suggested and respectfully prayed that the two members proposed to be allotted to represent the interests of the landholders may be confined to the permanently settled Zamindars of the Surma valley and the Assam Valley and that a third seat may be allotted to the landholders of the Khas Mahals in both the Divisions—

(i) To summarise, we would, in the first instance, propose that out of the two seats reserved for the landholders, one may be reserved for the permanently settled Zamindars of Goalpara and the other for the permanently settled Zamindars of the Surma Valley and that for the purpose of electing these two members electoral colleges may be formed, viz., one for the permanently settled area of Goalpara alone and one for the permanently settled area of the Surma Valley Division.

(ii) That in case a separate electorate be not considered, an expedient, one electorate be formed with all the permanently settled Zamindars of the whole Province, i.e., Goalpara and Sylhet, but that this joint electorate do return two members, one being reserved for the Zamindars of the district of Goalpara.

(iii) That in case only one member be allowed to represent the permanently settled Zamindars in the proposed Assam Legislative Council, one electorate be formed with all the permanently settled Zamindars in the whole Province (i.e., Goalpara and Sylhet), but that the same electorate do elect one member to the Council from Sylhet and Goalpara respectively during alternate elections.

3449. It is humbly pointed out that it will be a great disappointment to the Zamindars of Goalpara if a member to the Council by election is not secured to them. The kind and sympathetic treatment they recently received at the hands of the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of Assam, makes them hope that these prayers would receive the careful consideration of the Government of Assam.

3450. It is also earnestly hoped that as kindly assured by the Commissioner, we may be given full opportunities of discussing this important matter affecting us so vitally, and of submitting our views more fully, before any decision is arrived at by the Assam Government.

Raja Prabhāt Chandra Barua of Gauripur, called and examined.

3451. (By Frank Ely.) He appeared as the representative of the zamindars of Gauripur. He was himself a zamindar and by caste a Kayasth. Before writing his

memorandum he had consulted the other zamindars, but he had had no time to show it to them after it had been completed. As far as he knew it represented their views.

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Raja PRABHAT CHANDRA BARUA.

[Continued.]

3452. In Goalpara there were 7 zamindari estates. He could not say the area of the estates or the land revenue paid, but would send a list. They were quite distinct from the permanently settled proprietors (mirasdars) in Sylhet some of whom had large estates.

3453. At present there were two separate representatives of the landholders on the Council who were elected by a joint electorate consisting of permanently and temporarily settled landholders. The interests of these two classes were not identical, for instance the rights of the tenants were different in each case. He therefore wished to abolish the system.

3454. He was opposed to communal representation but if it was given to others, such as the Muhammadans, the zamindars also wanted it. If the zamindars were given separate electorates, he would have 2 members returned from Goalpara and 3 from Sylhet. There would only be 7 voters in Goalpara, but the smaller the minority the greater the representation it required. He would, however, agree to one member.

3455. Assam was a pretty big place and a Council of 70 was desirable in order that all interests might be represented.

3456. He favoured direct election to the Indian Legislative Assembly so that the masses might have some opportunity of electing their representatives and that the representatives might be in touch with their constituencies. In order to have manageable electorates the franchise must be high.

3457. He would also have direct election for the Council of State. The electorate would be the same as for election to the Assembly and the electors would vote for both bodies at the same time. The landholder representatives in the Council of State might be returned by groups of landholders, for instance, the Assam landholders could be amalgamated for this purpose with the Bengal landholders.

3458. Ahoms were separate and not exactly like Hindus, but he had no first hand acquaintance with them as there were none in Goalpara.

3459. (Mr. Sastri.) In stipulating that nomination should be null and void if the majority of the community concerned objected to the nominee, he was thinking of cases in which the community could find some means of expression.

3460. He would amalgamate the Hindu and Muhammadan electorates in order to sink differences. He could

not say if this would be acceptable to the Muhammadans.

3461. In Goalpara there would be very little chance of a zamindar being elected by a general electorate. The tenants' and zamindars' interests were different and therefore the tenants would not vote for a zamindar.

3462. (Mr. Hailey.) The basis of the landholder franchise should be land revenue payment. For the general electorates he would adopt the present Muhammadan qualifications. He had no statistics to show what size the electorates would be.

3463. (Mr. Banerjee.) He came of an ancient family who had been zamindars in pre-British days. They regarded themselves as a separate class and felt it a grievance that they had not got separate representation. In Sir Archdale Earle's time they had represented their case to Government. Government had promised that they should be represented by nomination and they had been so represented ever since. This did not satisfy them.

3464. The Goalpara zamindars had no Association of their own.

3465. (Mr. Aftab.) He was opposed to communal representation because the joint Report was against it. He would, however, allow it in the Indian Legislative Assembly. He would not object to it in the Council if it did not lead to dissensions.

3466. He proposed 2 seats in the Council for the Muhammadans and would also allow them to take part in the general electorate. If the Muhammadans objected to being deprived of communal representation he would not seriously press his proposal.

3467. The tenants would elect a tenant as their member; some of them were quite qualified to sit as members.

3468. (Maulvi Abdul Majid.) He was not aware whether the Muhammadans of the two valleys had declared themselves in favour of communal representation.

3469. (Col. Gordon.) When he increased the size of the Council he had not increased the representation of the planting community because they had a chance of being elected in the rural constituencies.

3470. The Goalpara zamindars were not ordinary zamindars. Bijni was 900 square miles in area and the Raja was the first cousin of the Maharaja of Cooh Behar. Their position was similar to that of the taluqdars of Oudh.

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Srijut NABIN CHANDRA BARDALOI.

[Continued.]

At Calcutta, Thursday, December 19th, 1918.

PRESENT:

SIR F. G. SLY, K.C.S.L., I.C.S. (*Deputy Chairman*).

Fahibzada AFTAB AHMED KHAN.

The Hon'ble Babu SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

W. M. HALEY, Esq., C.S.L., C.L.R., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. HOGG.

The Hon'ble Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

and the following Added Members:—

The Hon'ble Colonel P. R. T. GURDON, C.S.I., Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Saiyid ABDUL MAJID.

P. C. TALLENTS, Esq., I.C.S. (*Secretary*).

Srijut NABIN CHANDRA BARDALOI representing the Assam Association.

Written Statement.

Extract from a letter from Srijut N. C. Bardaloi, to the General Secretary of the Assam Association.)

3471. There may be numerous castes and dialects in Assam, but when it comes to corporate actions it does not work the mischief it is represented to be doing or able to do. Hinduism in Assam was such from time immemorial and representative systems and principles are better to the Assamese people than to any other people in India. It is only a century now that Assam has lost her independence. We are thankful to a wise Providence for the fact that we have come under British rule. Any student of Assam History will say that the nobles and the nine councillors elected kings and that the council of nobles backed by the people could and did depose tyrannous kings. Even every village containing several castes and also the so-called caste prejudices nothing but a representative unit—the village *namghar* being the common meeting place. There are many villages in which Brahmins and other high caste men live but the gaonburas are men of comparatively lower castes. The great *sattras* of Assam are purely representative institutions. The elections of the Barpeta *satra* how keenly alive are even the commonest and the poorest men there, of their right to have a voice in the government of their *satra*. There are many castes here, but in spite of their every-day quarrels, the orderliness in which the every-day business especially on great festival days is carried on should open the eyes of detractors. The interest of the educated classes is ever antagonistic to that of the poor ryots for whom the opponents of Home rule for India have lately developed such an affection.

3472. Before giving details I beg to submit that the present circumstances of Assam are much more favourable for granting franchise on a broad principle than anywhere else in India.

3473. (1) *Tea Industry*.—This industry is almost monopolised by Europeans—but my Association while deprecating communal representation altogether thinks that this industry should be especially represented by one member each from the two valleys, not because they are a sturdy race of settlers (because they are not such) but because they are a powerful interest whose cause even the Government has been advocating, and because the chance of election which they had from the Local Boards being gone they must now stand from the general electorate. Here also they would not stand any chance although it is being strongly urged that the educated and high class people are inimical towards the depressed people and the European people are their friends.

3474. (2) *Mohammedans*.—My Association while strongly deprecating communal representation agrees to the

reason given in the report but advocates that the seats so given should conform to the ratio of Mohammedans to the other people of the Province. The number of Mohammedans being 13 per cent. of the total population in the Assam Valley, the Mohammedans should get 13 per cent. of the seats allotted to the elected members. In Surma Valley the proportion of Mohammedans compared with others is 15 to 19 and seats should be allotted to Mohammedans accordingly.

3475. (3) *Landholders*.—My Association recommends a seat for the landholders. If it is thought to be a communal representation again I would suggest that the Zemindars of Goalpara should be allotted that seat and the Zemindars of Sylhet of the same status should be given the other seat.

3476. (4) *General electorate*.—The tests which commend to my Association are educational and payment of taxes. It should be so adjusted as to ensure the right of voting to 70 per cent. of the adult male population. Assamese people would enter into the spirit of the thing very easily once they know what it is. It must be admitted by all who know Assam that the Assam peasants are much higher in intelligence and status than similar people in other parts of India. The municipal contests at Gauhati and other places nowadays show how readily Assamese people catch the spirit.

(a) Out of the 40 members in the two valleys which my Association thinks should be elected, there ought to be 19 members from the Surma Valley and 21 members from the Assam Valley. The population of the Surma Valley, excluding the hill districts, is, according to the last census report, 29,70,134 and that of the Assam Valley, excluding the hill districts, 31,08,669. Taking lakhs as units the ratio of Surma Valley comes to 19 out of 40.

(b) Out of the 21 for the Assam Valley my Association recommends that three seats should be reserved for Mohammedans, one for the tea industry and one for the Zemindars as stated above.

(c) The remaining 16 have been allotted on the following principle:—

Non-Moslem population.

	TAKING LAKHS AS UNITS.	
	Population	24 . 16
Goalpara	3,88,081	3 . 2
Kamrup	6,93,301	6 . 4
Darrang	3,57,009	3 . 2
Nowgong	2,87,907	2 . 14(2)
Sibsagar	6,90,551	6 . 4
Lakhimpur	4,55,379	4 . 4½*

*Lakhimpur had this population during the census time. Since then the Sadia and Eastern Districts have been separated, hence the population would be much less. I therefore suggest that the two-thirds of Lakhimpur should be added to the one-third of Nowgong and make it two.

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Srijut NABIN CHANDRA BARDALOI

[Continued.]

(e) *Surma Valley*.—Deducting the two seats mentioned above, there remain 17 seats for the Mohammadans and the others.

The Mohammadans are 15,22,988.

The non-Moslems are 19,24,042.

The proportion works out at 9 non-Moslems and 8 Mohammadans.

These are however questions of figures and liable to be changed once the principle is accepted.

3477. *Qualifications of voters*.—I have stated above about it. My Association thinks that the following qualifications will satisfy the needs and ensure the voting rights of 70 per cent. of the adult male population:—

(a) Payment of revenue or rent to Zemindar to the extent of Rs. 25 or upwards.

(b) Passing the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University or any other equivalent examination.

(c) Payment of municipal tax or cesses to the extent of Rs. 5 or upwards.

(d) All income tax-payers.

3478. It is hoped that this qualification would enable about 75 per cent. of the adult male population to vote and the reproach that a few interested educated and high class men would form another bureaucracy would not exist.

3479. As regards the *polling centres* my Association recommends as follows:—

3480. Every Sub-Deputy Collector's circle should be made a centre. Mandals and Gaonburas in the Assam Valley and Chowkidari punchayets in the Surma Valley and Goalpara should identify the voters in presence of the Sub-Deputy Collector when no officers superior to him in rank can be had. Names of candidates should be circulated beforehand and the candidates should be at liberty to address public meetings in the centres from sometime before the actual voting operations begin. Wilfully misleading the presiding officer should be made penal. Decision of the District Magistrate in cases of dispute should be final if parties do not go up to the civil courts.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Extraordinary General Meeting of the Assam Association held at Jorhat on the 11th November 1918.

ENCLOSURE.

3481. "(2) Sreejut Nabin Chandra Bardaloi is appointed as the witness to represent the views of the Association before the Parliamentary Committees about to visit India."

3482. "(3) The following memorandum of the points to be represented before the Committees has been prepared and duly passed in the meeting, namely:—

- (a) The total number of members in the reformed Assam Legislative Council should be 50, of which four-fifths should be elected and one-fifth nominated, that is, 40 elected and 10 nominated official and non-official members.
- (b) Of the 40 elected members, 21 should be from the Assam Valley and 19 from the Surma Valley.

Srijut Nabin Chandra Bardaloi, called and examined.

3483. (Sir F. Sly.) He was a vakil resident in Kamrup. He represented the Assam Association which had been started about 10 years ago to discuss political questions. Ordinarily it met once a year and was attended by delegates from all parts of Assam. There were 500 registered members who paid a subscription of Rs. 5 yearly. All castes and races were included, but there were no European members. His letter to the General Secretary of the Assam Association had not

(c) The 40 elected members are to be distributed as follows:—

Assam Valley.	
Tea Industry	1
Landholders	1
Mohammedans	3
General electorate	16
TOTAL	21

Surma Valley.	
Tea Industry	1
Landholders	1
Mohammedans	9
General electorate	8
TOTAL	19

(d) The memberships of the general electorates should be distributed as follows:—

Assam Valley	
Goalpara	2
Kamrup	3
Darrang	2
Nowgong	2
Sibsagar	5
Lakhimpur	2
TOTAL	16

Surma Valley.	
Cachar	2
Sylhet	6
TOTAL	8

(e) The qualification for the voters for the Mohammedan electorates should be as at present; for that of the landholders, any one paying a land revenue of Rs. 100 should be allowed to vote. For the general electorates the necessary qualifications should be as follows:—

- (i) anyone paying a revenue of Rs. 20 or upwards (either to the Government or to the zemindars);
- (ii) anyone who has passed the Matriculation examination or any other equivalent examination;
- (iii) municipal tax-payers of Rs. 5 per annum;
- (iv) all income-tax payers.

(f) *Polling centres*.—Every Sub-Deputy Collector's circle should be made a centre. Mandals and Gaonburas should identify the voters in presence of the Sub-Deputy Collectors, when no officers superior to them in rank can be had.

Wilfully misleading the presiding officers should be made penal. Decision of the District Magistrate in cases of dispute should be final if parties do not go up to civil court.

been placed before his Association, but the scheme contained in it had been laid before them at a meeting held at Jorhat.

3484. He did not understand why the tea industry wanted more than 2 representatives on the Council. The managers of the tea gardens came and went and the coolies were practically their servants. The ex-coolies who settled down in the Province would be qualified to vote in the general electorates. (In his opinion the

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SRIJIT NABIN CHANDRA BARDALOI.

[Continued.]

terests of the coolies were sufficiently safeguarded by Government; he saw no need for their being specially represented on the Council. But, if necessary, the number of nominated members could be increased. The view of his Association was that one member for the tea industry in each Valley would be sufficient, because the scheme was based on the basis of population.

3486. His Association deprecated communal representation in any shape, but they were prepared to give to the Muhammadans in proportion to the Muhammadan population.

3486. His Association contemplated that one seat could be given to the landlords from each Valley, the qualification being a payment of Rs. 100 in Government revenue.

3487. The view of his Association was that the electorate should include 75 per cent. of the adult population. He proposed that persons who paid Rs. 25 in revenue and payers of income tax should get the vote. He did not think that Government's view that only one per cent. of the population would be included on a Rs. 20 qualification was correct. In Assam there was no separate labouring population. Nearly every one possessed some land and the average holding was 20 ghas. Personally he was inclined to think that 75 per cent. of the population was rather high.

3488. Of the proposed 40 members 19 should go to the Surma Valley and 21 to the Assam Valley on the basis of population. His Association would alter the distribution of seats if it was shown that the allotment was wrong on a population basis.

3489. The number of seats for the Muhammadans in the Assam Valley should be 2 and not 3; 3 was a mistake.

3490. There were no big towns in the Assam Valley, his Association did not propose to have separate constituencies.

3491. (Mr. Sastri.) His Association had not passed a definite resolution against communal representation, it was understood from the General Secretary that that was the general opinion of the meeting. He himself had not been present. He had, however, been present at a meeting of the Gauhati Branch at which the scheme was drafted for transmission to Government through a General Branch.

3492. There would be some small difference between the qualifications for Hindus and Muhammadans.

3493. (Mr. Hailey.) His Association contemplated plural constituencies.

3494. With a Rs. 100 land revenue qualification there could probably be about 500 voters in the landlord electorate in each Valley.

3495. Government had no record of the rents paid by the tenants to the zamindars. The zamindars would keep a record which would be generally accurate. In the permanently settled areas there was no Government record of persons paying Rs. 20 rent and upwards.

3496. Special interests like those of the mines could be represented by nomination. His Association had not considered how much capital had been invested

in these industries. The residents of the Province were not directly benefited by them or the tea industry. His Association had not considered how to safeguard the capital invested in these interests, because the tea industry had got representatives and Government was looking after it.

3497. (Mr. Hogg.) He would not give a vote to coolies on tea gardens because they would vote as the managers directed them. Most of the coolies who had settled in the Province would come in under the Rs. 20 qualification.

3498. (Mr. Banerjee.) He had no definite information as to whether the managers of tea gardens would act under instructions received from Calcutta. But they would vote independently on general questions not affecting the tea industry.

3499. Some members of his Association were connected with the tea industry; some of them were proprietors of tea gardens. Their opinion was that it would be sufficient if there was one representative of the industry for each Valley.

3500. In Assam there were many "Satras," which were representative institutions.

3501. Outside the tea industry the number of adult male Europeans, including Anglo-Indians, was 922.

3502. The Muhammadan franchise was already different from that of other electorates in Assam and no dissatisfaction was felt on that account.

3503. (Mr. Aftab.) In para. 4 (a) of his printed statement 19 lakhs was a mistake for 14 lakhs.

3504. His Association allotted in all 4 out of 40 elected seats to Muhammadans. Muhammadans had been migrating into Assam in large numbers. Since the last Census a lakh or possibly less might have immigrated.

3505. (Maulvi Abdul Majid.) The population figure of the Assam Valley, as stated in his note, included the population of the Garo Hills. In the case of the Surma Valley he had excluded people who lived in the hills, but did not belong to the Hill Districts.

3506. There were Muhammadan members of his Association; some of them did not agree with its views about communal representation. They had been asked to join a deputation to the Viceroy, but had refused and submitted a separate representation to the effect that there ought to be communal representation. Some of the Muhammadan members had cut themselves off from the Association for this reason.

3507. (Col. Gardon.) In the present Council of 24 members the tea industry had 3 representatives. In the new and enlarged Council Government could make up the number of planters, if it wished, by nomination. Only 2 seats were suggested for them, because they were so few in number.

3508. (Sir F. Sly.) He thought that the urban people would be quite satisfied if they were amalgamated with the rural constituencies. No resolution on this subject had been passed by his Association. Personally he was opposed to the municipalities electing representatives to the Council and he did not think it would be popular because it meant indirect election.

Maulvi DERAJUDDIN AHMED, representing the Anjuman-i Tayidi Islam.

Written Statement.

QUALIFICATION OF MUHAMMEDAN VOTERS FOR RETURNING MUHAMMEDAN MEMBERS TO THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

3509. The voter should be male and of 18 years or more in age and of sound mind.

He should either (a) pay land revenue of Rs. 20 or upwards either to Government, or to a Zamindar, or

- (b) pay income-tax, or
- (c) pay Municipal tax of Rs. 3 or upwards, or
- (d) be an Imam of any Masjid, or
- (e) be teacher of any school or Madrasah, or

- (f) be able to read and write English or have passed the Middle Vernacular or Middle Madrasah Standard; or
- (g) be a Sarkari Gaombura.

CONSTITUENCY.

3510. If the Muhammadans of the Brahmaputra Valley are to return only one member to the Assam Legislative Council the whole Valley is to constitute one constituency.

3511. If they are to return two members, the upper three districts, namely, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Now-

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Maulvi DERAJUDDIN AHMED.

[Continued.]

gong ought to form one constituency and the other three districts, namely, Darrang, Kamrup and Goalpara is to form the other.

3512. If they are to return three members Lakhimpur and Sibsagar may form one constituency, Nowgong and Darrang one, and Kamrup and Goalpara the other.

3513. If they are to return four members Lakhimpur and Sibsagar and Nowgong may be allowed jointly to return two members and the three other districts jointly to return the other two members.

3514. If they are to return five members:—

Lakhimpur	1
Sibsagar	1
Nowgong and Darrang	1
Kamrup	1
Goalpara	1

3515. If six members are to be returned each district may have one.

ELECTION.

3516. Elections should be held at the district and sub-divisional head quarters under the presidency of some Government officer not below the rank of an Extra Assistant Commissioner.

3517. (1) The Assam Legislative Council should contain at least 50 members who are to be distributed as follows:—

(a) Official and nominated members	10
(b) Non-official elected members—	
(i) Surma Valley	15
(ii) Brahmaputra Valley	25

3518. (2) Brahmaputra Valley—	40
Muhammedans	6
Planters	1
Landholders	1
Income-tax payers	1
Dibrugarh	2
North Lakhimpur	1
Sibsagar	1

3523. (*Sir F. Sly.*) He was a pleader from Jorhat and represented the Anjumani Tayidi Islam. The District Anjumani of the district of Sibsagar consisted of about 200 members who paid no subscription but made donations. Every Muhammadan of the age of 21 or over was eligible to be a member. The resolutions contained in his printed statement were agreed upon by ten members of the Executive Committee. There had been no formal meeting of the Anjumani.

3524. The Anjumani recommended that voters should be of 18 years of age or more because 18 years was the age of majority under the law of the land.

3525. By payment of revenue to a zamindar they meant payment of rent. There were zamindars in the Assam Valley although there were none in the Jorhat district.

3526. He would have no objection to votes being given to priests of Hindu temples in the same way as he proposed that votes should be given to imams of musjids.

3527. The Council should consist of 50 members of whom 40 should be elected, 15 elected members coming from the Surma Valley and 25 from the Assam Valley, because the Surma Valley had only 7 stations whereas Assam Valley had 12 stations i.e., sub-divisions. This was a better basis for the franchise than population, because the more the stations the greater was the advancement of the province. Moreover the Surma Valley had been permanently settled whereas the Assam Valley had not and therefore offered a large scope for improvement.

3528. In the Assam Valley he proposed that 6 of the 25 seats should be given to the Muhammadans, who numbered about 17 per cent. of the population. He

Jorhat	2
Golaghat	1
Nowgong	2
Tezpur	1
Mangaldai	1
Gauhati	2
Barpeta	1
Goalpara	1
Dhubri	1

25

3519. We do not propose to say anything about the distribution of the Surma Valley members. Muhammadans will not take part in the other electorates and therefore we do not propose to discuss the qualifications of the voters of those constituencies.

PARAGRAPH 274 OF THE REPORT.

3520. Representation of the Provinces in the Indian Legislative Assembly should be as follows:—

Bengal	14
Bombay	14
Madras	14
North-Western Provinces	10
Punjab	10
Behar and Orissa	10
Central Provinces	7
Burmah	6
Assam	5

Of these five from Assam two at least should be Muhammadans to be returned by the two Valleys—one each.

3521. The Muhammadan members of the Assam Legislative Council for this Valley may be allowed to elect one of them to represent the Assam Valley Muhammadans in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

COUNCIL OF STATE.

3522. The elected member from Assam should be alternately a Hindu and Muhammadan.

Manlvi Abdur Rahim Chowdhury, called and examined.

gave them more seats than they were entitled to on a basis of population, firstly because they were in a minority and secondly because economically they were inferior to the Hindus. They were however more advanced in point of education. He believed that since the census of 1911 about 2 lakhs of Muhammadans had emigrated into the Assam Valley, where they had increased more rapidly than the Hindus.

3529. On the Legislative Assembly Assam should have 5 members—one planter, two Hindus and two Muhammadans, one from each Valley. The representative of one Valley would not be acquainted with the requirements of the other Valley.

3530. (*Mr. Ajab.*) If constituencies were formed on the basis of population he would give 20 seats each to the Surma and Assam Valleys.

3531. The proportion of Muhammadans in the Assam Valley according to the last census was 17 per cent. viz., 187,235 Muhammadans as against 1,143,570 Hindus. The proportion of Muhammadans by this time would probably have gone up by about 20 per cent.

3532. Although the number of seats in the Assam Valley was reduced from 25 to 20 he would still like to retain six for the Muhammadans, one for each district. He would however if necessary reduce the number to 5.

3533. (*Mr. Banerjee.*) The figure he gave for Muhammadan immigrants was based on hearsay evidence.

3534. There was a great difference between the two valleys. The land tenure, the modes of life and the habits of thought were all quite different.

3535. If the necessary precautions were taken to prevent undue influence and prejudice, he thought it would be possible to employ non-officials at elections.

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[Continued.]

36. (*Mr. Hogg.*) Interests should be the basis of representation and not population. He proposed to reduce the number of seats for the planting interests, and use both the Governor and the officials would mostly be British.

37. (*Mr. Hawley.*) But for the tea industry Assam would hardly have been heard of.

38. (*Mr. Sastri.*) No doubt there would be a grievance if the Muhammadan franchise was lower than in the case of the general electorates, but this was the only way of getting a broad Muhammadan franchise. In any case Muhammadan constituencies would be much smaller.

If it was really considered to be a grievance the standard for the Hindu voter might be lowered also.

3539. He was indifferent as to whether voters who were so qualified were allowed to vote in the special electorates as well as the general electorates.

3540. (*Col. Gordon.*) The Muhammadans in the Assam Valley represented 17 per cent. not of the total population but of the Hindu population.

3541. By land-holders in the Assam Valley he meant the Goalpara zamindars. He would not give a seat to the others.

CALCUTTA
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